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McCarran's Christmas Carol—*an Editorial*

THE Nation

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PENTAGON POLITICS

Generals into Business Men

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California's Central Valley Project

The New Struggle for Control

BY DAVID G. FARRELLY

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Longshoreman's Story

I AM one of the longshoremen who work on the water front in the port of New York. Everybody from the governor down to the man on the street has had something to say about me. I think it's about time you heard the longshoreman's story from a longshoreman. It's a pretty grim story, but I think you may understand us better after you have read it.

The best way to show you the conditions I work under is to take you along with me as I do my day's work. At 7:50 a.m. the hiring boss blows his whistle for the morning "shape-up." I've been working on this pier for sixteen years, but that does not mean I'm going to work today. Every day of my life I must answer the shape-up whistle, for on the docks you are hired by the day. When the five o'clock whistle blows you are out of a job and must be rehired the next day. Would you office and factory workers like that? Would you like to stand in the street in front of your office or factory every day of your life and wait for a hiring boss to come out and tell the crowd who was going to work and who wasn't?

TODAY I'M LUCKY. The stevedore boss needs three gangs to load cargo, and I'm assigned to one. According to the union contract a normal gang consists of twenty-two men—four deckmen, eight holdmen, six dockmen, two stringpiece men, and two chauffeurs. Working as a unit, the group can handle an amazing amount of cargo in eight hours. The dockmen load the slings and nets. The chauffeurs, driving diesel trucks, keep them supplied with cargo. The holdmen stow it as it is lowered into the ship's hatch. The deckmen give the winch operator his signals, and the stringpiece men handle the lines.

The gang I'm in is assigned to work the No. 2 hatch. As we walk down the pier to board the ship I look my companions over. Most of the faces are familiar, but there are three men that I immediately recognize as "jumpers." As the word implies, jumpers are aliens who have jumped ship and are in the United States illegally. What burns us longshoremen up is the fact that these foreigners compete with us for work and that the people who bring them in make a highly profitable business of it. I believe, though I have no proof, that a powerful underground organization handles the arrangements for these men. It gets them off the ship and houses them in tenements near the piers. Then it sends them out to the shape-up to compete with us regulars for work.

A COUPLE of months ago the United States immigration men, looking for aliens, raided some of the piers just as the shape-up was about to start. They picked up over a hundred, one of whom had been in the country only three days. Of the eleven hundred men shaping up on five piers that day, one hundred were aliens here illegally.

Each "jumper" kicks back $25 a week out of his pay. For a hundred jumpers that comes to $2,500 a week. Also the organization usually owns the tenements the men are housed in, and it collects $5 a week in rent from each man. In addition it collects for the cost of getting him into the country and for all incidentals. Since there are more than seven hundred piers in the port of New York, you can see that bringing in jumpers is pretty lucrative.

When we arrive at No. 2 hatch, the hatch boss, who is there waiting for us, tells us we are to load scrap iron. This is hard and dangerous work. If you have never loaded scrap from a wallowing lighter moored to the offshore side of a ship in 25° temperature you don't know what work is. The three "jumpers," with four other men and myself, are ordered to go down on the lighter and put the scrap into a big bucket lowered to us from one of the ship's booms. Since it is scrap, we will do it by hand. If it were what is called heavy stuff, a huge magnet would pick it up and lower it into the hold, where the rest of the gang would stow it. I know I am assigned to this job as punishment because the hiring boss and the hatch boss suspect me of having been active in the recent strike.

At noon I hurry to one of the restaurants across the street for a sandwich and a couple of cups of coffee. Then I head down the street to the money lender's office. If you work on the pier that I am on and want to borrow money, you go to this certain guy. You might say he has the money-lending concession for the pier. I want to borrow $100 from him in order to pay some bills that I ran up while I was on strike. For that $100 I borrow I will pay $10 a week, and I intend to repay the principal at the rate of $25 a week. The first week I pay him $10 interest and $25 on the principal. The second week $7.50 interest and $25 on the principal, and so on. So the money lender in the end has made $25 on a $100 loan that existed for only one month.

A couple of minutes after 1 p.m. I go over the side of the ship and climb down to the lighter. For four more hours I tug and haul scrap to the bucket, and then the day is done. Wearily I walk off the pier, my work gloves in shreds, my overalls and pea-jacket torn. The next morning at 7:50 I must answer the shape-up whistle again and hope for work. The jumpers will be there too, and the money lender will be in his office down the street.

THOSE ARE just a few of the difficult working conditions I must put up with. There are others, such as staying clear of the dope ring and the gangsters that struggle for control of the pier. At the moment the honest longshoreman's only hope is that the probe of the water front undertaken by the states of New York and New Jersey will succeed in bettering some of these conditions. It will be a tremendous step in the right direction if the investigation does only one thing—gets rid of the hiring boss.

On the West Coast they have substituted a hiring hall with rotation of work among the men, and the system has proved highly successful. Why can't the East Coast longshoremen have the same system? We are waiting, not too hopefully, for the probers' answer to this and many other water-front problems.

HOWARD VASSAR

THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

Stalin's Statement

Although surely aware that no decision on new negotiations with Russia would be made until after President-elect Eisenhower was inaugurated, Prime Minister Stalin apparently decided to take advantage of the interregnum to raise again the question of bilateral negotiations. The timing was excellent. Since Russia's rejection of the Indian resolution on Korea in the General Assembly, the prospect for peace has been darker than ever and public opinion has been the more eager for some new approach. Those who believe the interview can be dismissed as the same old propaganda should note the space the New York *Times* gave it the following day—fourteen columns on different pages. The statement's emphasis on bilateral negotiations between the United States and Russia should not obscure the fact that on several occasions during the last two years Moscow has proposed a Big Four conference. Stalin can therefore reasonably expect that his suggestion of a talk with Eisenhower will increase the desire of London and Paris to be included in any conversations. One is reminded again of the possibilities open to Russian diplomacy if Moscow should finally decide to give up its habit of one day encouraging the Western world and public opinion by a conciliatory gesture and the next day dashing the hopes thus aroused.

Let's Test It

The best way to end the speculation as to the meaning of Stalin's offer to meet with Eisenhower is to arrange such a meeting. What better way is there of finding out what the Russians really want than by sitting down with them around the conference table. It can be safely assumed that the American negotiators would protect American interests.

Those who dismiss the offer by saying that if Stalin desired peace he had ample opportunity to bring it nearer by accepting the Indian proposal on Korea may have jumped to the wrong conclusion. What the Russians may be seeking is an opportunity to get a number of issues settled, using a possible Korean agreement as bait. To this end they want equality of bargaining power. In the U. N. they are outnumbered ten to one—a fact that cannot be ignored, even though their own tactics are largely responsible.

Since Russia, like the rest of the world, has nothing to gain by war, we can assume it wants peace—on certain terms. Are these terms and ours reconcilable? Can a bridge be built between them? This is the basic question. A direct inquiry is the surest method of producing a satisfactory answer. Past efforts having obtained no result; the incoming Administration would be well advised to examine this invitation with great care. A meeting held neither in Moscow nor in Washington might improve the chances for reaching a negotiated settlement. Even a meeting which did not achieve this end could hardly fail to clarify the situation in a way that would make it possible to relate American policy more directly to the intentions of the Soviet Union.

Business Men into Generals

President-elect Eisenhower's selection of four top business leaders for major Pentagon appointments suggests that just as generals can easily be restyled nowadays as business men (see page 6 of this issue), so business men feel very much at home in the swivel chairs of the Pentagon. Robert M. Kyes, the new Deputy Secretary of Defense (No. 2 spot), is vice-president of General Motors; Robert Ten Broeck Stevens, who will be Secretary of the Army, heads one of the nation's greatest textile firms; Robert Bernerd Anderson, Secretary of the Navy, is general manager of the W. T. Waggoner estate, a fabulous half-million-acre Texas ranch and oil empire; and Harold E. Talbot, Secretary of the Air Force, has been chairman of the board of North American Aviation. Outside the Pentagon, Marion B. Folsom, who is to be Under Secretary of the Treasury, is the treasurer of Eastman Kodak Company, while Randolph Burgess, appointed special assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, is chairman of the executive committee of the National City Bank and director of several giant corporations.

The new team is so patently of, by, and for big business that General Eisenhower's daring in selecting it has startled even Wall Street. "This is not just business,"

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writes Sylvia F. Porter in the New York *Post*, "it's Big-Big Business. These aren't just industrialists. These are industrialists out of the top drawer. . . . We've never had anything quite like this before." It is of course rather frightening to realize that the "front men" are departing and that the real bosses of American business are now moving into undisputed and unconcealed control of things in Washington. "It can be terrific," one Wall Street financier remarked to Miss Porter, "or it can be the worst calamity ever to befall the conservative concept of private enterprise. Right now, I'm not saying, I'm just praying." And, she adds, "he didn't smile as he spoke."

The People Pace the Politicians

Huge majorities in the pottery-making city of Delft and the Frisian market town of Bolsward voted for a United Europe in the poll sponsored by the Netherlands Council of the European Movement on December 17. In Delft 75 per cent of 39,000 eligible voters cast their ballots and of these 93 per cent voted "yes" to the proposition favoring "a United Europe under a European government with a democratic representation, all of this to be laid down in a European constitution." In Bolsward 88 per cent of 4,000 eligible voters participated in the poll and of these 97 per cent favored European unity. For a month before the polling the issue was debated in the schools and public forums of the two towns, which were selected because they are thought to represent a political cross-section of the Netherlands. All political parties except the Communists indorsed the poll.

The Netherlands is now the second country to make such a test, the West German towns of Castrop-Rauxel and Breisach having voted about 96 per cent in favor of a similar proposition. The next poll will be held in France. The pre-election campaign in the Netherlands took on the flavor of an American campaign. One cheese dealer displayed a window sign stating that a United Europe would be more successful than the Netherlands alone in bargaining with the United States over cheese-import restrictions. Another merchant posted a sign comparing the number of hours required to produce certain articles in the United States and in Europe, to show the advantage of a wider market. The people seem to be well ahead of their statesmen not only in the degree of their enthusiasm for a united Europe but in their desire to pool their resources, achieve an integrated market, and bargain collectively with the United States.

The Attack on Public Power

The movement under way in California to have the state buy the Central Valley Project (see page 12 of this issue) is only one of several similar schemes for weakening the public-power and river-valley policies of the

New Deal. In the Northwest there is much discussion of a proposal to form a public corporation to take over federal power installations, with the governors of the states involved naming the directors. In recent talk about the St. Lawrence Seaway it has been frequently suggested that a state agency should be used to distribute the power. In each instance the effect if not the purpose of such proposals would be to create new opportunities for the private power interests to undercut the policies of Franklin Roosevelt and Harold Ickes. Last June, Senator Paul Douglas warned that "the Central Valley of California may become the burial ground for reclamation policy." And it is a fact that the Department of the Interior has been yielding more and more to the pressures of the large landowners and private power interests concerned with this project. Every sign now points to an attempt by the private-power lobby to make a "sneak raid" on existing public-power projects after January 20, when former Governor Douglas McKay of Oregon, a strong "states' rights" advocate, will become the new Secretary of the Interior.

A Phony Proposal

The case against California's purchase of the C. V. P. is based on many practical as well as policy considerations. The power rates on the basis of which the state engineer made a finding that it would be "feasible"—he did not say desirable—for the state to take over the project were around 7 or 8 mills. The C. V. P. is currently selling to "preference customers"—that is, public agencies, at around 5 mills. The Bureau of Reclamation has just completed a forty-year contract with the Sacramento Municipal Utility District which will permit reductions, below current rates, of about 17 per cent to Sacramento power users. State acquisition would almost certainly be used to scuttle the 160-acre limitation on land ownership.

The proposal is such an obvious "phony" that despite its indorsement by the state Chamber of Commerce and the Farm Bureau, neither Governor Earl Warren nor Senator William Knowland has shown much enthusiasm for it. The real intentions behind the scheme may be found in an item in *Business Week* of May 13, 1944, laying out in detail the future delaying tactics which would be used by the interests seeking to repeal the 160-acre limitation. The blueprint prescribed four methods—direct repeal, use of the Army Engineers as the operating agency, use of the state of California as the operating agency, use of deep-well pumps at the expense of small farmers and the public. The article then went on to say that the suggestion that the state take over the project originated "among the big landowners of Fresno County" and that its purpose was to sidestep the 160-acre limitation.

The Bonn-Madrid-Buenos Aires Axis

The Nazis enter the New Year in high spirits. In West Germany they have revised their tactics and instead of aiming at a premature reorganization on a grand scale have decided to infiltrate the parties of the right. The results are impressive. Encouraged by the strength of the new nationalism, men who until now have worn a democratic mask are throwing it away. On November 21, at Bad Ems, a speaker electrified an audience with the words: "The day will come when Prussia in a reconstituted Reich will fulfil its duty of saving the civilization of Western Europe!" This new defender of the Prussian state was no less a person than Minister of Justice Dehler of the Adenauer government. In Verden, Lower Saxony, General of Aviation Ramcke accepted the salute of 5,000 former S. S. members with the remark: "I am proud of having been on the list of war criminals."

In Madrid one of the many officers of the Gestapo welcomed by Franco at the end of the war presided over a reunion of Nazis living in Spain. He developed the following line of thought: The United States is now only interested in the mobilization of all available men against Russia. It is our hour. Let us close ranks behind Generalissimo Franco and General Eisenhower. The Caudillo was always our friend; Eisenhower was our enemy, but the alliance between them is the best thing that could happen to the Fatherland.

In Buenos Aires, Colonel Rudel, another officer of Hitler's army, has created a Nazi group that includes the notorious S. S. leader Colonel Skorzeny. There is an intimate and constant association between the Nazis of the three capitals, and on New Year's Eve they doubtless drank an identical toast: Heil Hitler! Prosit Neujahr!

Among Ourselves

With the beginning of this year Keith Hutchison, long *The Nation's* financial editor, retires from that post and from the editorial board, to spend the greater part of his time in independent writing. He is now at work on a book on Anglo-American relations.

Fortunately Mr. Hutchison will continue his connection with *The Nation* as a staff contributor, writing editorials and signed articles on subjects within his wide and important field. He is at present preparing two articles on Canada which will appear in early issues.

We are happy to announce at the same time the addition of two names to the list of contributing editors: H. H. Wilson, a member of the Department of Politics of Princeton University and author of "Congress: Corruption and Compromise," and W. Macmahon Ball, professor of political science at the University of Melbourne, formerly British Commonwealth member of the Allied Council for Japan, and author of "Japan—Enemy or Ally?"

McCarran's Christmas Carol

ONCE upon a time children used to be told that, if they were bad, Santa would fill their stockings with ashes. To 269 naughty French sailors, denied permission to go on shore and spend Christmas with their friends while their ship, the Liberté, was in dock, the "Christian" Senator from Nevada, Pat McCarran, must seem an equally unnatural Saint Nick. For it is to this right unjolly old elf, and the act conceived in spite and born in infamy named after him, that they owe their detention.

The Immigration Service had no alternative under the act, which came into effect most unseasonably on Christmas Eve. Two of the sailors admitted Communist Party membership and were barred automatically. One had a "criminal record"; he had stolen bread from the Nazis during the occupation. He too was excluded until frantic calls to Washington secured his admission. The remaining 266, interviewed while the liner was crossing the Atlantic offended, as one of their union representatives put it, by standing "on their rights as free men not to reply to the questions."

These are rights of a kind that once seemed of vital importance to Americans. Indeed, at almost any time in our history the passage by a foreign country of legislation which subjected the crews of American vessels to similar treatment would have aroused impassioned protests in Congress. Until we became "top nation" we were the foremost champions of freedom of the seas, the preeminent defenders of the traditional rights of seamen, which include the right of liberty on shore while in port.

Arriving in New York after a visit to South American ports, where, we imagine, he was treated with every courtesy, Senator McCarran gave out a statement attacking all critics of his act, the sole principle of which, he claimed, was "the best interests of the United States." If properly enforced, he said, the act would "screen out the subversives and undesirables who would constitute threats to our national security." That is extremely unlikely: any really determined and intelligent spy should be able to evade the screen by equipping himself with papers showing an impeccable anti-Communist record. But in any case, whatever additional security the act may give, this benefit is likely to be far outweighed by the ill-will it is creating abroad.

So far, official foreign protests have been relatively mild, although they are growing stronger. Press comments in responsible European papers, however, reveal that in many countries bitter resentment has been aroused. The great voice of British liberalism, the Manchester *Guardian*, a strongly anti-Communist paper and one normally extremely friendly to the United States, describes the McCarran act as "a scandalous piece of illiberalism, in flat repudiation of every decent tradition of American history." It adds that "it would be a just retaliation if every American visitor to Europe were to be put through an interrogation by ham-handed officials like those at American ports. Nothing has done more to spread distrust of American intentions and to mock all American fine words than the impertinences inflicted on foreigners under the act."

We do not expect that the government of Britain or that of any other Western European country will move hastily toward retaliation. The unattractive doctrine of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" is seldom a good principle of policy; moreover, for economic and other reasons Western Europe is reluctant to "get tough" with the United States. Yet if the McCarran act and the 120,000 word revised manual of the Immigration Service based on it prove as administratively complicated and irritating as we expect, if incidents like that of the Liberté seamen recur, if the new President, who has publicly criticized this legislation, does not take early steps to revise it, then the pressure of public opinion may force European governments to move from protest to action.

FEW Americans realize the indignities and inconveniences to which persons intending to visit this country have been subjected in recent years—and which seem likely to be intensified by the McCarran act. Procurement of an American visa frequently depends on satisfactory responses to an elaborate inquisition conducted by officials who are far more afraid of sins of commission than of omission. For every doubtful alien excluded, probably a dozen or more persons of good character are insulted.

Americans visiting Europe seldom have similar experiences. If they did, if they were told by British or French officials that the regulations of which they complained exactly followed American practice, if just a few were held incomunicado on some European Ellis Island while leisurely bureaucrats examined their cases, enough indignation might be aroused to force reconsideration of our visa and immigration policies.

Of course it will be argued that European countries have abolished visas and in other ways smoothed the way for American visitors because they wish to encourage the tourist trade. But even if we do not have this economic motive, we should surely, in view of our ostensible championship of unrestricted social and cultural intercourse, and our criticism of the Iron Curtain, seek to minimize travel barriers. Already the United States is the hardest of Western nations to enter. Rigorous enforcement of the McCarran act threatens to make it a forbidden land, almost in the same class with Tibet and the U. S. S. R.

Thunder in the Air

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

THE first session of the General Assembly ended as it had begun, with an acid debate on Korea. In the last twenty-four hours, working uninterruptedly through Saturday and Sunday until five o'clock Monday morning, it approved a number of important resolutions, most of which had been passed in the various committees.

One of the longest discussions in this last stage was on the Uruguayan-Bolivian resolution approving the right of nations to nationalize their industries and natural resources without specific guaranty of compensation to private investors. In this space last week I stressed the exceptional importance of that move as a sign of the increasing determination on the part of less developed countries to control their economy and national destiny. An Indian recommendation that states exploit their natural wealth "with due regard to maintaining the flow of capital in conditions of security" was accepted in an effort to soften American opposition. But it did not succeed.

The United States delegation, which had been alone in voting against the resolution in the Second Committee, won three allies in the final balloting—Great Britain, New Zealand, and South Africa. But that did not silence criticism of American intransigence among the other delegates. It was even increased by the revelation made in that session by the Costa Rican delegate: he asserted that the president of a big company—unnamed—had cabled directly to Latin American delegates who had favored the resolution in the Economic Committee warning them that their countries would receive no new business if they persisted in their attitude and the resolution was finally adopted. (The company official must have dreamed he was prime minister of a world government!)

Then came the debate on prisoners of war. The atmosphere had been supercharged by a speech by Senator Alexander Wiley on December 16. Discussing the admission of new members, the Senator, already conspicuous because of his vociferous demands for a still more radical purge of the United Nations personnel, delivered the most violent anti-Russian speech heard at the U. N. in years. He accused the Soviet Union of trying to kill the United Nations and practically identified himself with those who believe the United Nations would be better off if the Russians quit it. A Western European delegate observed: "This speech by Senator Wiley was a violent one, but we are used to strong language in this Assembly. Certainly Mr. Vishinsky has not been exactly a model of diplomacy, but with all his abusive language, he is not in a position to do to the United States what the United States can, with its usual majority, do to Russia: creating the Little Assembly, diluting the power of the Security Council, and at will defeating all Russian proposals, good or bad. Sometimes it looks as if they would like to drive Russia out. But Russia realizes the mistake it made in quitting the Security Council at the beginning of the Korean war and will not repeat it." The idea of ousting the Soviet Union was directly advocated by Senator Tobey, Republican and member of the Foreign Relations Committee, on his return from Europe just the other day.

Senator Wiley is reported as convinced that the policy of "strength" is winning the cold war and that the only thing required is to get still tougher. He would profit from reading Walter Lippmann in the New York *Herald Tribune* of December 23: "The Eisenhower Administration is now facing the hard fact that the cold war is going badly, perhaps worse than the Eisenhower headquarters realized last summer."

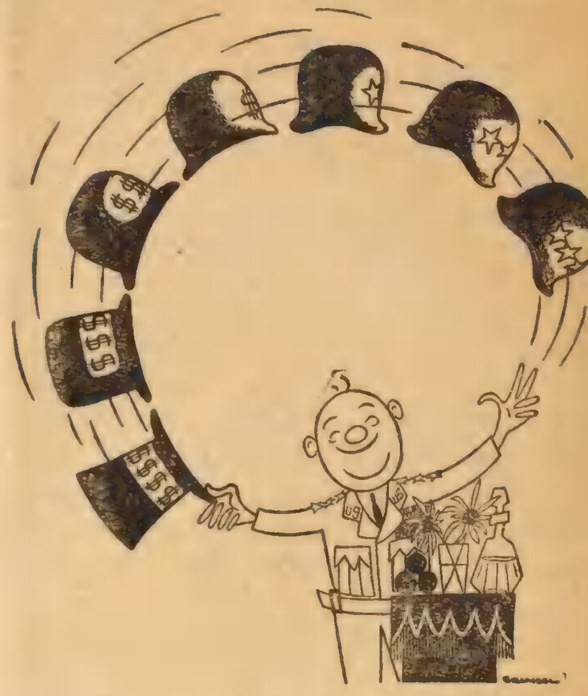
It was in this already heated atmosphere that Andrei Gromkyo demanded before adjournment that the United States be condemned for the "mass murder" of Communist prisoners. The emotion aroused some days earlier by the news that eighty-four prisoners had been killed in a riot did not win Mr. Gromyko any votes outside his own bloc. The Soviet demand was rejected forty-five to five. Ten Asian-Arab states which abstained would undoubtedly have supported a resolution expressed and defended in more moderate terms. Thus the Russians were again isolated on an issue which, strictly on its merits, might have won strong minority support.

The heat of the discussion left the air full of thunder. The period between now and the convening of the Assembly's second session on February 24 will probably be occupied with news and rumors about a new American offensive in Korea. Bombing of the mainland, blockade of the coast, use of Chiang Kai-shek's forces may inflict great damage upon China but will hardly bring about a dependable truce. Even if the Chinese and North Koreans were driven beyond the Yalu River they could wait there for six months or for one or two years, and then strike again. The assistance promised them by Russia under the terms of the Sino-Russian treaty of 1950 would help them resist any ultimatum.

In the prevailing uneasiness the effect of Stalin's interview, published in the New York *Times* of December 25, could not but be profound, despite its dismissal in official circles as just another "propaganda trick." Two things are important in Stalin's statement: first, its indication of his preference for discussion at the "highest level"; and, second, its reaffirmation of the Russian view that Korea is not an isolated issue but one phase of the problem of ending the cold war. The demand for a Big Four conference will now come again to the fore.

Generals into Business Men

BY WILLIAM H. NEBLETT



THE old five-percenter may be fading away, but a new type of influence man has appeared in his place—the retired general or admiral who has been promoted from four stars to a six-digit income. These men quit the service, with full retirement pay, at the peak of their usefulness to Uncle Sam to take high posts in key defense industries. What makes them so valuable to the companies now employing them is that they not only know on whom to put the finger in getting government contracts but often themselves selected the man for the job. Ex-General A, now hired by a munitions maker to handle his "interests" at the Pentagon, does not have much difficulty in convincing General B what he should buy when General B is a former subordinate or friend, or even just an acquaintance who owes his job to him.

Perhaps the most-publicized general-turned-businessman is Douglas MacArthur. General MacArthur is still the most influential man in the army, and as long as he can sign his name or lift a phone, Remington Rand will be in defense business in a big way. MacArthur's salary is said to be $100,000—this in addition to the $19,531.84 the taxpayer gives him every year in retirement pay. A whole bevy of MacArthur's retired colleagues, though not so adept at public relations as the old master, have done even better than this. For example, Brehon B. Somervell, ex-head of the Army Service Forces, who acted during the war as chief purchasing agent for the army and air force, is now president of Koppers Company and a director of the Carborundum Corporation and several other big concerns. All these companies are munitions manufacturers. They made fat profits during the war and with Somervell's "connections" in the Pentagon should be doing even better today. The $125,000 that Koppers is said to pay him is probably well spent.

Nor should International Harvester, the Metropolitan Body Company, American Steel Foundries, Universal Oil Products, or the International Harvester Company of Canada find it hard to get contracts in Washington. During the war these companies sold the Ordnance Department well over three billion dollars' worth of war material in one form or another. At present they are all using the services of Levin H. Campbell, war-time Chief of Ordnance.

One of the most interesting switches from olive drab to pin stripe was made by Leslie R. Groves, a three-star general who headed the Atomic Bomb Project from its inception until 1946. During that period he frequently testified before Congressional committees that atomic weapons made conventional weapons as useless as a crossbow. Understandably, the small-arms manufacturers did not take this kind of talk too kindly. To put a stop to it and to keep their orders from being canceled one of the biggest of them hired Groves away from the army. He is now vice-president of Remington Rand, selling the government the type of equipment he branded several years ago as obsolete in an atomic age.

The air lines, which are heavily subsidized by the government because of the vital role they play in national defense, and the airplane manufacturers, whose livelihood depends largely on government orders, have obtained their share of ex-Pentagon brass. George C. Marshall is a director of Pan-American Airways; Pan-American also has John Towers, ex-head of the navy's Bureau of Aeronautics, who was responsible for building up the navy's air arm during the war from 2,000 to 39,000 planes. Towers receives $20,000 as Pan-American's special representative to the Pentagon and $16,000 in retirement pay. Ira C. Eaker, former commander of the Eighth Air Force in Europe and Deputy

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COLONEL WILLIAM H. NEBLETT, air-force reserve (ret.), for many years a law associate of the late Senator William Gibbs McAdoo, resumed the practice of law in Los Angeles after six years' service in World War II as air-base commander, member of General MacArthur's staff, and staff officer in the Pentagon. This article is based on a chapter of his forthcoming book "Pentagon Politics."

Chief of Staff for Air, is now vice-president of the Hughes Tool Company and general manager of its affiliate, the Hughes Aircraft Company. Another corporation benefiting from the services of a man who knows his way around the Pentagon is the Oerlikon Tool and Arms Corporation, now headed by Kenneth B. Wolfe, retired three-star general.

Ex-General Joseph T. McNarney is president of Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corporation; according to the September, 1952, issue of *Fortune*, McNarney "knows Convair's best customer, the Pentagon, as few others do." A look at his record bears this out. On his return from Europe in 1946—he had succeeded Eisenhower as Supreme Commander of American Forces in Europe—McNarney did a stint of duty at Wright Field as head of the Air Force Materiel Command. He then went to Washington as chairman of the National Defense Management Committee, a post he held until he became chief military assistant to the Secretary of Defense. This was one of the most important jobs in Washington: he could approve or turn down any recommendation sent to the department by any branch of the service; every piece of legislation dealing with military affairs passed across his desk; allocation of the money appropriated by Congress for weapons and equipment was in his hands. A man who has wielded such power is worth his weight in contracts to any munitions maker.

McNARNEY happens to be one of the men who won "the battle of the B-36" in 1949. Before the Korean war the services were engaged in a bitter controversy over the claim of the air force that its strategic bombers, without resorting to the A-bomb, could destroy any nation that might attack us. As a result Congress launched what became known as the "B-36 investigation." In the end the air force convinced Congress and with McNarney's aid pushed through its program.

It is said authoritatively that the strategic-bombing theory championed by McNary and General Hoyt Vandenberg, chief of the air force—who assured President Truman that the Far Eastern air force could bomb North Korea off the map in a matter of weeks—greatly influenced Truman's decision to intervene in Korea. Unhappily, it was their prediction, not the North Korean aggression, that was blown sky high. Advances in anti-aircraft weapons during the last decade have made long-range bombing a costly way of fighting. There are no published figures for how many air-force planes have been lost in Korea through ground fire, but there are for navy planes. On March 28, 1952, testifying before the House Appropriations Committee on the 1953 navy budget, Vice-Admiral John H. Cassidy said that during the first nineteen months of the Korean conflict 99.7 per cent of the navy's planes that were destroyed were shot down by anti-aircraft batteries. Some of these, according to published reports, were equipped to fire the trailing rocket, the deadliest anti-aircraft weapon yet developed. Pursuing its target at a speed of up to 2,500 miles an hour and piloted by an electric eye and gyroscope, the trailing rocket has been 100 per cent effective against bombers of the B-36 type. Russia learned about it from the Germans as we did and has put it into mass production; we have not. Although McNarney is now retired, he still has great influence, which he can use to sell the airplane his company manufactures—the B-36.

An easy shift from one swivel chair to another has been made by Ben Moreell, organizer of the navy's Seabees. He is now on the pay roll of the Turner Construction Company of New York and the Jones & Laughlin Steel Company, two concerns which got a large slice of the ten billion dollars' worth of contracts awarded by him between 1941 and 1946.

Many other ranking military and naval men have made the switch from buyer to seller, but the examples cited give the picture of the new breed of lobbyist who does not have to hang on to a Congressman's coat tails to get what he wants since he has a direct pipe line to the heaviest spender in the world—the Defense Department. The most obvious danger offered by the generals turned lobbyists is much like that caused by the activities of the five-percenters—increased military costs due to the lack of competitive bids. Perhaps the American taxpayer can afford these sums. But what will be the cost of having a military man in the White House? Can there be any doubt that the Defense Department will get whatever it demands in the way of appropriations? Since 1941 industry—in fact, the whole economy—has become more and more dependent upon government orders. When the Republicans nominated General Eisenhower for President they knew he could be counted upon to keep their arms factories working. His victory may insure prosperity for the munitions makers, but for the country as a whole the price may be staggering.

Proposals for Peace—II

OSKAR LANGE

IN MY opinion the priorities for peace are as follows:

1. Immediate cessation of all wars now going on: immediate cease-fire in Korea, with all questions under dispute, including that of repatriation of war prisoners, to be settled afterward by special international commission—any further loss of lives in that unnecessary war is entirely unjustified; cessation of military operations in Viet Nam and Malaya and negotiation based on the principle that all peoples have the right to national independence.

2. End of the cold war and restoration of mutual

confidence and cooperation: immediate cessation of the arms race, in particular, abandonment of the rearmament of Germany and the remilitarization of Japan; general reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic arms under effective international control; ratification by all countries of the Geneva protocol prohibiting bacteriological warfare; a peace pact between the five great powers to help reestablish the confidence of the peoples of the world in the future and restore the effective operation of the United Nations.

3. Speedy solution of the outstanding international problems causing tension, in particular, conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and withdrawal of the occupation forces; admission of China to the United Nations as the first prerequisite of a solution of the problems of Asia; recognition of the aspirations of the peoples of North Africa and of other colonial territories for national freedom.

4. Restoration and expansion of normal trade relations between all countries irrespective of their economic and social system, particularly, restoration and development of East-West trade. Experience has shown that countries with a capitalist economy and countries with a Socialist economy can cooperate to their mutual advantage. Such cooperation, moreover, may help to relieve the fear current among business men in some countries that depression and mass unemployment are the only alternative to the arms race. The International Economic Conference in Moscow showed that economic cooperation among all countries, whatever their economic and social system, can provide the advanced industrial countries of the world with orders and employment for a long period to come. The same conference also showed that Western business men are ready to take advantage of expanded trade opportunities provided they are free to do so and are not hampered by political restrictions imposed by considerations of cold-war strategy. Restoration of East-West trade is essential for the solution of the chronic economic difficulties of the West European countries and of Japan.

5. Restoration of normal contacts and cooperation among all countries, irrespective of their economic and social system, in all fields of cultural activity—science, literature, art, music, etc. This would help develop mutual understanding among nations.

I take this opportunity to wish a Happy New Year to your readers and to all peace-loving Americans. May the desire for peace which animates the great majority of the American people prove effective and bear fruit for the mutual benefit of all of us.

[This is the second of a series of statements solicited from "opinion-molders" in many countries, offering specific proposals for bringing peace to the world. Oskar Lange is rector of the School of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw, member of the Diet of the Polish People's Republic, member of the Committee for the Promotion of International Trade, Honorary Vice-President of the World Federation of United Nations Associations, former Polish ambassador to the United States, and former head of the Polish delegation at the United Nations.]

Indonesia: Camping in No Man's Land

BY HANS KONIGSBERGER

THE new Republic of Indonesia—three thousand miles of islands stretching from Singapore to Manila, with one-fourth the area and one-half the population of the United States—has for two months now been the scene of political disturbances. They began on October 17 when a mob broke into the Parliament building in Jakarta. During the next days tension mounted, and finally Parliament was sent into recess. Then came several bloodless military "coups" in which junior officers seized command of divisions in the outlying islands. Parliament has now reconvened with the primary intention of passing a bill for general elections, the first to be held in the country. Also the Cabinet has been reshuffled and several high army and defense officials have been dismissed with a view to allaying the dissatisfaction.

To simplify an extremely confused situation, the recent disturbances are symptomatic of the basic conflict that is developing in all the newly free Asian nations. It is a conflict between two schools of thought. One is gravely concerned about the stability of the state and wants to make the evolution from a colonial past as painless as possible. The Indonesian Cabinet in the main thinks this the prime necessity and is supported by the military leaders. Parliament, however, takes a different view. Disregarding the pressing political and economic problems, its members are determined to complete the revolution against colonialism immediately, at any cost. A similar attitude is found in the army among the former guerrilla fighters against the Dutch, who resent the discipline and aloofness of the new, academy-trained officers.

Too many Americans and other Western observers look for the same basic division in the East that they see

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HANS KONIGSBERGER is a Dutch journalist now living in the United States. He recently spent a year in Indonesia studying the islands' culture.

in the West. In every conflict they try to find out which side is pro-Communist and which anti-, and who are the agents of each. It is difficult for them to conceive of a struggle along entirely different lines. Americans are puzzled by the Indonesian situation because they view it with eyes that are too Western, because they do not realize the indigenous nature of the conflict. Indonesia cannot be called progressive, or revolutionary, or communistic, or anti-American, for these categories are too Western to fit the native political currents. The only thing in Indonesia which is sharply divided into red and white is the flag. Efforts to picture the country in such simple terms can do little justice to the complex reality.

The paraphernalia of modern government have been prefabricated in the Western world and are eagerly imported by a country which finds itself newly independent amid highly developed competing powers. But they are office furniture and nothing more. Yesterday Indonesia was a colony whose only raison d'être was to provide wealth for another nation. From this political non-existence it is a long climb to a position of responsibility in the warring world. Indonesian statesmen of a single generation must face the problems of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Roosevelt, and Truman. They must direct the course of a country which has endured ten years of war and occupation, which has a population that is 90 per cent illiterate, and which still has to fight against local famines, epidemics, and rebel guerrillas. The office furniture is the latest model, but the business itself is thoroughly un-Western.

INDONESIA is surpassed only by the United States and Russia in natural resources. It made Holland rich for three centuries. The Japanese knew the value of its rubber, oil, tin, sugar, tea, and coffee and quickly overran the islands after the fall of Singapore. The interregnum between the Japanese capitulation and the return of the Dutch gave the nationalist movement its long-awaited chance, and on August 17, 1945, the independent republic was proclaimed. Four more years of fighting and negotiating were to pass before the last Dutch newspaper omitted the quotation marks from "Indonesian republic." Sovereignty was formally transferred in December, 1949.

Not long afterward a well-informed executive of the Dutch Shell interests in Indonesia said to me, "This country is headed for complete chaos within the year." He had witnessed the economic confusion and incompetence and believed these spelled doom for a nation as for a business. Nevertheless, the republic survived. It was saved by the very looseness of structure that seemed to indicate an early collapse. The incredibly wide gaps between different agencies of authority prevented the failure of one from dragging down the others. A clog on one wheel, on ten wheels, did not stop the machinery. There was room and to spare for mistakes.

It is vital to Indonesia that the process of national crystallization go on unhindered by external affairs. The present government knows better than its predecessors that preoccupation with domestic affairs must be almost absolute; this conviction brought it to power. The Sukiman Cabinet fell on February 23 last after publication of an agreement between Foreign Minister Subardjo and Ambassador Cochran that Indonesia would receive American dollars in accordance with the provisions of the Mutual Security Agency. The agency rephrased its usual terms and demanded that Indonesia promise simply to "contribute to the strength of independent and sovereign nations," not to "the defensive strength of the free world." But the condition was still not mild enough. The Foreign Minister's "good piece of business" harmed interests which were more vital than solvency. Subardjo had to resign, and although the other ministers dissociated themselves from his action, the Cabinet fell with him. The new Prime Minister, Mr. Wilopo, and his seventeen colleagues are all men who have come out for what President Sukarno calls "occupying the no man's land between the opposing camps." Parliament passed a vote of confidence on this policy by an overwhelming majority, which included the Moslem, the Nationalist, and the Communist parties.

A policy of neutrality is not inspired by necessity alone. Indonesia views the world more objectively than do most countries of Western Europe. The politicians of the West, like those of the Communist world, feel they must paint the world in two colors only. The Indonesian politician rejects such a picture and the choice it invites.

Nothing illustrates the position of the Indonesian government better than its view of the Korean question. Although Indonesia is a member of the United Nations, the government sees no moral issue at stake. "Two power blocs," it says, "are testing their strength in Korea." Indonesia recognized Mao Tse-tung as a matter of course—a vast majority of its two million Chinese inhabitants are pro-Mao and often of dual nationality. An unofficial American suggestion that Indonesian observers inspect the PW camps was ignored because, among other reasons, North Korea had not joined in making it.

When President Quirino of the Philippines recently visited Indonesia, he was the first head of state to set foot in the republic. Many words of friendship were spoken, but there was silence on Quirino's pet project, a Pacific pact. The Indonesian newspapers, both left and right, had made it clear before his arrival that the country's entry into such a pact was unthinkable. Camping in no man's land suits the Indonesians' mentality. Nor are they lonesome there, for India is with them.

The principle of *Rukun*, compromise, is a vital point of Moslem law. Indonesia tries to make it a political reality in the struggle between East and West.

A Plea for Heretics

BY ALEXANDER MACBEATH

FOR three centuries the English-speaking peoples have prized and, with occasional lapses, practiced what Milton called "the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue." This freedom has seemed so thoroughly established that people have tended to take it as the natural order of things, but today it is threatened from many quarters. Wherever we look—East or West or South—we see symptoms of a reaction against it that may engulf the spirit of free inquiry in such disaster that mankind will need another thousand years to rescue it.

Science began and continued its triumphant career within the framework of a particular way of life, a framework that we are apt to take for granted, forgetting how much it may have been responsible for the qualities of mind that made the great scientists. But the applications of science have modified and are modifying this way of life, and there are tendencies in our society which threaten to destroy the conditions necessary for science.

The modern age is characterized above all by the progress of science and democracy. The two movements spring from a common root—respect for the dignity of man as an intelligent being—and have two features in common. Both represent what Plato called the victory of persuasion over force, of discussion over dictation, and both are tentative and experimental, rejecting all claim to dogmatic authority or certainty. From the democratic point of view, man should submit to no control which he has not himself created and cannot modify to suit his purposes; and the scientist regards every conclusion at which he arrives as provisional, a step toward, not the attainment of, final truth.

During the present century the presuppositions of both science and democracy have been challenged and are called on to defend themselves. The reasons for this, however, are not to be found in either science or democracy but in two other developments which have characterized the modern age since the application of scientific knowledge—technology and industrialism. These developments have produced a state of affairs that could destroy the scientific spirit to which they owe their origin. The results of pure science are wholly good, but we should not distinguish too sharply between pure and applied science or between the roles which intellectual curiosity and practical interest in the well-being of mankind have played in the development of modern science.

The modern age opened with a new attitude toward knowledge, regarding it not as something to be contemplated and enjoyed but as power to be used for the welfare of men. And it is to the power over his environment which it placed at man's disposal that science mainly owes its present prestige. The miracles of the modern world—motor cars and airplanes, radio and television—all derive from science; and for the mass of mankind they constitute its justification. If the great achievements of science were used wisely, and if steps were taken to prevent a disproportionate increase in population, they could free the mass of mankind from degrading drudgery and add much to the amenities of living. But the dangers and discomforts that have come in their train have been equally great—high explosives and atom bombs, the squalor of urbanization, the exploitation of man by man—and it is of these that men have become painfully conscious during the twentieth century. In point of fact, the knowledge that science brings and the power that its application gives to man are morally neutral; they can be used either for good or for evil. But after learning by bitter experience that they are not always used wisely, men have reacted not only against the freedom to misuse them but against freedom in general.

This reaction is in part at least the result of a twofold confusion. First, there is a confusion between science and the results of its application, and consequently a failure to distinguish between the freedom which is a necessary condition of scientific discovery and the control which has to be exercised over the applications of science if they are to contribute to the welfare and not to the undoing of men. Second, there is the confusion between what science does and does not profess to do. Men had expected too much of science—not only knowledge and power but the wisdom to use it rightly. But science is concerned with facts not with values; and so it cannot justify anything, even its own activity, still less the purposes for which it is used. This is true of the social as well as of the physical and biological sciences. If we are to conceive of or achieve a coherent and desirable way of life, however, we must take account of both facts and values. Our most stubborn problems are those in which both are involved, and our chief difficulties today seem to arise from discrepancies in our values rather than from our ignorance of facts.

The ordinary man desires certainty and mental security. Much in his environment leads him to believe that there exists somewhere a body of fixed truth to be accepted as

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ALEXANDER MACBEATH is professor of logic and metaphysics at the Queen's University, Belfast. This article is a somewhat abridged version of an address he delivered before the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

final. The resistance offered to the scientific attitude by our habits and expectations, natural and induced, has been greatly intensified by the changes which scientific techniques have introduced into the modern world. On the one hand, quicker means of communication and transport have brought men of different nations and races into more intimate contact and increased their mutual dependence. On the other, effective use of scientific techniques requires that the units of economic and industrial organization become ever larger and more complex. As a result, the individual to whom science and democracy promised a greater mastery over his environment finds himself dependent and powerless, and it is hard for him to feel that his life or his work is significant.

IN HUGE organizations—industrial or political—few men have the opportunity to exercise initiative, take responsible decisions, or control much even of their own behavior. Planning on a large scale, involving the command of men, becomes essential; the experience of the nineteenth century showed that unless we took steps to control the results of technology, they would control us. But planning, while necessary, has its dangers; the planner, and especially the administrator of the plan, may become the foe of freedom. The legislator, the organizer, the administrator, whether industrial or political, is apt to forget that all plans and all forms of organization are means, not ends in themselves, that every plan has its price and that the price may be too high. One of the main problems of our time is how to guard against the possible tyranny of administrators who identify their purposes with the good of the community and regard all dissent as disloyalty.

There is another major difficulty. Even if a plan is good and its administration wise, it takes time and patience and experiment to adjust our habits of thinking and feeling to it. The rapidity of change which is so characteristic of recent times makes adaptability and initiative more necessary but more difficult than at any previous period. Flexibility, open-mindedness, responsiveness to new ideas are needed more than they ever were before. The man of fixed ideas and habits is today a public danger.

The result of the tensions, disharmonies, and incoherences in our way of life is a sense of frustration and futility. The scientist is deeply disturbed by the use that is made of his discoveries, by the failure to deal with their unforeseen consequences, by the secrecy which interferes with his work. The ordinary man is made unhappy by the contradiction between the mastery of his environment promised by science and democracy and his actual helplessness, between his emotional and social provincialism and the universality of science and industrial organization. The mind of modern man seeks unity and coherence. But there is little unity or coherence in his life. His different interests conflict, his allegiance is divided, he is not at peace with himself or his environment. He is therefore uneasy and afraid.

The Greater Risk

God knows, there is risk in refusing to act till the facts are all in; but is there not greater risk in abandoning the conditions of all rational inquiry? Risk for risk, for myself I had rather take my chance that some traitors will escape detection than spread abroad a spirit of general suspicion and distrust which accepts rumor and gossip in place of undismayed and unintimidated inquiry. I believe that that community is already in process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy, where non-conformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation, without specification or backing, takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists to win or lose. Such fears as these are a solvent which can eat out the cement that binds the stones together; they may in the end subject us to a despotism as evil as any that we dread; and they can be allayed only in so far as we refuse to proceed on suspicion, and trust one another until we have tangible ground for misgiving. The mutual confidence on which all else depends can be maintained only by an open mind and a brave reliance upon free discussion. I do not say that these will suffice; who knows but we may be on a slope which leads down to aboriginal savagery. But of this I am sure: if we are to escape, we must not yield a foot in demanding a fair field, and an honest race, for all ideas.—*From an address by Judge Learned Hand before the eighty-sixth convention of the University of the State of New York, Albany, October 24, 1952.*

Symptomatic of this condition is the tendency toward authoritarianism, the revolt against reason, the distrust of the intelligence. Since the heretic, the non-conformist, the man who demands reasons is uncomfortable about this state of affairs and makes other people uncomfortable too, those who prefer ease to liberty are apt to regard him as revolutionary, a disturber of the peace, and to turn on him with impatience and resentment. Yet the critic, the dissenter, the man who fearlessly seeks and speaks the truth should be not only tolerated but encouraged. Toleration should not be regarded as indulgence of error but as a method of arriving at truth and a safeguard against mistakes. Our fathers applied this principle in many spheres and found that it worked. In our parliamentary form of government we have a ministry and an opposition; in our legal system, we have a counsel for the prosecution and a counsel for the defense; and so on. In authoritarian systems, on the other hand, we get one-party government, and if there is a counsel for the defense in the courts he does not play much of a part. Of course not all nonconformists are men of insight and vision; often they are unmindful that they have duties as well as rights. But even if ninety-nine of them be fools, or worse, it is worth while putting up with them for the sake of the hundredth.

And what is the alternative to tolerating the heretic? It is to silence or suppress him. He can be suppressed by putting him in a den of lions or a concentration camp or a gas chamber, but that may not destroy his ideas. The only effective way of dealing with him is to persuade him that he is wrong; it is to answer not silence him. And if we cannot answer him because there is no answer to give, then we must accept his criticism even if it hurts. Failure in tolerance is evidence of an ultimate lack of faith in the soundness of our beliefs, in the value of our way of life, and in the intelligence of our people. Those who are intolerant of criticism seem to forget that the men who first promulgated the ideas to which they demand conformity today were once innovators, critics, heretics, and that today's nonconformists may be their real followers, while those who turn their doctrines into dogmas and seek to impose them by totalitarian methods betray their spirit.

The function of the heretic and critic, then, is to force us to keep examining and testing, revising and perfecting our beliefs and ideals. His attitude is the attitude of science, whose conclusions are always on trial. And this is the only sure safeguard against error and degeneration. It has performed an indispensable part in the slow progress of mankind toward civilization; and the day it is no longer allowed to perform that function stagnation will set in, and freedom and science and all they stand for will decay and die.

C. V. P.—Struggle for Control

BY DAVID G. FARRELLY

Los Angeles

A UNIQUE development is under way in California. The state is proceeding with plans to buy the Central Valley Project from the federal government. This idea of states' rights being achieved by direct purchase is something new. The scheme also adds a new twist to the continuing controversy over public power.

Most of the major hydroelectric-power projects in the country have been undertaken by the federal government rather than by the states chiefly because our large river basins comprise more than one state. Some of them even touch foreign countries, as the St. Lawrence and the Rio Grande. Thus several states must act in concert or the federal government must carry the ball alone.

California's Central Valley, however, lies entirely within the state. It contains one-third of the state's area—a territory equal in size to Illinois. From the high ranges of the Sierra Nevada some fifteen rivers flow westward into the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. These two river valleys make up the Great Central Valley.

Twenty years ago the voters of California authorized a bond issue of $170,000,000 for the Central Valley Project, which was to conserve the abundant water supply of the north and divert it to the San Joaquin Valley in the central part of the state. When money became scarce during the depression, California turned to the federal government for help. Since 1937 the Bureau of Reclamation of the Department of the Interior has had the Central Valley Project under its wing. At a cost of some $750,000,000, borne by the United States Treasury, dams, reservoirs, pumping plants, canals, channels, and power-generating units have been constructed in an integrated pattern. Even now the project is only partially completed, but California's critical problems of water and power shortage have been greatly alleviated by the largess of the federal government.

From the beginning there have been serious differences of opinion about various features of the project. Not everyone has approved its multiplicity of purpose—irrigation, water supply, flood control, navigation, electricity, fish hatcheries, bird refuges, recreation facilities. There has been sectional conflict—between the northern and southern parts of the valley over equitable distribution of the water. Individual landowners have resented encroachments by the Bureau of Reclamation. Federal agencies have competed for development funds: the Reclamation Bureau and the Army Corps of Engineers fought for seven years over which was to build a reservoir at Pine Flats on the Kings River.

The necessary amount of federal control has been a constant source of controversy. Federal policy has historically favored family-size farms and having set a 160-acre limitation on holdings has restricted an unmarried farmer to the purchase of sufficient water to irrigate a holding of that size. This 160-acre limitation has been frequently challenged. In August, 1952, a California court held that it could not be applied in the state. Public

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DAVID G. FARRELLY is assistant professor of political science at the University of California in Los Angeles.

versus private ownership of power has been another issue. Until a few years ago the Central Valley Project was bitterly fought by the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, one of the nation's largest private utilities; but now the company has decided to buy and transmit the project's power.

IN 1951 the ever-extending federal grasp roused the state government to action. Governor Earl Warren's administration decided at long last to enter the field of water and power. It therefore sought and obtained legislative approval of the Feather River development, designed to transfer water from the northern part of the state to the far southern counties, below the Tehachapi Mountains. This brought a third party into the contest between the Bureau of Reclamation and Pacific Gas for control of water and power resources. Persons who had objected to duplication of effort now saw triplication in the offing. More serious, of course, was the problem of integrating federal, state, and private agencies.

The state's determination to enter the arena was made even clearer when the legislature in its 1952 session appropriated $10,000,000 for a study of the feasibility of buying the Central Valley Project. The Republican state convention approved the legislative appropriation and encouraged the development of a plan to acquire the project. The Democrats neither approved nor disapproved the purchase but wanted proof that the plan would not hamper the orderly completion of other water-power projects and that the state would deliver water to farmers at a price as low as that charged by the federal government. California's proposal to purchase Central Valley may well be based on a genuine desire to own and control its water resources. But curiously enough the traditional enemies of public ownership favor the plan, motivated apparently by a reluctant preference for state rather than federal control.

In September a state-wide organization known as the Committee for California Ownership of the Central Valley Project was formed to further the purchase plan. The prime movers were representatives of six farm, water, and trade associations. One of these six is the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, which twenty years ago opposed the project when it came before the electorate for approval. Now, together with the California Chamber of Commerce, it favors state ownership. The new committee is urging that the purchase be financed by means of revenue bonds which would be repaid from the project's future earnings.

As matters stand today, the California Water Project Authority, a state agency, is studying the proposal that the state buy the Central Valley Project. It has already voted to use some of its initial $10,000,000 fund to pay a staff of experts to work on the problem. Personnel of the Authority expect no opposition from the federal government. Oscar Chapman, outgoing Secretary of the Interior, has indicated that he approves state acquisition if certain conditions are met. Presumably Chapman wants assurance that the vast project will be completed and some guaranty that the benefits now provided under federal control would be retained under state ownership. The state Water Power Authority has already consulted the incoming Secretary of the Interior, Douglas McKay, who is quoted as saying that he must have all the facts before making a decision. McKay is regarded, however, as a states' righter, having been extremely outspoken against federal administration of water-power projects. So after January 20 the purchase plan may shift into high gear.

The decision to buy the Central Valley Project will eventually be made by the legislature or the voters. Many problems must first be solved. Is it better to finance the purchase by issuing bonds or by direct contract with the federal government? Is the state able fiscally to take over Central Valley and at the same time proceed with the construction of the billion-dollar Feather River project? Will Congress slow down or cease entirely its allocation of reclamation funds to California? Friends of public water and power developments are alert to the worst possibilities. State governmental machinery is usually more open to pressure than federal. Low-priced water and power may be at stake. Joe C. Lewis, former assemblyman of Kern County, has warned that state acquisition would increase the cost of electricity by 59 per cent. Another critic has pointed out that the state would sell power to Pacific Gas and Electric, which would then seek permission to raise its rates.

It is significant that the California Central Valley Flood Control Association recently objected to power contracts then being negotiated by the Bureau of Reclamation with private agencies on the ground that Central Valley electricity was being offered for sale at too low rates. According to this group, low-priced-power contracts would make it more difficult to pay off any revenue bonds issued to finance the project's purchase by the state.

California's belated interest in acquiring the Central Valley Project has come at the tag end of the Democrats' twenty-year control of the national government. Both Michael Straus and Richard Boke of the Reclamation Bureau have been controversial figures, painted by their enemies as high-handed bureaucrats. Certainly Straus will be replaced as commissioner, and possibly Boke will be eased out as regional director—although he is under civil service. It may be that a Republican Administration at Washington will provide a political climate in which local pressures will have more force and different ideas of public policy will flourish. If this is true, it may not be necessary for the pressure groups to have the state buy the Central Valley Project after all.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

BENEDETTO CROCE: 1866-1952

BY FRANCES KEENE

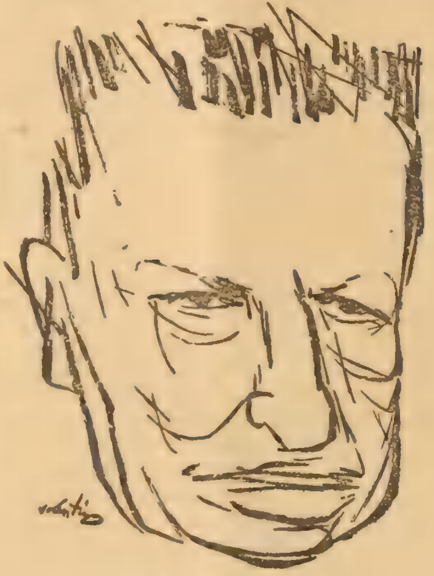
CROCE'S life spanned almost a century, and his name, known to hundreds of thousands throughout the world who have never read his works, is synonymous with contemporary thought. For he raised the burning issue of our age—the essential nature of human freedom.

When he first started to publish, gentility, understood as remoteness from mundane concerns, was part of the barrage of mystification with which most "thinkers" were surrounded. Croce brought philosophy out into the open, humanized it, loosed it in the arena of everyday reality, introduced it into historical judgment, political morality, literary criticism. He was convinced that man could no longer afford to remain voluntarily out of contact with that immense creative vitality of the spirit which, in the nineteenth century, formalism and positivism were doing their best to throttle.

From the start he had no patience with rhetoric, theological absolutes, or the expedient hypocrisy of materialism —his trail-blazing critique of historical materialism and economic Marxism dates from 1900. In fact, impatience with things as they are was always a distinguishing characteristic. Croce felt instinctively, and often expressed the conviction, that spiritual impatience insures man's freedom: without a demand for clarity there will be double-talk, confusion of ideas, conventional "freedoms" but never liberty.

Soon Croce added studies of Hegel and Vico to his evolving history of the human spirit. He took whatever healthy, living elements he found in Hegel's philosophy and filtered them through the luminous windows of Vico's historical thought. Philosophy came alive: he forced it to seek identity with immediate issues as no other thinker had done before.

With the publication of the "Aesthetics" in 1910, a new era in criticism, appreciation, and, above all, creative activity was to begin: Croce had kicked open the door, held shut by sentimental naturalism and romanticism, on the revealed world. The so-called laws which until then had bolstered and confined art did not resist his new concept of the unity of all created things. He had stated a clear philosophy in extremely plain language and had opened the way for an understanding of the relationship of art to the rest of life. Further, he had given criticism the means to interpret this relationship.



Benedetto Croce

Croce's system culminated in his identification of philosophy with history. All his later work amplified one aspect or another of this basic theorem. He gave us a new concept of history just because he had given us first a new concept of philosophy. Philosophy was no longer a static form resolving problems in an arbitrary, final way. Instead, philosophy was history itself, ever-changing, new. "All true history is contemporary history."

The ethical fervor which pervades Croce's work made him one of the giants in education in our time. He personified the warning and revolt against those doctrines which tend, overtly or tacitly, to enslave man to a formula, yoke him to a system, depersonalize him in the mass. In this sense, though he carried within him a strong sense of country, he rejected the voluntary imprisonment of nationalism, which he regarded as a breeding ground for hatred. He was anti-absolutist, anti-totalitarian. He literally taught modern man to formulate his own concept of spiritual freedom. The political position he occupied for two generations in his own country is attributable to this fact, for even the dictatorship was constrained by world-wide moral pressure to recognize his inviolability and to accord his person respect (although Fascist thugs did sack his library).

Croce was indefatigable. His *opera omnia* are vast, and he found countless points in the cultural field where his job of breaking ground and sowing new ideas could be effective. For nearly half a century his publication, *La Critica,* represented the outpost of informed thinking. And for over twenty years, despite the vexations of the regime, he did not give an inch in carrying out the task he felt he must perform. Tireless, clear, and firm, he blasted that bitter yet ludicrous period of Italian political life with his ruthless sarcasm. The too busy empire builders sought to "ignore" him, if you can use the word to describe the fear they always felt of him (the Dictator was once pushed, in an official speech, to utter the clamorous exorcism that he had never read so much as a page of Croce, but exorcism by "ignoring" was not enough). For those Italians who managed to defend their intelligence, if not their liberty, his long struggle as man and philosopher was not in vain.

In the midst of conflict Croce's moral force remained unshaken. Man's fate was his concern, and this anxiety is evident on every page. In one of the relatively recently issues of *La Critica* he published a note which he called the rule of life:

> In the worst travail, the most hopeless depressions I have suffered or suffer now, a voice echoes within me: Do something. And so I go tenaciously doing what I must do, doing what my capacities and the education I have given myself have prepared me to do. And I am comforted and encouraged by that act. "Do something" is the advice I give, or rather transmit, because while one is doing, one is alive and keeps alive the flame of life in the world which we feel, in our moments of hopelessness and despair, is heading toward ruin. But it will not, nor can it, go to ruin, and it demands and commands that *we do something of our own* to keep it whole.

India's Independent Policy

FREE INDIA IN ASIA. By Werner Levi. University of Minnesota Press. $2.75.

INDIA'S policy of independent action in international affairs has been a puzzle to many Americans, including at times officers of the State Department, ever since Nehru outlined it on December 4, 1947. The application of that doctrine has rarely pleased our press or public; usually it has caused annoyance, frequently rising to exasperation. The principal issues on which India and the United States have disagreed have been Asian: the independence of Indonesia, which we did not support until somewhat late in the discussion; the admission of the People's Government of China to the United Nations; the action in Korea; our support of the French and Bao Dai in Indo-China, which India has viewed with disquiet though its government has taken no stand on the matter; the Japanese peace treaty drawn up in San Francisco, which India refused to sign—instead, it made a separate treaty; Israel, about which India long disagreed with us; and finally and most important, India's refusal to side with or against the United States in the cold war.

Werner Levi in a small but well-documented and well-considered book discusses India's Asian relations in order to show the environment in which they came into existence and their present direction of change. He finds that an interest in foreign affairs is in itself a new thing for the Indian public, which is only just emerging from the nationalist struggle and still has to face great and pressing domestic problems. He justly sees little basis for Asian solidarity—the general Asian opposition to Western imperialism has not been enough to produce an Asian union or even a Southern Asian political regionalism. Certain international issues, especially those involving racism or infringement upon Asian rights and prestige, have led to common Asian-Arab action in the United Nations; but others, such as the quarrel between India and Pakistan over Kashmir or the Indian mistrust of China's forward policy in Tibet, have kept Asian nations apart.

About half the book is devoted to India's position respecting communism, Communist moves in Asia, and the cold war. Mr. Levi shows that up to the present the fear of Western imperialism has had more influence on Indians than the fear of Communist imperialism, but he feels that the balance is now rapidly shifting. He says:

> In consideration of India's policy toward Communist and Western imperialism, two points stand out. The first is that India is taking steps to protect herself against Communist expansionism, fear of which is a factor in all her policy. The second is that Indians are becoming more lenient in their interpretations of Western imperialism and are realizing that Asian freedoms are better served in the long run by cautious procedures which will not provide openings for Communist intervention. Communist imperialism appears to be considered the more immediate and greater threat.

The final chapter of the book is entitled India, Communism, and Democracy. Mr. Levi thinks that democracy will win and cites facts and the utterances of Indians to support his belief. It will win, he contends, on moral as well as economic grounds, and the West can help. He remarks that "Indians . . . require spiritual as well as material nourishment. The major share in fulfilling democracy's promise must be the responsibility of the Indian people themselves. But the West can tactfully and humbly assist and encourage." Mr. Levi does not present an analysis of the many hard domestic problems in India which democracy must solve if India is to accept it and reject communism, but he at least names them. His preoccupation is with the containment of communism; to this end he sees India as the most important area of struggle in Asia, and in his exposition of this theme he has made a contribution to American understanding of Asian politics.

W. NORMAN BROWN

The Mayor of Lyons

IN THOSE DAYS: BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR. Memoirs of Edouard Herriot. Translated by Adolphe de Milly. Old and New World Publishing Company. $3.75.

FEW men have won the same measure of respect and affection as Edouard Herriot. Grand old man of French politics, perennial chairman of the Assembly and Mayor of Lyons, member of the Academy, he is the perfect example of the French *petite bourgeoisie.* But there is no taint of bourgeois stodginess in him, as there

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was in Poincaré; he is generous to a fault—America will remember that he alone opposed the repudiation of the war debts—and a delicate man of letters. Less vital than Clemenceau, he is saner and kindlier.

His Memoirs, in three volumes, will undoubtedly deserve a large and sympathetic audience. I deeply regret that the start is not more auspicious. This first volume deals almost entirely with Herriot's education and with his academic career. It contains innumerable allusions to traditions and practices wholly unfamiliar to the average American reader. Herriot's nostalgic references to the literary world of sixty years ago are wilted flowers strewn on crumbling tombstones. Who in America cares about Xavier Roux, Gabriel Vicaire, Georges d'Esparbès, Edmond Haraucourt, or even Uncle Sarcey? And who even in France remembers them, except my fellow-fossils? The translator should have been guided by a poem which Herriot quotes:

> Y aurait aussi du danger
> à parler tout l'temps d'not' vie;
> nous aurons des étrangers:
> sauraient pas c'que ça signifie. . . .

There are many other poems in this book, all in French: none but thorough French scholars could enjoy these pages. And people who know France and the French langauge will be irritated by the translation. M. de Milly has verve, and even style; but his text is strewn with boners, of the "Fractured French" type, not invariably amusing. The next two volumes ought to be important: the American version should be checked by a rigorous and competent critic.

ALBERT GUERARD

"Classic" and "Romantic"

DAVID TO DELACROIX. By Walter Friedländer. Translated by Robert Goldwater. Harvard University Press. $6.

THE original German edition of this book, which was written in 1930, has gained a strong following, and its reputation has steadily grown. Most studies of French painting from the Revolution to the mid-nineteenth century follow the culture of the period in terms of two opposing tendencies, classicism and romanticism. "Such terms," says Dr. Friedländer, "are unsuitable to contrasts of style or technique, whether in painting or in literature, because they refer to different levels of aesthetic experience; the one implies an ideal of form directly or indirectly dependent upon the antique, while the other describes the mood or sentiment which a creative artist expresses through the medium of his work."

Friedländer adopts instead a broadly art-historical approach. He looks for sources in the painting of the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially in the rival camps of Poussin and Rubens enthusiasts. Observing trends of style, he finds interesting parallels with the evolution of baroque out of Renaissance art, including the intervening mannerist and proto-baroque stages. Ingres, compared to Bronzino, and Prudhon, compared to Correggio, are related to the latter two phases of style; whereas Delacroix reestablished the baroque of Rubens as the prime vehicle of romantic expression in art. Estimate of the many-sided work of Géricault is left unresolved, as Géricault himself considered it to be, but the emphasis is properly placed on realism and Caravaggio as source, for Géricault leads more to Courbet than he does to Delacroix and the baroque.

Without arguing against Friedländer's thesis, it may be urged that "classic" and "romantic" do not necessarily refer to different levels of aesthetic experience. Each defined a basic attitude toward life, and the conflict between these attitudes is perhaps the major source of conflict in early nineteenth-century styles, even when they occur within the same artist, as they do in Ingres and Delacroix. In this sense classic implies something more fundamental than recollection of antiquity. It implies a yearning for stability and clarity; Cézanne exemplifies it as well as Poussin, and better than David's pseudo-classicism. Romanticism adumbrates the strange, the long ago and far away, the mysterious and the irrational—whether in violent or in sentimental vein. David's revival of the antique is therefore more romantic than classic in spirit. It is atune to Delacroix's revival of Dante and the Middle Ages. Indeed, David himself revived Dante a generation before Delacroix did, in the Death of Ugolino (1796), a little-known work which Friedländer cites.

In a text which runs to only 136 pages treatment of the major artists is necessarily summary, and some of the most interesting observations concern lesser figures. Trends of style, often compressed into polysyllabics, sometimes

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take on too much reality: the 'ism runs away with the man. Particularly convincing, however, is the treatment of conflicting elements within Ingres and Delacroix. In Ingres an archaizing trend, which was sometimes called "Etruscan," meaning early Greek, and sometimes criticized as "Gothic," constantly affected his announced attempt to assimilate Raphael and the forms of Greek and Roman art. In Delacroix the passion for Rubens was brought to measure by his passion for Raphael—and, we may add, Mozart. As theorist and clarifier, Delacroix is the very disciple of Poussin, not of Rubens. The Latin component of French culture is fundamentally opposed to baroque excess. Thus Delacroix's Rubens is as moderate as Italian baroque turns out to be after one has explored the South German variant.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Books in Brief

THE MURDER OF SIR THOMAS OVERBURY. By William McElwee. Oxford. $4.50. An almost perfect historical thriller. Overbury's poisoning by the Countess of Essex with the connivance of the Earls of Somerset and Northampton not only has the best qualities of a murder mystery but takes the reader deep into the complex and curious intrigues that centered around James I, "the wisest fool in Europe," in the days when the king's favor was the shortest cut to power.

THE GREEKS. By H. D. F. Kitto. Penguin. 50 cents. This is a charming little book, lucid, informative, nicely balanced and arranged, written with modesty, clarity, and a humor which has both its donnish and somewhat sharper aspects; the scholarship is thorough without being obtrusive. Not a few misconceptions are, courteously, cleared away; in particular, Chapter V, The Polis, is highly interesting.

RETURN TO ITHACA. By Eyvind Johnson. Thames and Hudson. $4. Everybody knows that the Odyssey is a great story, so great that it can endure even being retold as a modern novel. Mr. Johnson's version, introduced by Mark Van Doren, translated from the Swedish by M. A. Michael, is a tour de force, to be sure, but by no means tedious, in spite of some unassimilated chunks of the original material, a certain repetitiousness, and a rather dawdlesome tendency toward the close of the narrative. Mr. Johnson does not assume a superior, sophisticated, or condescending attitude toward Homer; his additions, subtractions, interpretations, and even evasions have some dignity, and his account is credible and readable.

AFRICAN FOLKTALES AND SCULPTURE. Folktales Selected and Edited by Paul Radin in Collaboration with Elinore Marvel. Sculpture Selected by James Johnson Sweeney. Published for Bollingen Foundation by Pantheon Books. $8.50. The labors of anthropologist and art critic are here combined in a magnificent publication. The 165 plates are much the finest available in any book on African Negro sculpture. Like the sculpture the eighty-one folktales, ranging from high myth to humorous anecdote, indicate an impressive degree of cultural sophistication and keen observation of human behavior. Despite the increase of knowledge and understanding of African art in recent years, the bronze and terra cotta heads from Ife (Nigeria) still stand out as artistic miracles rivaling the best in Greek, Gothic, and Cambodian sculpture.

PORTRAIT OF THE OLD WEST. By Harold McCracken. McGraw-Hill. $10. A generous collection of examples, in color plates, black and white, and line cuts, of the record in art of life on the Great Plains and in the Rockies from the first known picture of a buffalo—a woodcut of 1553—to Frederic Remington's last painting before he died in 1909. The illustrations are supplemented by brief but informed and intelligent biographical accounts of the thirty-odd artists whose work is reproduced and by an inclusive check-list of other artists who worked in the West. From the first half of the nineteenth century the Indian work of Catlin, Bodmer, and Wimar stands out; later Bierstadt and Moran develop the possibilities of romantic landscape; and the Old West goes off the scene in the action and genre pieces of Russell, Schreyvogel, and Remington. These artists and their fellows produced work of impressive documentary value, and some of them work of considerable artistic value. But to the lay eye at least the one original genius of the Western scene was the visionary Blakelock, whose obscure wanderings in the West led—how or why eludes Mr. McCracken's research as it has eluded that of others—to the remarkable metamorphosis of style that set him in a class by himself. At any rate Blakelock's haunted West of the inner eye seems the most lasting memorial in art of the great national episode whose iconography Mr. McCracken's book so admirably illustrates.

THE SELECTED PROSE OF BERNARD SHAW. Selected by Diarmuid Russell. Dodd, Mead. $6.50. Considerably more than half of Shaw's published work is non-dramatic prose, and the thousand pages of it in this volume provide a mere sample. Another anthologist might have wanted to give more specimens of his author's sheer comic exuberance and delightfully ingenious unreason, but there are solid sections from the early novels, the critical writings, and the sociological treatises. Besides being good reading in themselves, many are indispensable to an understanding of the paradoxes of Shaw's thought.

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Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

I MISSED the first presentation of Molière by the company of Mme Renaud and Jean-Louis Barrault and had to wait for the second. So it came about that I had my last sight of the troupe in what is, all things considered, its pièce de résistance. I would not have had it otherwise, for the performance was a fitting climax to a display of the arts of the theater whose like we shall probably not see again until the company comes for another visit.

It is a commentary on the state of our own theater and on the "greatest" city in the world that I have seen practically no performances of Molière (which is as if my Parisian counterpart had seen scarcely any of Shakespeare). I can't therefore make comparisons. I can only say that these performances of "Amphitryon" and "Les Fourberies de Scapin" seemed to me authentic in spirit, that they were beautiful to see and to hear, that they were utterly free of the stale air, the breath of condescension, that suffuses most revivals and yet were admirable as the period pieces they must, to a point, be. Period pieces. Yet what could be more "topical" than the jealousy of Amphitryon, the puzzlement confounded of the lovely Alcmene as portrayed by Mme Renaud, the practical fatalism with which the simple Sosie resigns himself even to the "fact" that somebody else is himself? As for the stupid Argante, the greedy Géronte, their lovesick sons, and the wily and incorrigible manipulator Scapin in "Les Fourberies," you know them all—only here they appeared not in business suits but in costumes and postures molded, with the fixative exaggeration of art, to their motives and behavior.

I was afraid that Barrault as Scapin might exaggerate too much—the temptation is great. To my taste he did not, and once more his dancer's control and use of his body had much to do with the force and beauty of his characterization. Knute Rockne used to make his football players go to the ballet. Ballet instruction should be part of every actor's training. (The effect it might have on opera singers is something to dream about.)

The décor of both plays was handsome, functional, and simple—and again patently inexpensive. As for the costumes, Mme Renaud's as Alcmene was properly glamorous and chic, the two Amphitryons were dressed to the nines in elegance, Jupiter appeared as a blaze of gold. In "Les Fourberies" Argante (Stupidity) was padded to be gross and was grossly dressed, Géronte (Greed) was a carefully shaped grotesque, tightly fitted—the better to display the legs bowed as if from the weight of money bags. Scapin was all lightness—white stripes on gray, white cap and shoes. There was a touch of the circus in the two acrobats who came on briefly now and then, but this note was not insistent. The servant Sylvestre was very much, perhaps too much, the lout and clown. Nérine, nurse of one of the girls, bent double and copiously weeping each time she appeared, was another farcical figure. The two girls looked pretty but had little to do. Zerbinette (Simone Valère) had her scene with Géronte and did it beautifully. Hyacinthe's scene with her lover, in which the innocent young girl displays a high degree of practicality, was missing.

"The Children's Hour" (Coronet Theater), which I did not see when it was first produced, struck me as the imaginary, clinically perfect case history which a specialist in the motives and behavior of children might draw up for the instruction of parents or students. As case study this examination of the child as monster has its fascination; it is also instructive. As play, it is well written and very well put together, but it is neither genuinely convincing nor genunely moving, not only because the child, Mary, is all monster but also because the behavior of the grown-ups and of Mary's child slave, Rosalie, is too perfectly, too predictably, suited to the monster's purposes. It is entirely possible that the child, the grown-ups, and the other children would make any one or several of the crucial and cruel moves that are made in the course of the play. What is unlikely is that the monster's course would be so consistently complemented and furthered by the reactions of every other human being she has to deal with. The sense of contrivance enters in very early, and once it enters in one watches the proceedings with horror—as Miss Hellman intended—but it is the horror that might be inspired not by human tragedy but by a grand guignol.

The part of the child is well played by Iris Mann. Katherine Emmett as the grandmother, Mary Finney as the flighty trouble-making aunt, Janet Parker as the child slave of the monster, and Patricia Neal as the tortured Martha Dobie are all excellent. Kim Hunter has the defensive and rather static role of Karen Wright. She is not very effective, but neither is the role.

The sets are good. So is the direction by Miss Hellman.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE third group of Columbia recordings of the 1951 Perpignan Festival is the most exciting of all, offering as it does performances of Beethoven chamber works with Casals playing the cello. Outstanding among these is the one of the Trio Opus 97 ("Archduke"), which inevitably one compares with the historic recorded performance by Casals, Thibaud, and Cortot. Listening to that performance again one is struck by the dissimilarity of the three artists, and by how wonderfully they operate together in a performance in which Casals's powerful tone and phrasing dominate the more delicate playing of Thibaud and Cortot. Listening then to the new recording one hears playing by Alexander Schneider and Eugene Istomin which has less grace and more force than Thibaud's and Cortot's, and one hears even this playing dominated by the increased power of Casals's tone and phrasing; but one hears again a wonderful working together of the three artists in a performance in which the first movement is more majestic, the great slow movement more profoundly reflective, the finale more brilliantly energetic.

After this it is astounding to hear on another record the delicacy of Casals's playing in an enchanting performance of the engaging Trio Opus 1 No. 2; and on a third record the similar reduced scale of his playing in beautiful performances of the uninteresting Trio Opus 11 and the infrequently heard Trio Opus 70 No. 2, one of Beethoven's occasional pieces in a less usual style, and quite charming.

On one side of the fourth record is the Sonata Opus 5 No. 2, with its impressive slow introduction to the engaging but excessively long first movement, and an engaging finale; on the other side are the two sets of variations on themes from "The Magic Flute." In the sonata Casals's magnificent playing is heard with pallid, characterless playing by Serkin; but the variations stimulate Serkin to a more satisfying degree of energy.

And the bonus record for those who buy the entire group offers a few minutes of a rehearsal of the Bach A minor Violin Concerto, in which one hears Casals achieve by vocal demonstration the kind of phrasing that is so exciting in the playing of the orchestral part—phrasing in accordance with his explanation to the orchestra: ". . . Every note is variety—this is what gives life—otherwise it's something dry . . ."

Surfaces, I regret to say, are gritty.

Another notable Columbia release is Beethoven's sixteen string quartets and Great Fugue played by the Budapest Quartet. The recording was done not in Columbia's New York studio but in the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Auditorium of the Library of Congress in Washington; and this made it possible for the musicians to use the Stradivarius instruments of the Gertrude Clarke Whittall Foundation. I wish I could report the hundred per cent success that the company's effort and the performances' excellence deserved; but actually, although the recorded sound doesn't have the ear-lacerating sharpness of the Budapest Quartet recordings of recent years, the cello sounds dry and hard (even with the necessary stepped-up bass), the violins sound edged and not agreeable, and the over-all sound is the worse for the terrific echo of the empty auditorium.

Comparing some of the performances with the ones of the same works on Victor records of fifteen years or more back, I have been struck first by the more beautiful recorded sound of the old performances—the warmth and richness of the lower strings, the sweetness of the violins. That sweetness is a reproduction of the sweetness which Roisman's tone actually had in those years, and which it hasn't had in recent performances at the Y. M. H. A. This is a deterioration in the performances that I have been aware of and written about; but now, comparing the old and new recorded performances, I have been astonished to hear with how much more fluidity, refinement of phrasing, and ensemble integration the Budapest Quartet plays today than it did fifteen years ago.

As it happens, London has issued Beethoven's Quartet Opus 59 No. 1 played by the Quartetto Italiano. The playing is fabulously beautiful; the treatment of the first movement is excessively nuanced to the point of affectation and distortion, and wrong for this

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music. The low strings are reproduced with voluminous richness and warmth; the violins without the radiance and luster they should have.

And London has issued a performance of Beethoven's Trio Opus 97 by the Trio di Trieste that is unimpressive after the Casals performance, and somewhat insensitive even considered by itself.

CONTRIBUTORS

FRANCES KEENE, who lived in Italy for many years, edited "Neither Liberty nor Bread," a documented history of Fascism as told by the opposition.

W. NORMAN BROWN is the editor of "India, Pakistan, Ceylon."

ALBERT GUERARD, professor emeritus of comparative and general literature at Stanford University, is the author of "The France of Tomorrow," "France, a Short History," and other books.

S. LANE FAISON, JR., chairman of the Art Department at Williams College, is *The Nation's* art critic.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Is Salt Lake City Like Atlanta, Georgia?

Dear Sirs: I would like to question *The Nation's* comment in its issue of December 6, 1952, regarding the appointment of Ezra T. Benson. You say Mr. Benson "would seem to represent the best in the social tradition of the Mormon church, which is of course high commendation." I would like to ask if you include in this highly commended "social tradition" the flagrant race discrimination that exists in Salt Lake City?

The National Young Republican Federation held their 1949 national convention in Salt Lake City, and one would have thought it was held in Atlanta, Georgia, rather than in a "Northern state." The Oregon delegation contained one Negro, and two or three other states had Negro delegates. The convention was held in the biggest hotel in Salt Lake City, which by the way is owned by the Mormon church.

The Negro delegates were refused accommodations in the hotel and were forced to rent rooms at $10 a day in a shabby apartment house in which five persons shared one bathroom. Negroes had to ride in the freight elevators and were not allowed to eat in any restaurant in the city except the one in the Union Station. Finally, we managed to "persuade" the management of the hotel, by threatening to withdraw the convention, to allow the Negro delegates to attend the convention sessions and the *official* banquets in the hotel, but on no other occasion could they eat in the regular hotel dining-rooms. It is my understanding that the city also enforced segregation on the city buses.

Just to add a further ironic note. The Oregon delegation decided after one of the sessions to go to a Chinese restaurant. The management of the restaurant refused to admit the Negroes who were with us. Only after our Chinese delegate—he had himself had to use a subterfuge to get accommodations in the hotel—who happened to be a wealthy importer, threatened to put the restaurant out of business were our Negro delegates admitted.

It is a known fact that Salt Lake City is governed by the Mormon church and that Mr. Benson is a member of the governing body of this church. Does he represent *this* particular "tradition"? Needless to say, prior to this experience, I had a high regard for the "social tradition" of the Mormon church, but in future trips across the country I will avoid Utah until it establishes a "tradition" of equality in its treatment of persons not born with white skins.

Portland, Ore. MARGIE TAYLOR

[*Mrs. Taylor's letter sheds further light on the treatment of Negroes by the Mormons, which was first described to* Nation *readers by Lowry Nelson in the May 24, 1952, issue.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

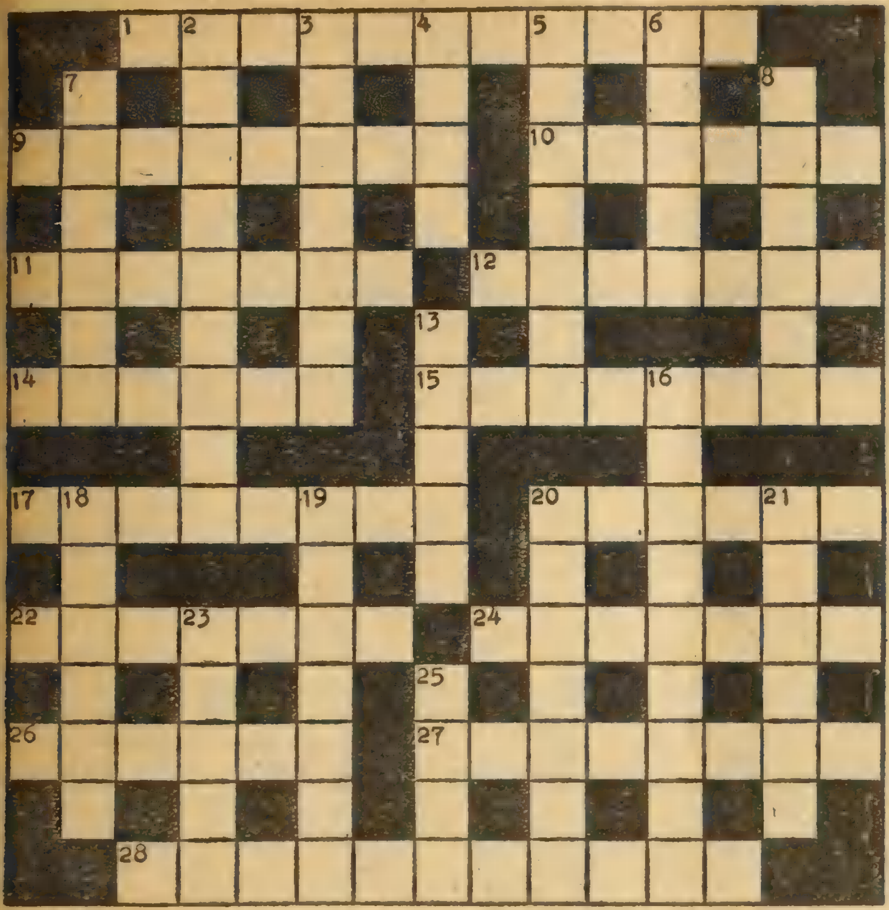
Gray Eminences

Dear Sirs: Delay in publishing my article on the Hollywood black list [*The Nation,* December 20] makes necessary this note of political clarification. The Gray Eminences of present-day America have no reason to fear communism. Their nightmare is Rooseveltism, a broad and unbeatable coalition of progressive forces of every coloration. At the time I wrote my article it seemed reasonable to hope that under so intelligent a man as Governor Stevenson, we might revive the era of F. D. R. But the philosophy of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., which was behind the Governor, was to fight McCarthy by accepting a limited McCarthy (the black list—but only for Communists), and to fight MacArthur by accepting a limited MacArthur (the action in Korea—but not the World War III crusade against Peking and Moscow). But with the right to blacklist Communists granted, the Gray Eminences have a weapon with which they can coerce every jury, bring lawyers and judges to their knees, line up editors and teachers, jail Hisses and Lattimores, and bring the Rosenbergs to the electric chair. And it is by defending the action in Korea that the country is handed over to the biggest demagogue, the loudest-mouthed jingoist, the craziest crier of "spy"; in short, thrown to the flying-saucer mountebanks who have never brought anything but disaster in their train. Yes, the blacklisted men and women of America, and particularly those not yet blacklisted but living in daily fear of it, do indeed need a Governor Stevenson, but Governor Stevenson, though he may not know it, needs them worse than they need him.

Los Angeles GUY ENDORE

Crossword Puzzle No. 497

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 How they make a farewell speech down in the valley? (11)
9 Little brother gets a form of colic at dinner, perhaps. (8)
10 Vehicle mentioned in "Travel" and "Automobiling." (6)
11 This cheese is not back on the sort of list well-known in England. (7)
12 Lamb or horse might be. (7)
14 Time for, a French-English version of Mrs. Roosevelt's column? (6)
15 Descriptive of the charmer's stock in trade. (It's little work with a Scot hid between.) (8)
17 Tennyson hoped to, with irritable counsel, perhaps. (8)
20 Gilded metal. (6)
22 Stealing a stroke? (7)
24 Suitable spot for a fag end? (7)
26 Eddie Cantor has, at least, a tribe in New York. (6)
27 This speed is practically acceptable. (8)
28 Everything repeated—with an example especially evident. (11)

DOWN

2 Shoulder raps? (9)
3 Saving a little company money, in a way? (7)
4 and 5 Painful with a cracked lip? Such skepticism! (2, 2, 2, 5)
6 18 is confused without a person of property. (5)
7 A recess, naturally? Not always. (6)
8 and 20 down Dark room? (6, 7)
13 Sort of drunk? Far from it, with those of Dutch extraction! (5)
16 After dinner this is steamed—to make it strong, perhaps? (9)
18 One war which might be expected to bring out character. (6)
19 Being as this is out of place, it shouldn't be hard to find in the Atlas. (7)
20 See 8 down.
21 Acquires information, with directions to follow the king, perhaps. (6)
23 Vessel which sounds as though it could be put away. (5)
25 The amount of land captured in the Third Crusade? (4)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. [illegible]

ACROSS:—1 STAGE BUSINESS; 10 GUMBO; 11 WOODCHUCK; 12 PITCH PINE; 13 REGAL; 14 AMBIDEXTROUS; 19 EDWARD GERMAN; 22 SUN-UP; 24 DEHISCENT; 25 GLISSANDO; 26 ORGAN; 27 GENERAL MOTORS.

DOWN:—2 TEMPTS; 3 GOOD HUMOR; 4 BEWAILING; 5 SHORE; 6 NICER; 7 STURGEON; 8 AGAPE; 9 SKYLESS; 15 EARTHWORM; 16 TRANSPORT; 17 MESSAGE; 18 SWAN DIVE; 20 VERGER; 21 ATONE; 23 PASTE; 24 DONNA.

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• • *Don't go unless you're ready to plan well ahead and to shop for travel bargains.*

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Mercy for the Rosenbergs—*Freda Kirchwey*

THE *Nation*

Burlingame, Calif.
JA 12 '53

January 10, 1953

MIRACLE OR MIRAGE?
Union for Western Europe
BY KARL LOEWENSTEIN

*

Dick Nixon: Art Commissar
Who Tried to Kill This Story?
BY GEORGE V. SHERMAN

*

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Dick Nixon: Art Commissar

San Francisco

THE business of rooting out the Communists and Communist sympathizers who infest the federal government should be fairly difficult—there are so many of them, according to the Republican press. But it should not be difficult at all to rid our federal buildings of Communist art. For one thing, no trial is necessary. And for another, no less a person than Vice-President-elect Nixon himself has already labeled much of that art as Communist.

As long ago as July 18, 1949, Mr. Nixon, then a member of the House, wrote to C. E. Plant, past commander of an American Legion post, regarding the paintings by Anton Refregier in the Rincon Annex of the San Francisco post office:

> I wish to thank you for your letter as to whether anything can be done about removal of Communist art in your Federal Building. . . . I realize that some very objectionable art, of a subversive nature, has been allowed to go into federal buildings in many parts of the country. . . . At such time as we may have a change in the Administration and in the majority of Congress, I believe a committee of Congress should make a thorough investigation of this type of art in government buildings with a view to obtaining removal of all that is found to be inconsistent with American ideals and principles.

In the matter of the Refregier murals Mr. Nixon's stand has powerful backing. Gordon A. Lyons, department adjutant of the California American Legion, in a letter to California Congressmen dated August 6, 1951, declared that the same view had been expressed by the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Associated Farmers of California, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Republican Women's Council, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, the Society of Western Artists, and various other groups.

There is one thing, however, which may slow up the elimination of Communist art. That is the fact that the major part of the Republican press, which has complained for so many years about Communist art in federal buildings, is now generally silent on the subject. For example, after the Nixon letter quoted above was published by the *Argonaut*, a San Francisco weekly magazine, on November 14, a staff worker in one of the three major wire services, each of which received a copy, wrote a story about the letter and controversy which was air-mailed to the New York office of the wire service. This story, however, never appeared. Even the four San Francisco daily papers, all strong supporters of the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket, let the subject severely alone, though earlier they had eagerly taken part in the Refregier-murals controversy. They continued to let it alone, as did the wire services, when the *Argonaut* on November 28 published the Lyons letter under the heading "Support Grows for Nixon in Ousting Red Art." And they also reserved comment after the staunchly Republican *Argonaut* took them to task on December 19 in a lead editorial entitled "The S. F. Daily Press and the Refregier Murals."

THE REASON for this evident conspiracy of silence is an interesting speculation. It could scarcely be unwillingness to offend Refregier, for though he won the Hallmark Greeting Card Company's annual $2,000 prize for a Christmas-scene painting last month, he is still the subject of a seven-page dossier in the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and thus by Congressional standards fair game, at least as a "fellow-traveler." It certainly could not be that the Republican press, surfeited with denunciations and viewings-with-alarm, feels that with the Republicans in power communism is no longer a danger and Red art no longer appealing.

Could it be fear of offending Mr. Nixon? Presumably the main office of the wire service queried Mr. Nixon about the story. Presumably also it would have used it if he had not objected. But to suppose that Mr. Nixon was opposed to publication of the story is to suppose that he has changed his mind about the murals, which implies either that he can no longer distinguish red so clearly as in the days of the Hiss trial or that his vision was cloudy then and is improving as he finds himself one heartbeat from the Presidency. Whatever the cause, his change of mind would be news, worth at least a stick of type in any paper or wire service that was not chiefly interested in sparing him embarrassment and thus sparing Eisenhower, who has already been sufficiently embarrassed by his teammate.

Perhaps the most plausible explanation for the silence imposed on the press is that Mr. Nixon's flat statement about Communist art in federal buildings was made solely for campaign purposes, in the interest not of the country but of his own advancement, and that being now safely in office, he does not wish to have the matter brought up again.

GEORGE V. SHERMAN

[*George V. Sherman is the pen name of a San Francisco journalist.*]

Happy New Year: Happy Days!

"The new era is here—for society. An era of lavish parties, with millionaires no longer afraid to release money openly for fun on the home front. Saturday night settled any lingering doubts as to the social safety of the splurge. Two enormous, extravagant debutante parties set thousands of dollars in motion around town."—*Nancy Randolph in the New York* Daily News, *December 29, 1952.*

"*Hollywood, January* 1—Wine, heady wine, flowed like a Texas oil gusher early today at this film capital's swankiest New Year's Eve party, tossed by a millionaire Texan. . . . The oilman, Tevis F. Morrow, spent more than $30,000 on the shindig to honor two of his Texas millionaire pals. He took over the swank Mocambo, with its two orchestras and three bars. Movie stars were among the 350 guests who danced the new year in in glittering bejeweled evening clothes and ten-gallon hats."—*Florabel Muir in the New York* Daily News, *January 2, 1953.*

THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

The Eighty-third Congress

The atmosphere of jolly good-fellowship in which the Eighty-third Congress met on January 3 should deceive nobody. It wasn't very real to begin with and it won't last. There is tension just under the surface among the Republicans, and conflicts are in early prospect between the parties, between factions cutting across party lines, and between Congress and the new Administration.

One of the first fights will be over the recommendations made by the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization. The commission's excellent report laid down a blue-print of specific proposals which will certainly be used as the basis for an early attempt to rewrite the McCarran-Walter law. Just as certainly it will not be accepted by the Eighty-third Congress, but since General Eisenhower is on record as favoring revision there is at least a chance that modest changes can be forced through.

It is perhaps symbolic of Republican intentions that Representative Joseph W. Martin, Jr., the new Speaker, should have designated a bill to slash income taxes as H. R. 1. How a big tax cut is to be combined with a big defense budget and a possibly bigger Korean war will doubtless be revealed when the time comes. But one has only to read Speaker Martin's welcoming speech to realize that strange ideas are moving through the heads of our new Congressional leaders. Bracketing communism and socialism as "twin evils" spawned by Marxism, the Speaker denounced both as a threat to representative government, peace, and liberty. "Here in the United States the drift to socialism has been steady," he remarked with a straight face.

Green Light for Investigations

To check this and other subversive drifts a whole new round of investigations is promised. Joseph R. McCarthy, chairman of the Senate's Permanent Investigating Committee, will start a new hunt for subversives in government and the educational system. Representative Harold Velde, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, will do the same. Senator Homer Ferguson, probably assuming Senator McCarran's place as head of the Internal-Security subcommittee, will carry on in the spirit of his Democratic predecessor. These three will engage in "loyalty" inquiries ranging from the government departments and the U. N. to school and college faculties, civic organizations, publishing houses; in fact, the range is likely to be as wide as the ambitions of the gentlemen in charge. According to William S. White, writing in the New York *Times* last Sunday, Senator McCarthy will probably "dominate this whole scene." His committee "has a mandate and jurisdiction that, for all ordinary purposes, are limitless." As the session opened, it did not look as if any effective resistance to this mania could be expected either in Congress or in the Administration.

Darkness at High Noon

The New York Film Critics made an excellent choice in selecting "High Noon" as the best motion picture of the year. It is the story, to quote the man who wrote it, "of a town that died because it lacked the moral fiber to withstand aggression." In addition to "High Noon," Carl Foreman has written the scripts for such fine films as "Champion," "Home of the Brave," "The Men," "Cyrano de Bergerac," and "Young Man with a Horn." In a way it is a pity that the announcement of the award could not have included excerpts from Mr. Foreman's dramatic and often moving testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Hollywood on September 24, 1951, in which he refused to answer questions about possible Communist Party membership although he had taken a voluntary oath that he was not a member of that or any party "dedicated to the overthrowal of the United States government by force and violence." For the fact is that despite this testimony—the record also included commendations from his commanding officers in the army and an award from the Paralyzed War Veterans of America for his film "The Men," which deals with paraplegic veterans—Mr. Foreman is blacklisted in the motion-picture industry today. Although many producers would doubtless like to avail themselves of his services as a writer—"High Noon" has been a great box-office success—none dares run the risks that might attach to any production bearing his name.

The hero of "High Noon" finds himself alone as, one by one, the fellow-townsmen to whom he desperately appeals for help in corralling a notorious killer and gunman put him off with excuses, each more feeble than the

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last. There must be times these days when Mr. Foreman feels that he too has been deserted by those who should have helped him stand off the bullies and tough guys whose aggressions have so largely destroyed the moral fiber of the Western town that goes by the name of Hollywood.

Snowballs Are Not Weapons

The president of the Canadian Catholic Federation of Labor, with 90,000 members in Quebec, has announced that if the provincial police are not withdrawn from Louiseville and the strike against Associated Textiles settled, there will be a general strike. A walkout of the unions would not affect Montreal severely, but it would hit hard at American-owned aluminum and paper mills and at textile plants. The C. I. O. steelworkers promise support. The unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. are not likely to do anything to offend Premier Duplessis.

This strike of 900 French Canadians against an American firm in a little town seventy miles down the St. Lawrence from Montreal has been going on since March. A few days ago it erupted into violence, after Paul Benoit, head of the Montreal anti-subversive squad, invoked the Riot Act. The police shot one man through the jaw, beat up several, arrested twenty-six and carried them off to Montreal.

The union went through all the lengthy negotiations and arbitration required by Quebec law before calling the strike. The issue then was wages and union security. Now, since the mill has been opened with 300 strikebreakers, some drawn from farms around the village, the main demand is for the dismissal of the strike-breakers and the rehiring of the old employees, including those arrested, who were mostly officers of the union. The bishop of Three Rivers has spoken for the strikers, and the local priest defends them, saying snowballs are not weapons against revolvers, and that the company seems determined to break the union.

The spokesmen for the union appeal to labor outside Quebec for help, a new attitude on their part. The Riot Act has now been lifted, and negotiations are going on. But there can hardly be a French Canadian who does not know by now that *nos gars* have been beaten up by Premier Duplessis' provincial police in order to break a strike against an American company.

Mr. Acheson's Knotted Cord

In his testimony before the House judiciary subcommittee on the role that the State Department has played in the employment of American citizens by the United Nations, Secretary Acheson, quoting William McFee, said he did not intend "to snatch the knotted cord from the hand of God and deal out murderous blows" to his associates. We applaud the sentiment but wish that Mr.

Acheson had been actuated by it more consistently. He and President Truman, asserting "executive privilege," have refused to give the subcommittee the names of middle-echelon State Department officials who "evaluated" material furnished them by the F. B. I. about American personnel at the U. N. But what about the thirty-eight American citizens working at the U. N. who have been publicly branded by the State Department as Communists or persons "believed to be Communists" on the basis of data which the F. B. I. has gathered but not evaluated?

The list of thirty-eight names was marked "secret" when it was first submitted to the McCarran committee, but by a little pressure the State Department was induced to change the rating to "restricted." The list might now be better labeled "notorious," since after being invested with immunity by inclusion in the committee's record, it has been put on the air and published in newspapers throughout the country. In submitting it John Hickerson, Assistant Secretary of State, mildly "cautioned" the committee that the department "might have erred" in naming these individuals. And well it might! None of the accused had been given a hearing, nor did the department act on the basis of sworn testimony, nor have the accused any appeal from the conclusions of the "evaluators," who remain nameless! In damaging, perhaps irreparably, the reputation of thirty-eight citizens without a semblance of due process, the State Department has indeed snatched "the knotted cord from the hand of God" and dealt a murderous blow to the rights of the individual American.

A Symbolic Bonfire

While the world's statesmen are busy slamming frontiers in each other's faces, it is mildly encouraging to note that more than a thousand persons from different nations gathered recently on the bridge of St. Louis between Italy and France to burn the wooden frontier posts and a great heap of passports. This cheerful bonfire was organized by the European Federalists and was attended by Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium, president of the European Constituent Assembly; Paolo Emilio Taviani, Italian Foreign Under Secretary; French Deputy Jacques Gérard, a member of the Council of Europe; and some Italian, French, and German Federalists. Signor Taviani was applauded when he said, "The edifice we want to build is not called French-Italian union; it is called Europe." The site of the symbolic unification ceremony was well chosen for it was across the bridge of St. Louis that the French Senegalese troops had rushed in 1940 to sack the Italian town of Ventimiglia and it was back over this bridge that the Italian troops had marched to occupy the French town of Menton. In the decades before the war many Italians crossed into France to find work. Today around Menton much of the terraced land lies fallow because there are not enough people to work it, while in Ventimiglia the unemployment rate is high and climbing. Let us hope everyone was listening last week when M. Gerard said, "Frontiers are the ruin of European countries, which are condemned to perish if they remain within their narrow and miserable national borders."

Budenz the Witness

The indictment of Owen Lattimore and the finding of the Loyalty Review Board that "reasonable" grounds exist to doubt the loyalty of John Carter Vincent—after twenty-eight years of service in the State Department—were necessarily closely related and nearly simultaneous acts. The failure of the Department of Justice to seek an indictment against Louis Budenz for perjury logically precipitated the ordeal that Lattimore and Vincent must now endure. Either Budenz was lying or they were lying. But Budenz could not be indicted without jeopardizing convictions that have already been secured on the basis of his testimony, as well as destroying his usefulness as a witness in future prosecutions. In addition to Lattimore and Vincent, Joseph Alsop, the columnist, has also directly contradicted Budenz. More recently, in connection with Budenz's appearance before the Cox committee, the following individuals have denied the charge of Communist Party membership he has leveled at them—namely, Dr. Linus Pauling, who has referred to Budenz as a "professional liar," Thomas I. Emerson of the Yale Law School, Walter Gellhorn of the Columbia Law School, Corliss Lamont, Ira Reid, and Carey McWilliams. But no matter how many individuals contradict him, Budenz will continue to enjoy complete immunity. Like Whittaker Chambers, he is a Witness Against Communism; therefore his motives cannot be questioned or his veracity impeached. He is today one of the most powerful individuals in this country, since, as a witness, he stands above the law.

A Fair Press?

As usual, the wire services and newspapers featured the Budenz slanders and ignored or played down most of the denials. For example, even the New York *Times* placed two denials back among the obits and the shipping news. An honorable exception was the York *Gazette and Daily*, which in reporting the testimony of Budenz dropped the names of those he had mentioned and identified them only as "a leading professor," "a philosopher who teaches at a prominent university," and so forth. "We have not published the names of those labeled Communist in this instance by Louis Budenz," the editor explained, "because we do not choose to spread libelous matter about some of them, considered by us to be high-minded Americans, and because such libelous matter has been furnished by a person whose credibility we doubt."

Mercy for the Rosenbergs

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

WHETHER Julius and Ethel Rosenberg live or die, their case will be tried over and over again in the minds of people everywhere. One need not question the ability or good faith of Judge Kaufman to recognize that there are weak spots in the evidence on which the Rosenbergs were convicted and sentenced. But at this eleventh hour such considerations are almost irrelevant. What remain important as the day of execution approaches are deeper considerations of humanity and mercy and an honest weighing of the Rosenbergs' offense against the irreparable punishment they face. It is not necessary to challenge their guilt; it is essential to ask whether the crime they committed, in the circumstances under which they committed it, justifies death. By refusing to grant the Rosenbergs judicial clemency Judge Kaufman last week reiterated his belief that it does.

Now President Truman must ask himself that question, and we profoundly hope he will find a different answer. Otherwise his conscience and that of the American people will be heavily burdened. We have not yet hardened ourselves to endure the ruthless dictates of "political justice"; we still reject concepts of vengeance and exemplary punishment. If the Rosenbergs die, we shall feel that both concepts presided at their execution.

It would be absurd to minimize the crime of which they were convicted. Whether or not it was "worse than murder," as Judge Kaufman declared, it was bad enough. But it was not treason, and it was not spying in behalf of an enemy country—however hard it is to keep that in mind in the atmosphere of cold war. Judge Kaufman takes issue with the frequent assertion that the Rosenbergs were guilty of peace-time espionage and that the death sentence is without precedent in such cases. They were sentenced, he says, for war-time espionage. "This court would not have the power to impose these sentences for peace-time espionage." But in thus demolishing one of the argmuents against their execution, he provides a new and possibly stronger one. For if their sentence is based only upon acts committed during the war, the contention that they were enlisted in a "conspiracy to destroy their own country" loses its force. Certainly they were not free to "decide for themselves" whether or not atom secrets should be given to Russia. But is not their undeniable guilt modified by the fact that Russia was our ally in the war and that our government was going to great lengths to keep it powerful and on our side? The Judge tries to brush aside this uncomfortable question by pointing out that the Rosenbergs' spying continued "right down to 1950." In doing so he falls into a trap of his own making—his previous assertion that peace-time espionage would not justify the death sentence.

The truth is, Judge Kaufman denies any validity to the extenuating effect of our war-time alliance with Russia by citing as a precedent the case of the German spies and saboteurs who slipped into this country in 1942. Few protests were heard, he says, against their execution after a military trial. He makes nothing of the fact that these spies were working for an enemy with which we were at war—our major enemy.

He ignores completely a further fact which would demolish this precedent, even were it a legitimate one. There were other German saboteurs who slipped into the United States after the lot he refers to. They were also tried and sentenced to death. But they were not executed while the war lasted, and when it ended and the problem of dealing with them arose, their sentence was commuted and they were sent to federal prison. The complete story of the German spies would provide an excellent precedent for reducing, not confirming, the sentence against the Rosenbergs.

THE Judge also did his best to counter the plea that the death sentence is far out of line with the penalties imposed for similar offenses in Britain and Canada. Klaus Fuchs, he says, received the maximum punishment possible under British law, and both Fuchs and Alan Nunn May pleaded guilty; in any case this country is under no obligation to "blindly follow the law of a foreign nation." One can only urge, in answer, that when our own law permits, we would do well to follow so pertinent an example of restraint and humanity. The alternative to a death sentence in the Rosenbergs' case would be a maximum of thirty years in prison, as compared with the fourteen years given Fuchs. Thirty years would seem to be enough to pay for the crime of espionage committed under the circumstances outlined above.

Recent petitions for clemency signed by such soberminded citizens as the Reverend Donald B. Cloward, Baptist leader of Mr. Truman's church; Professor H. Richard Niebuhr of the Yale Divinity School; Dr. Harold E. Urey, atomic scientist and Nobel prize-winner; Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, and several hundred more have strongly urged the moral duty of exercising clemency in this case. The latest petition, after conceding the fairness of the trial, declared that commutation of the death sentence would "provide a striking demonstration that the spirit and behavior of a democratic people can be . . . objective, restrained, and humane," serving as an example to "multitudes in all countries, including the totalitarian lands."

We commend these words to President Truman in the firm belief that no final act would better prove his courage and independence than the granting of clemency to these two convicted spies.

Nato: Arms and Politics

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THERE have been many theories circulating in the last days of 1952 as to the nature of what has become known as the "Atlantic crisis." While the first half of the year was characterized by a moderate optimism on the problem of recruiting the armies planned by the Western bloc, increasing alarm has been voiced since October. When the North Atlantic Treaty Council finally met in Paris on December 15, the prospects looked dark. It was feared that the ministers would fail to agree even on "infrastructure," the bases and communications building program. General Ridgway was asking for at least $473,000,000 for 1953 and 1954. He had to be satisfied with the $229,660,000 which was approved for bases and communications work. This was the result of hard bargaining, and in the last forty-eight hours General Ridgway had to adopt a very serious tone to obtain that much. The Council finished its tenth ministerial session in a spirit of consolidating and improving its existing resources in 1953 rather than considerably increasing them. The British were particularly active in keeping expenses below those authorized during the last twelve months, but no European member wishes the original figures restored.

It would be a mistake to underestimate the achievements of Nato, and the Russians will be the last to make that mistake. The objective, agreed to at Lisbon, of increasing the West's forces by the end of 1952 to fifty divisions and 4,000 first-line planes seems to have been "substantially achieved." However, while the Lisbon session had laid down a tentative target of seventy-five divisions for 1953, the final communiqué from Paris prudently refrained from mentioning a 1953 target.

Even more serious than the purely military difficulties concerning the number of divisions, first-line planes, and bases are the political and economic difficulties. In France both the conception of an Atlantic Pact and that of a European community have lost ground, and the Nato meeting was held in the shadow of the sensational attacks by Herriot and Daladier on German rearmament. The most thorny of all the problems lies in the unresolved contradiction that while Germany provides the central element in the American conception of Nato, the other members are more afraid of German rearmament than of anything else.

Another essential point is the contrary concept of Nato held by Europe and the United States. To Americans the difference between "containment" and "rollback" may not have great importance. The average American is apparently converted to the idea of an anti-Communist crusade—or so the election returns would suggest. But in the eyes of the average European there is an enormous difference between "containment" and "rollback" as applied to the Russian problem. Even officially, Western Europe, apart from Adenauer's Germany, which has identified its policy with the objectives pursued by Washington, has viewed with increasing alarm the evolution of the Atlantic Pact in the last three years.

The economic obstacles are well known. For the countries of Western Europe to rearm within the period asked for by the Americans would have meant forfeiting the hope not only of a balanced budget but also of new, much-needed industrial equipment and an adequate level of agricultural production. And this would lead fatally to economic crises, with the consequent aggravation of conflicts between the classes. Not even an old Conservative like Churchill could face such a prospect cheerfully. "It was [Mr. Churchill's] desire for a new look at the concept of European defense plans," wrote Ned Russell in the New York *Herald Tribune,* "that resulted at the recent Paris conference of the Nato Council in scrapping both the military program laid down at Lisbon last February and the even more elaborate program proposed by General Eisenhower in September, 1951."

But if the wish to avoid disastrous economic effects is a permanent factor, resistance to being led into a policy of challenging Russia has proved an even more effective brake. As I have insisted many times, it is upon the issue of German militarization that the question of war or peace is likely to be decided. The more the original character of the Atlantic Pact has been modified by the growing American tendency to talk about "liberation" rather than "containment," the greater has become the reluctance of the French and other Europeans to being thrown into the arms of the German generals. German rearmament at the service of the idea of "containment" was serious enough; but German rearmament under a concept of "liberation" looks to Europe like a fantastic risk.

The respite resulting from German and French delay in ratifying the treaties with Bonn was used at the Nato Paris meeting to gain yet another respite. During the present French government crisis, politicians of right and left have insisted that there is no hurry about the creation of the European army. The drive to delay a final commitment on Germany is precisely what is holding up the formation of a new Cabinet.

In view of these undisputed facts, it would be a dangerous oversimplification to judge the problems of Nato from a strictly military point of view. The military were naturally disappointed that the Paris meeting slashed expenses and declined to make certain decisions. But the politicians and statesmen have welcomed this indecision because it allows diplomacy to keep on trying to find solutions that will not destroy all the bridges between East and West. If this is not borne in mind, then the meaning of the Paris meeting will be lost.

European Union: Miracle or Mirage?

BY KARL LOEWENSTEIN

IN THE recent Presidential campaign American support of the unification of Western Europe, and of German remilitarization as its integral part, was the single non-controversial aspect of the foreign policy of the Truman Administration. Does such unanimity imply that American public opinion is genuinely bipartisan, or only that the current fixation on the containment of communism prevents a critical analysis of this issue?

The noble concept of European Union has made more progress in the last five years than at any other time in history. To some it appears to offer Europe its one hope of achieving prosperity on the American level by creating a single market. To others it represents a "third force" which might hold the balance of power between the colossi of the West and the East. To others the historical parallels with this country and other federal states are persuasive.

From the start two schools of thought have been in conflict on how to accomplish European Union. The federalists insist on the priority of a political authority with sufficient power over the national governments to achieve unification. The functionalists favor the gradual Europeanizing of important segments of economic life, leading ultimately to political federation. The Council of Europe, established at Strasbourg by the reluctant governments of the Brussels Pact states under pressure of the "European movement," was a lame compromise between the two approaches. All its brief history (since 1949) reveals its impotence, allegedly because the Council of Ministers stymied the programs of the ambitious Consultative Assembly; actually because the organization, aside from the unrepresentative character of its parliament-appointed delegates, was incapable of "selling" the European idea to the masses of the fifteen participating states.

However, a contributory cause of Strasbourg's failure was that it ran into competition with the American functional approach. Emphasis shifted from political to economic cooperation. The Marshall Plan (European Economic Cooperation), conceived and executed with the sound purpose of raising living standards and thus reducing the appeal of the Communist promise of salvation, measurably contributed to the economic recovery of most of the sixteen participating nations. But it fell short of serving as a vehicle for European unification. While making the aid-receiving nations aware of common European needs it did not promote their solidarity. Each was eager to cut for itself the largest possible slice of the American cake. Moreover, the assistance failed to filter down to the masses. With its understandable accent on free enterprise and its unavoidable intervention in domestic affairs, the Marshall Plan provoked resentment against the donors. Increasingly the recipient governments and their business communities demanded trade instead of aid, which the rising protectionism of the American Congress was believed to deny them.

Against this backdrop of the desire to emancipate Europe from American economic tutelage the Schuman, or rather Monnet, Plan must be evaluated. The plan provides for the pooling of the coal and steel resources of the six nations constituting the inner core of the Continent, or "Little Europe"—France, Western Germany, Italy, and the three Benelux countries. In proposing it the French pursued a triple aim: (1) to regain their prestige by assuming European leadership; (2) to create a single market for the bulk of production, thus freeing Western Europe from American charity; (3) to contain Germany's economic power by harnessing German heavy industry to European requirements.

No more revolutionary step toward European economic integration has ever been taken than formation of the Coal and Steel Community, which began to operate last August. Whether it was a leap into the dark or a well-constructed bridge leading to European unification, only time can tell. As yet the scheme lacks enthusiastic defenders except for the ministerial bureaucracies of the governments that fashioned it—and the American government, which worked ceaselessly for its completion. Big business is suspicious of its potentiality as a machine for super-national planning, and labor is suspicious of it as a super-cartel and as official recognition of technocratic and managerial control. About its undemocratic character there is no doubt. The "Assembly" is only a democratic façade. To satisfy federalist aspirations, a Constitutional Committee was created to draw up a political constitution for Western Europe, under which the Coal and Steel and the Defense communities and other future European organizations would be operated by common European organs. It is hoped that this attempt will improve on the Strasbourg record.

Whatever the objections, there will be few who would not indorse the effort to build an economically integrated Europe, ending the internecine competition of fragmented nationalisms. But the plan is vitiated by two grave and seemingly incurable defects: (1) it is applied

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KARL LOEWENSTEIN is professor of political science at Amherst College.

to a truncated Europe in which the Iron Curtain has cut off Western production centers from their complementary food and raw-material sources as well as from their markets in the East; (2) Britain does not and will not join. Both British parties are adamantly opposed to a merger of sovereignties that would withdraw large segments of the national economy from parliamentary control and would be irreconcilable with Britain's position in the Commonwealth of Nations and the Empire.

GIVEN time for development and adjustment, the chance of European economic unification is by no means bad. But organic growth is stunted by American pressure to recruit military allies in the cold war. European militarization has superimposed on European unification an element wholly alien to and, possibly, destructive of it. American opinion has been misled into believing that common defense against a possible aggressor is a powerful incentive to unification. Nothing is farther from the truth. The Western Europeans are by no means indifferent to the danger from the East, but they do not share the American belief in its imminence or in the ultimate showdown which would turn their lands into uninhabitable radio-active swamps.

The reasons for such optimism are complex. The European governments must choose between spending their insufficient revenues on economic rehabilitation or on rearmament. If the latter is chosen, the living standard of the masses will drop to a point where they may be susceptible to Communist blandishments; this, in turn, would endanger existing middle-of-the-road governments, none of which are supported by a reliable majority. There is no escape from this dilemma, since under the Mutual Assistance and Mutual Security acts American financial aid to civilian economies has been sharply reduced. No wonder that Nato, the first result of America's search for allies, is unpopular, believed to be aimed as much at providing us with a glacis and man-power in a war against the Soviets as at serving European defense needs. Pentagon pressure overreached itself at Lisbon. By now American opinion unhappily realizes that the military commitments undertaken by Europe had to be scaled down drastically, though in view of the existing military build-up a Russian invasion of Western Europe would be no longer a walkover.

Moreover, to the European governments and their peoples the immediate fear of Germany has begun to overshadow the more remote fear of Russian expansion. Germany's recovery has outstripped that of all other Western European nations. The neighbors look at Germany without the roseate glasses of John J. McCloy. The same ruling class that carried the Reich into the First World War and flung itself with Hitler into the Second is in the saddle again. Denazification has failed signally; democratization as yet has made not much of a dent in the authoritarian habits of the government. When the Truman Administration convinced itself that Western Europe could not be defended without German divisions, Europeans became deeply alarmed.

To counter the danger of German membership in Nato or, what seemed even worse, the remilitarization of Germany on an independent basis, the French announced (October, 1950) the Pleven plan for a European army in which the national contingents of the six Schuman Plan nations would be merged. The French skilfully dressed this up as another instalment of European unification. The Adenauer government eagerly took the bait: for its share in Western defense Germany would win, through a replacement of the onerous Occupation Statute by "Contractual Relations," its full sovereignty. After most difficult negotiations, in which the United States was more than an innocent bystander, the six governments signed the European Defense Community (E. D. C.) treaty on May 27, 1952. Again it is to be noted that the group is confined to "Little Europe," controlled by Catholic governments, and that the British stayed out.

E. D. C. has little to do with European unification. It is a shotgun marriage in which the American government, in the person of High Commissioner McCloy, served as the by no means disinterested marriage broker. Nor are the motives of the partners more than superficially "European." To the French it offers the chance of delaying full-scale and uncontrolled German rearmament. Germany's misgivings about remilitarization are alleviated by the prospect of regaining its position of hegemony, with an American alliance in the bargain. What the French fear, and the Germans cannot but hope for, is that the German territories lost to the East will become a European problem which may easily drag the partners into a war they abhor. Once again militarily strong, the Germans may act on their own, either forcing Moscow to agree to German unification on their terms or, failing this, trading unification for an economic alliance with the Soviets. If this contingency may seem remote to those who take the present German aversion to communism at its face value, they should recall the tremendous temptations the East has to offer German industry and labor in the industrialization of Asia, particularly of China. Moreover, cooperation with Russia conforms to German tradition, which from Frederick the Great to Rathenau and Ribbentrop considered it the rock-bottom principle of national foreign policy.

DURING recent weeks progress toward European unification has come to a screeching halt. In both France and Germany ratification of the E. D. C. treaty has run into road blocks. France, militarily tied down in its hopeless struggle in Indo-China, shrinks from underwriting German rearmament, which, once legalized, no

Proposals for Peace–III

BY JOYCE CARY

THE only hope for peace is an international law with teeth, and some world power not afraid to use the teeth. That does not exclude a democratic system for the nations. The United States is a federation under law, but it is also democratic. In fact, a democratic system is required, for a legal system must be modified and developed to meet new situations. If you say that a federal system is not applicable to the world problem because the nations have different languages and religions, the answer is that the Swiss Federation includes three different languages and two different religions, and also that the old empires, from the Roman to the British, which secured peace throughout most of the world for long periods, maintained the law over a great variety of peoples in every stage of development.

The imperial system is out of date; it could not handle the new violence of national agitation. But it had to be replaced, and so we saw first the League of Nations and then the United Nations assuming responsibility.

If the United Nations should fail for want of teeth, you may be sure that some other authority will take its place. World government is already in sight, although probably at a considerable distance. What that distance is nobody knows, or what the difficulties, perhaps the wars, by the way. But it is certainly coming, and this is a good hope for all New Years.

[Joyce Cary is a distinguished British novelist. His latest book is "Prisoner of Grace." Others which have been widely read in this country are "Mr. Johnson," "The Moonlight," "Herself Surprised," "The Horse's Mouth," and "A Fearful Joy."]

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power on earth could restrain within treaty limits. The German generals, from Scharnhorst to Seeckt, were past masters in circumventing them.

Objections to ratification on the German side are more complex. The Saar issue has now officially taken the place of Alsace as the trouble spot in Franco-German relations. The settlement favoring France in the elections of November 30, 1952, is accepted by German nationalism as only temporary. Ratification is also opposed by the neutralist and pacifist movement supported primarily by the Protestant church, which is alarmed at the prospect of a "Little Europe" of Catholic states. German youth of all classes is genuinely anti-militarist. Yet Dr. Adenauer's crude and America's subtle persuasion are slowly reconciling German opinion to remilitarization and conscription. Powerful pressure groups of war veterans, shot through with old and new Nazis, see their day dawning.

Opposition to rearmament is spearheaded by the strongest party in the Bundestag, the Social Democrats, and the affiliated trade unions. It should be well understood that the Socialists are by no means hostile to European unification. Opposition to the treaty has three chief sources: (1) It would permanently block reunion with Eastern Germany, since the Soviets would never agree to a united Germany tied to the Western defense system. Aside from emotional reasons, unification would serve the Socialists' political interests because with Eastern Germany added they would be sure of an electoral majority. (2) Remilitarization would further intrench heavy industry, traditionally allied to the military technocrats. At least in Germany militarism and democracy have proved incompatible. The government's intention of creating a "democratic" army instead of the Prussian type of the past is given little credence. Even in the United States the civilian government finds it at times difficult to check the military. (3) The Social Democrats are the only post bellum party that takes seriously the democratic premises and procedures of the Bonn constitution.

WERE American opinion less obsessed by the cold war, the recent constitutional crisis in Germany arising from the ratification struggle would have found more understanding here. The legal and political implications of the case before the Federal Constitutional Court at Karlsruhe are far too complex to be treated in one short article. Their essence is briefly this: When the Bonn constitution was drafted, it deliberately omitted any provisions about military powers. Militarization was prohibited by Allied Control Council legislation. Though the latter by now has fallen into abeyance, it still remains necessary to add to the constitution provisions for the exercise of military powers and to assign such powers to specific government organs. The Socialist contention seems incontrovertible. Since the required constitutional amendment can be adopted only by a two-thirds' majority, for which Social Democratic votes are indispensable, the government is trying to sidestep the amendment by the specious argument that it can proceed to set up the military establishment and introduce conscription on the basis of the provision of the constitution (Article 24, Section 1) which authorizes it, by simple majority, to transfer sovereign rights to international organizations. Months ago the Federal Constitutional Court was requested by both the Social Democratic Party and the federal President, Dr. Heuss, to decide this constitutional issue. All contestants are supported by an unprecedented barrage of expert legal artillery. For Germany this is the first and the crucial test of the new constitution.

Dr. Adenauer and the authoritarian-minded bureaucracy which writes his briefs are fully aware that, if left to legal arguments alone, the court as the custodian of the constitution would rule against them. By deft procedural maneuvering they have succeeded in casting doubt on the political impartiality of the court and by inducing President Heuss to withdraw his request have damaged his prestige and that of the court as well.

How the court, under these pressures, will decide—possibly next month—is difficult to foretell. But this much is certain: if the decision goes to the government, ratification of the defense treaty by a subservient parliamentary majority will not be accepted by the Socialist opposition or public opinion in general. If, however, a constitutional amendment is required, the treaty is doomed for the time being, at least until after the election next summer, in which the Socialists hope to win a majority. With the defeat of the treaty, the American government would also be defeated. If the Germans fail to ratify it, France and the other partners, with great relief, will likewise refrain from ratification. In other words, the miracle European unification according to the American formula will become a mirage.

What, then, are the chances of European unification? Americans would be well advised to regard it, not in the abstract terms of a desirable goal for strengthening the free world, but in the realistic context of the German problem. For the time being two currents carry the European idea. There is on the one hand the sincere Europeanism of an intellectual élite. This, however, has not penetrated the masses, and without a mass basis it will not succeed. On the other hand the idea of unity is stimulated by the urgent desire of Germany's neighbors to contain its resurgent power within the limits of a European organization. But fear and distrust are too rickety a foundation to hold up an enduring European structure. The two currents, therefore, are mutually contradictory. If European unity, the Grand Design of our time, fails because for political reasons it is coupled with military expediency, it may suffer a setback from which recovery will take more time than mankind can afford.

Letter to General Eisenhower

BY JOHN COLLIER

THE Indians of the United States and Alaska are looking to you, General Eisenhower, for rescue. I state their case bluntly.

Since May, 1950, an attempt has gone forward to wreck the federal Indian Service, repudiate the Indian-trusteeship obligation of the United States, and spread palsy through Indian group and individual life. Merely to stop this administrative and social genocide will not be enough. A work of healing, of reconstruction and new construction, is desperately called for.

The matter is more important than the size of our Indian population would suggest. There are 450,000 Indians in this country and Alaska, but there are more than 40,000,000 Indians south of the Rio Grande. The trusteeship obligation of the United States toward its Indians is our oldest national obligation toward any minority group and is buttressed by treaties between the United States and hundreds of sovereign Indian tribes, by numerous statutes, and by an unbroken line of Supreme Court pronouncements.

It is for its bearing on the future that I summarize here the policy and practice of the last two and a half years in Indian relations. But before doing so I wish to recall the things that were attempted and done by Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt and by President Truman in his first five years.

JOHN COLLIER, formerly Commissioner of Indian Affairs, is now president of the Institute of Ethnic Affairs. He is the author of "Indians of the Americas."

The Hoover-Roosevelt Indian policies were undeviating. First, the responsibility for service to Indians was distributed among the branches of the federal government which serve everybody else, such as the United States Public Health Service, the Department of Agriculture, the Social Security Board. The ratio of services by the Indian Bureau to services to Indians by all federal agencies was consistently cut down.

Second, with statutory authority, responsibility for service to Indians was shifted steadily to the states and their subdivisions. The bulk of all Indian children were placed in local non-federal schools. Health services in most of the Midwest and the Northwest and along the Pacific Coast became a state function.

Third, Indian tribes and local groups were permitted and helped to organize for mutual aid and, in regions where conditions required it, for limited local self-government. This development of Indian self-help, pursuant to statute, was underwritten through more than 200 constitutions and charters. Indian economic production was greatly increased, and Indians proved themselves to be the safest credit risk in the United States.

All these Hoover-Roosevelt policies were carefully worked out within the letter and spirit of the treaties, Congressional agreements, and other bilateral commitments between the government and the Indians.

I come now to the year 1950, when Dillon S. Myer was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Mr. Myer had gained distinction through his proper action in breaking up with great rapidity the concentration camps into which 110,000 Japanese American citizens and their parents had been imprisoned after 1941. These camps of the War Relocation Authority had no possibilities for permanence. The people in them were heterogeneous groups, herded in from many neighborhoods and held there by force. They had no proprietary interest in the camps and never considered a future there.

When he became Indian Commissioner, Mr. Myer carried over from the War Relocation Authority his formula of "withdrawal" and "relocation." But the Indians live in genuine and permanent human communities; their reservations and other homelands are theirs by proprietary right; their status is not that of prisoners of the United States but of citizens, with all the constitutional rights of citizens.

There have been other paroxysms of "withdrawal" in United States Indian affairs, from as long ago as 1870 on. Invariably the result was to turn Indian property over to whites, demoralize the community life and personality of the Indians, increase the costs of the Indian Bureau, and multiply its arbitrary controls over the group and personal transactions of Indians.

COMMISSIONER MYER'S pseudo-"withdrawal" has been like the earlier ones. The budget of the Indian Bureau has been doubled, not diminished; for the current fiscal year Mr. Myer tried to treble it. Administrative controls have been wound like Gulliver's threads around Indian political, industrial, and personal life, and Indian properties have been thrown open to white seizure.

Moreover, this "withdrawal," like the others, has been welcomed by certain elements in Congress whose chief interest is the separation of Indians from their lands, water rights, and other properties. Like other "withdrawing" commissioners, Mr. Myer has built a Congressional machine which has tried to dominate the Secretary of the Interior and to inhibit the actions of the Chief Executive in relation to Indian affairs.

The consequences, in the large, have been to drive out of the Indian Service much of its best personnel, to paralyze or misdirect the people not driven out, to swell the power of faithless Indian Bureau officials, and to create in the tribes a feeling of desperation and mounting wrath.

I have stated that the distribution of Indian Bureau responsibilities among other federal agencies, the states and their subdivisions, and the tribes themselves was proceeding consistently and rapidly before 1950. Under Commissioner Myer these decentralizing trends have been stopped. The Indian Bureau has been steadily recapturing authority, and the operation has been described with complete falsity as the "withdrawal of the Indian Bureau."

The history of Indian affairs has been determined, as I said, by treaties and other bilateral agreements, by a great many statutes, and by Supreme Court decisions. This history is not over but is being continued in these commitments and in the implementation of federal trusteeship. The drive of Commissioner Myer has been toward the administrative eluding of the bilateral agreements and of the constitutional and civil rights of the Indians and also, through attempted legislation, toward the bilateral destruction of the contractual commitments. With Indian consent if he can get it, without Indian consent if necessary, Commissioner Myer has sought to destroy the trusteeship system both by administrative action and by attempted legislation.

The reason why it is not improper to dwell on the immediate past in this open letter can be stated in a few words. The immediate past could become the lethal future.

The program called "withdrawal"—which is no withdrawal, but a renewed concentration of control in the Indian Bureau—has won important Congressional support. Not because it has produced financial economies: it has produced great financial extravagances. No, simply because the Indians have large properties which they can protect under federal trusteeship and cannot protect under the Myer program.

But there is a greater danger than the selfishness of Congressmen, and it makes one fear that Commissioner Myer's plans may go on even though he does not go on as commissioner. This danger is the trend, with which we are all sadly familiar, in American life at this moment to consider that human, social, and ethnic "differentness" —anything that holds itself out from the fiction of the American melting-pot—is anti-American, un-Christian, outmoded, and perhaps disloyal or barbarous.

The United States has not only its Indian responsibility. The United States is in the world, as you, General Eisenhower, so fully know. And that world is a world of human, ethnic, and cultural diversity. If the administrative assumptions of the last two and one-half years were to be carried over by the United States from Indian affairs to the world, the results would be fearful indeed. But what we cannot curb in our behavior at home, we may not be able to curb in the wide world.

I urge you, General Eisenhower, to do much more than just replace Commissioner Dillon S. Myer with a man of good-will. Commissioner Myer is a man of good-will. I urge you to find an Indian commissioner with sophisticated understanding of the basic American concept of due process of law, with respect for human differences, and with sympathetic knowledge of the facts of Indian life. I beg you to give your personal attention to the situation that has been brought fatefully into being in the last two and one-half years. If you will give attention to the subject—your own attention—there can be no fear as to the event.

A Season of Purges

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

THE tone of the London *Daily Worker* is seldom defensive, and its stridency has increased as the paper's circulation has dropped. Communist Party membership also has fallen from a peak of 60,000 in 1945 to 30,000; the party is no longer represented in Parliament, and its influence in the country, except in certain key trade unions, has been reduced to a fraction of what it was at the end of the war. On one subject, however, the *Daily Worker* had been very much on the defensive for weeks—the recent Prague trials and the charges of anti-Semitism arising from them. Thus when the Jewish Board of Deputies recently announced that it would hold a protest meeting, the *Daily Worker* gently reminded it that the Communists had held no such meeting to protest against the rearmament of Germany and that anyway the chief rabbi of Czechoslovakia had told the *Daily Worker's* diplomatic correspondent in Prague, himself a Jew, that no anti-Semitism existed there.

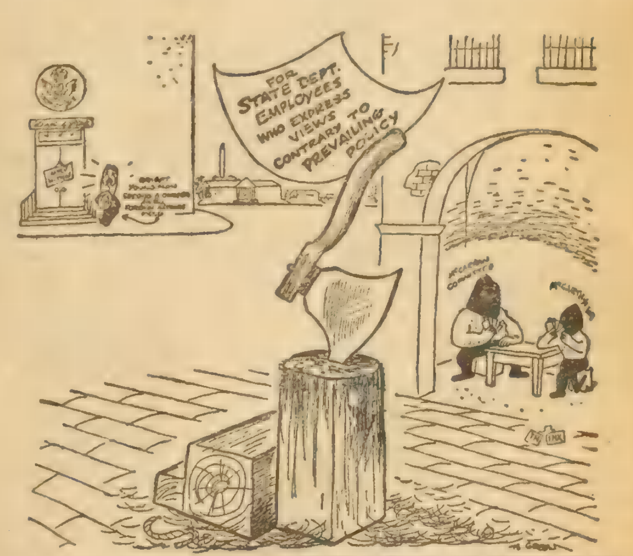
This was the first Communist trial that British leftists could watch with any background knowledge enabling them to judge it. In previous Moscow-style trials few persons in this country had had any contact with the accused. But three of the men hanged in Prague had spent the war years in London—former Foreign Minister Vladimir Clementis, who was in the Benes government in exile, and Otto Sling and Ludwig Freyka (originally Freund). Freyka was a Sudeten German Jew who joined the Communist Party in his youth and became editor of the Sudeten edition of the German Communist daily *Rote Fahne*. This was a dangerous job, particularly for a Jew, when Hitler was taking over the Sudetenland. After the Nazis marched in, a fund to which many prominent British liberals contributed was used to bring Freyka, among other Jewish refugees, to England. The fact that he was rescued from the Nazis by a "capitalist organization" was one of the charges against him. As a final degradation, Freyka was forced to attack those who had once saved him.

To Britons the Prague charges appeared particularly ridiculous because of their references to ex-Member of Parliament Konni Zilliacus and the foreign correspondent of the *New Statesman and Nation*, Alexander Werth. "I can imagine Konni as a ballet dancer as easily as I can imagine him as an 'imperialist agent,'" one M. P. said jokingly. Both Zilliacus and Werth have, as a matter of fact, been particularly unswerving in plowing a left-liberal furrow, although self-interest would have made both of them bear to the right.

The disillusionment caused by the Prague trial has hit the Communists where it hurts: they have lost ground among the middle-class intellectuals whose names they desperately need to make an impression in a country that still venerates respectability. One of those who said they had had a "revulsion of political feeling as a result of the recent judicial proceedings in Prague," was Benjamin Frankel, a British composer and musician who had been a party member for twelve years. He wrote to the *Daily Worker* to protest against the "indecent haste with which the ultimate penalty" was being applied, but found its pages closed to him, and he had to announce his resignation in the correspondence columns of the *New Statesman*. The number of approving letters he has received from former party sympathizers proves that many fellow-travelers have been similarly affected. He had made many allowances, he said, for what he considered undemocratic procedures in Communist countries because these countries had no democratic tradition. But when they occurred in Czechoslovakia, his eyes were opened.

After Frankel's public apostasy, it was learned that a number of other resignations had been handed in privately. Mervyn Jones, the successful young novelist, disclosed that he had resigned eighteen months ago. Many people have hoped for a statement from Dr. J. B. S. Haldane, who quit the party quietly in 1951 because he could not swallow Lysenko.

The Prague trial, by causing a revulsion against com-


FOR STATE DEPT. EMPLOYEES WHO EXPRESS VIEWS CONTRARY TO PREVAILING POLICY

Courtesy Providence *Sunday Journal*

Tending to Dampen One's Ambition

ANDREW ROTH is a contributing editor now writing from London.

No Comment

Washington—A request that all Indiana universities and colleges bar New Deal professors who have worked with the last two Democratic administrations was made today by Republican Representative John V. Beamer, Wabash. He addressed letters urging this blacklisting to the five colleges in his district—Taylor University and Huntington, Marion, Anderson, and Manchester colleges. He also sent it to Indiana, Purdue, and Notre Dame universities and Wabash College. His letter states that it is his hope that the Indiana schools will not employ on their teaching staffs those who have been "espousing and promulgating the cause of socialism or communism in various ways. . . . He feels that they could further poison the minds of the young people, who are in their plastic age."—*Evansville, Indiana,* Press, *December 9.*

munism, might have made the United States more popular here in comparison had it not been followed by the indictment of Owen Lattimore. This reminded people that the United States, in fighting communism, has taken over some of its conformist pressures. When Professor Lattimore was here last January he impressed everyone with his moderation: his position on China was even more conservative than that of the British business men with whom he worked in China in the '20's.

People who had been shocked by the brutal opportunism of the Communist judicial system in Prague were somewhat upset to read in the *Times* (December 8) that the Lattimore indictment was "ordered by the [American] Attorney General soon after the election results were known. . . . In initiating the Lattimore trial, it is pointed out, the Truman Administration is covered whatever the result may be. It would, of course, be satisfactory to the Administration if the professor's innocence were proved by the court in the first few months of Republican rule." But if it is not, Mr. Truman can claim that his Administration had him indicted. It is not the man's innocence but the best interest of the party that counts in Washington as in Prague.

Of course there is a considerable difference between the two legal systems. Instead of two years or so of solitary confinement and psychological torture, Mr. Lattimore has only had three years of McCarthy-McCarran harassment. Instead of facing a farcical trial, Mr. Lattimore will be able to fight, with skilled legal aid, for his complete vindication. And if he is none the less convicted he will not hang. There *is* a difference, even if Mr. Lattimore cannot be expected to be greatly impressed by it at present.

Chaim Weizmann

BY NAHUM GOLDMANN

Jersusalem

CHAIM WEIZMANN was perhaps the most perfect synthesis in our time of the two great geographic-cultural trends that have shaped the contemporary Jew; no other man of our time has combined to such an extraordinary degree Eastern European Jewishness and Western European culture.

He was not a traditional Jew in the religious sense, but he had a profound reverence for Jewish tradition in all its forms. The story has been told of him that in the days of the blitz in England he would take the Bible to the shelter with him and read it for hours. This was not motivated by the superstition so common in the face of death. It was a characteristic expression of his inseparable link with Jewish discipline.

His deep attachment to his family, so movingly expressed in his autobiography, was part of his attachment to all traditional Jewish forms. The quality and habits of his intellect were typically Jewish. His was primarily an analytical mind, accustomed to antithetical thinking; it was an agile mind, and brilliancy in dispute and argumentation was his in an extraordinarily high measure.

Dr. Weizmann had that propensity for irony which is also characteristic of so many Jewish minds and is a reflection of the garnered heritage of an ancient people too wise to be impressed by ephemeral achievements. He possessed the combination of skepticism and faith typical of the Jews as a whole, skepticism with regard to powers that pass with the day and unshakable faith in the eternal values.

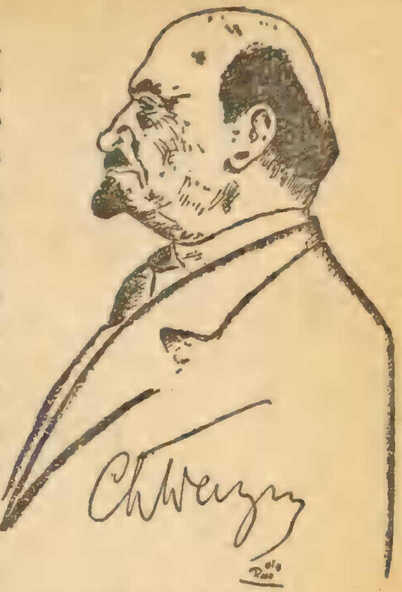
As he moved among the so-called great of the world, he bore himself proudly, unawed by titles, rank, or sweeping authority. There was a touch of good-natured sufferance in his dealings with rulers and statesmen. He regarded himself as their equal, not as a person but as the chosen representative of a people that had seen empires crumble, that had survived precisely because of its confidence in the victory of righteousness over persecution, torment, and the hostility of powerful leaders. He never for a moment doubted the final victory of Zionism.

DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN is chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency and head of the World Jewish Congress.

This gave him enormous pride and dignity as a representative of his people.

The beginning of his Zionism cannot be anchored to a date. Chaim Weizmann was born a Zionist. He often told how at the age of eleven or twelve he wrote a letter to his teacher in Motele expressing his faith in a Jewish state. His Zionism was never simply political. For him Zionism was the fusion and realization of the greatest traditions of Jewish history, an obligation to implement the values of Jewish civilization by casting them in the pattern of a modern state. The teaching of the prophets, the imperatives of the Bible were for him no less an integral part of Zionism than its political aspirations. He had a deep faith in the power of moral ideas. While conceding that political and physical power may be indispensable in carrying out an ideal in the framework of the grim realities of history, he never believed that these instruments were decisive. He abhorred terror, not for reasons of political expediency or for fear of the superior might of the British, but because he could not acquiesce in the theory that the noble aim justifies ignoble means. Zionism was to him, above all, a manifestation of the creativeness of the Jewish people. He envisaged a Jewish state great not in terms of territory or population, but in a cultural and moral sense. Notwithstanding his happiness over the establishment of Israel, with himself as its first President, he was sometimes disturbed, in his last years, because this aspect of Zionism had been so little implemented.

Weizmann was a great scientist. He could certainly have become one of the top chemists of our time had he not lavished most of his energy upon Zionism. He absorbed and assimilated all the riches of Russian, German, French, and English culture. But even greater than Weizmann the Jew or Weizmann the scientist was Chaim Weizmann the man. All who were granted the grace of working with him were solemnly aware of his quality. He was an artist, even in his science, and most definitely in his political genius. More profound even than his intellect was his intuition. I have been told by scientists that his greatest successes were achieved not by logical calculations but by inspired intuition. I can testify that this was also true of his political achievements. He was an artist, clinging to the precipice of his nerves, dominated by moods, and highly sensitive to atmosphere. His was not a cold, matter-of-fact world; he could not tolerate the presence of hostile opposition. He had to be surrounded by friends, warmth, sympathy. He was temperamental; he could hate and love, rage and forgive. He was spontaneous and often said and did things that ran counter to all political calculations and brought him harm. He exposed himself to attacks, was incautious in his utterances, and had nothing but supreme contempt for scheming. His was the self-assurance of a genius, and he refused to do things incompatible with his tastes and his innermost nature. He was, like all artists, an aristocrat, claiming the right to his own methods, refusing to be forced into the strait-jacket of party politics or party programs.



Chaim Weizmann

The artist in Weizmann explains his charm, to which so many succumbed. His greatest successes, even as a statesman, were aided by his unmatched charm. He had an uncanny understanding of others, an instinct which told him how to approach a particular statesman and win him to his cause. During the war Churchill, forced to pursue a non-Zionist policy, at one time refused to meet Weizmann, whom he respected and cherished. Castigated by a colleague, Churchill explained: "I am afraid to see him. I would have sleepless nights." This sovereign talent for dealing with people explains his influence with many of the leaders of our time—Balfour, Lloyd George, Churchill, Roosevelt, and others.

He lacked all the pyrotechnics of the great speaker; but the speeches of few public men have made such a lasting impression. He could demolish an opponent or capture an audience with a phrase. Yet it was not his language or his logic but the human being behind the speech that made this impression. Long after his speech was forgotten the personality of the man who had made it lingered on. It was a delight to be with Weizmann. Once admitted into his circle, you became infected with the warmth radiating from him and charging his environment. For those who worked with him, every day was a new drama and every dialogue a revelation. He had little understanding of or patience for organizational work—the inevitable rules and routine of a great organization in operation. He also had little appreciation of continuity. I once said to him, "For you each day is Genesis."

From a historical perspective the Zionist movement has not only lost its greatest leader; his death rings down the curtain on a drama-charged period in Jewish life. Herzl was the creator of the Zionist vision, Weizmann the symbol and creator of the Zionist fulfilment. Long after the contemporary image of Chaim Weizmann has passed away, he will continue to exercise influence as a symbol. He represents Zionism at its best, as a moral idea which regenerated a people and liberated it politically. But even more important, he is a symbol of Jewry's regeneration as a creative force.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Frontier Formula

THE GREAT FRONTIER. By Walter Prescott Webb. Houghton Mifflin Company. $5.

IN 1893 Frederick Jackson Turner pointed to the significance of the frontier in American history. Turner went on to years of productive teaching thereafter, years that were productive because he did not allow a casually turned essay to become a blinding dogma.

Among some of his students and among many of his followers who never had the advantage of personal contact with him the frontier idea became an inflexible doctrine, sufficient in itself to explain the whole course of American development and not to be amended the least jot or tittle. In "The Great Frontier" Professor Webb of the University of Texas reduces the frontier conception to its ultimate absurdity.

Professor Webb began his scholarly career with a study of the Texas Rangers, an institution he found comprehensible in terms of the frontier advance. In "The Great Plains" the frontier explained the entire character of a section; in "Divided We Stand" all American history fell into place; and in the present volume the whole history of the Western world since 1500 is fitted into the formula.

By this account the decisive event of modern times was the discovery by Western Europe—the Metropolis—of the Great Frontier. The frontier, as here defined, is the line of settlement along which Europeans have moved into free unpopulated lands. Such lands, since the sixteenth century, Professor Webb asserts, have existed only in America, Australia, and South Africa.

Professor Webb believes that the subsequent exploitation of the new territories created an economic boom that transformed Europe's modes of production and, ultimately, the whole structure of its society. Capitalism, individualism, and democracy had each its source in the frontier. The frontier also directly and vitally affected science, literature, law, and the arts. The closing of the frontier at the beginning of this century ended an era in human history. Nothing can take its place; in an unpredictable but rather dismal future all the institutions that grew out of the frontier will decay.

It will not be profitable in such a review as this to call attention to the errors of fact, the ambiguous definitions, the dubious interpretations in which the book abounds. It will be enough to indicate the fatal weakness in Webb's central conception of the great frontier.

The frontier in his sense can hardly account for the transformations of the sixteenth century with which he begins his discussion. The "metropolis" had been expanding long before the American discoveries. Indeed, the opening of the New World was but one incident in a much longer process that brought Europe also into relationship with the Levant, India, China, and the South Sea islands. Contact with these areas affected European institutions as directly and as vitally as did contact with America.

Upon closer examination the very concept of the frontier as a uniform and constant phenomenon is untenable. Even within the American continent there are significant unexplained differences. Mexico was certainly not unpopulated in the sense Virginia was. The influence of Peru upon the Old World was more analogous to that of Japan than to that of Massachusetts. And the frontier did not produce the same political and social institutions in Connecticut as in Canada.

Finally, it is necessary to remember that Europeans had already had a long experience with frontier settlement before they turned to America. (Professor Webb misses the meaning of that experience because he defines his terms to yield the result he seeks.) In Ireland, on the marches of Wales, Scotland, Pomerania, and Prussia, in the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, Europeans had planted settlements on the underpopulated lands of nomadic aborigines. In these places, however, such results as individualism and democracy did not follow upon the advance of the frontier.

That in itself is sufficient indication that the frontier was not a free force, exerting a determining invariant influence upon human affairs. The frontier was rather one of many forces affecting modern men—but in a manner shaped by the larger social context within which it operated. OSCAR HANDLIN

Critic and Craftsman

LANGUAGE AS GESTURE. By R. P. Blackmur. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.75.

GATHERED together in this book are twenty-one of Mr. Blackmur's critical essays on poetry, most of them focused on the works of individual poets of this century. I have not searched the bibliographies or the back files of the literary magazines to determine which of his essays and reviews the author may have chosen to leave out; but certainly this volume contains, in its 440 pages of rather close print, an ample, a nearly monumental presentation of Mr. Blackmur's critical attitudes and techniques. Much of it is hard going. I do not think many, even among those who have chased fast on the heels of our contemporary critics and who have sought out Mr. Blackmur's separate essays as they first appeared, will go through this book with complete confidence in their own understanding. In part the trouble lies with Mr. Blackmur's writing, for he is a man who believes very profoundly in the drama of language, in the heightening effect of tension between form and meaning: sometimes it appears that he maneuvers his narrative to achieve the proper tenebrosity from the midst of which to discharge a lightning flash of insight. But more often the obscurity derives from the nature of Mr. Blackmur's speculations, which he pushes always into the extreme areas of contingency and uncertainty. Mr. Blackmur is a critic with a pronounced philosophical turn of mind, and if he has not produced a systematic and inclosed aesthetics, it is rather because he has not tried than because the problems he attacks do not contain the fundamental questions of being and knowing.

But Mr. Blackmur is a critic after all, and it is this attribute that makes his essays doubly worth their hard reading. Aside from his arguments and abstractions, and often incidental to them, are the many extraordinarily original and enlightening perceptions of individual poems and poets with which these essays are studded—detections that astonish with their suddenness and delight with their accuracy.

Like most collections of essays, this one contains a deal of repetition, and though this is a disadvantage to the book, it may be an advantage to the reader who fails to catch the full content of Mr. Blackmur's position from one statement. Again and again, until it touches a note of hysteria and one wonders at such insistence, Mr. Blackmur speaks out against his anathema—expressive language. He makes constantly an appeal to reason, which in poetry is objective form, and he appeals too much. Now this is a fine idea and one that I and most others agree with—namely, that a good poem must contain within itself, and must express in the language it appropriately assumes, all the meanings and emotions it imparts; it must not derive from private knowledge or common feeling any of the meaning of its content or any of the power of its words. And using this elementary criterion, Mr. Blackmur is able to cut through much of the critical nonsense that has sprung from the symbolist tradition. As might be expected, he is harsh with such poets as Hart Crane and D. H. Lawrence, and he has wholehearted aproval for scarcely any of the poets he considers. But he makes his point too well, and again one seems to catch in it a note of anxiety.

The fact is, Mr. Blackmur has been attempting perhaps as difficult a critical job as was ever conceived. Staunch in his belief in objective language, he has nevertheless acknowledged readily the great extra power that words in poetic combination sometimes achieve. He has been led directly into a study of poetic language as a process for intensifying meaning: he has been concerned with the poem as an action arrested at its significant moment of movement and with the frozen eloquence of gesture in language. Especially in modern poetry, where symbol may often merge with word and where meaning may be more tactile than verbal, it has been difficult to determine how language can be poetic and still objective. Perhaps Mr. Blackmur's fearful note is near to the cry of those who push analysis to the limit of reason. And perhaps, as I think, he has been pushed himself into statements that exceed his purpose, as when he says, for instance, that poetry is "language so twisted and posed in a form that it not only expresses the matter in hand but adds to the stock of available reality." Adding to the stock of available reality is not (thank God!) the poet's function, and to say so is to try to invest poetry with faculties it does not have and does not need. Thus Mr. Blackmur arrives, by way of the back stairs, at a sort of higher romanticism, the very attic of romanticism, where we children of his prior, or downstairs, enlightenment are likely to feel timid and ill at ease.

I come back, or rather Mr. Blackmur leads us back, to his own writing, where the qualities he has pursued in other people's poetry themselves appear. Often his writing is in "language so twisted and posed in a form" that it pins down for us a feeling or observation which might otherwise escape. But occasionally one feels that Mr. Blackmur is himself attempting to add to available "reality" by saying something in a way so new and eccentric that the language will attain autonomy and lend its authority to the substance. In doing so he defeats his own purpose, both as craftsman and critic: for on one hand he is in danger of becoming incommunicable, and on the other, he shows himself to be a victim of his own idea that language itself maintains meaning. In at least one case, that of his essay on Eliot's "Four Quartets," it seems to me that the entire form trembles on the edge of turning itself into an extrinsicality—a house, say, or a kangaroo—so that the poem is an explanation of the essay.

These few comments are not intended to suggest that Mr. Blackmur is wrong, but only that if he is right we need a somewhat clearer statement of his critical aims and a somewhat simpler explanation of his notions about value, reality, and perception, in poetry as elsewhere. In a time that is remarkable for the breadth and perspicacity of its critical writing, Mr. Blackmur is certainly in the foremost rank, and this book is a very good demonstration of how he got there.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

Men Who Served Hitler

IN THE NAZI ERA. By Sir Lewis Namier. St. Martin's Press. $2.25.

WITH this slim volume the eminent British historian takes leave of those of his readers who have followed his work on pre-war diplomacy—he has now returned to his chosen field of British parliamentary history. As a last instalment he offers six critical pieces on the memoirs of "men who served Hitler"—Halder, Dirksen, Weiszäcker, the brothers Kordt, Paul Schmidt—and un-

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der the heading Surrender to Danger five more on men and events of the International appeasement period. These sketches in particular, with their cold, precise presentation of shameful fact after shameful fact, make ghastly and absorbing reading.

In an introductory chapter, Missed Opportunities, Sir Lewis indicates certain judgments of his own by answering the question whether the Allies missed opportunities to integrate the democratic Weimar Republic into the comity of European nations, to stop Hitler, and to cooperate actively with the anti-Nazi elements in Germany. Sir Lewis concludes that they were at fault only in failing to stop Hitler and German rearmament, which would appear to be more than generous. He does not believe, either, that the conspiracy of the generals against Hitler in 1938 would have come off even if Chamberlain had not flown to Munich. He notes, however, that the news of Hitler's incredible success at Munich was received with less enthusiasm in Berlin than in Paris and London.

Nowhere does Sir Lewis remark upon the startling similarity between the German appeasers who surrendered Germany to Hitler and their French, British, and Russian counterparts (the Americans of their ilk appeared only later) who surrendered Austria and Czechoslovakia to him, though he had already shown his face and even to sit down with him meant to ignore his pogroms and the concentration camps. Plainly, Munich and the Russian participation in the rape of Poland cannot serve to excuse the German appeasers and half-hearted collaborators, but their resentment at being condemned for practices which were not spurned by those who judged them is understandable. As for the common people, first victimized and then made responsible for their own sufferings, they rarely appear in the apologias of the generals and diplomats who decided their fate or in the writings of their critics. In the present short studies there are by necessity other omissions. As a result, the book is likely to leave the general reader with a sense of unreality and may even confuse him.

"In the Nazi Era" is an extremely well-written, thought-provoking, but cursory survey for specialists.

FRANZ HOELLERING

Socialism in America

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT, 1897-1912. By Ira Kipnis. Columbia University Press. $6.

AT THE beginning of this century the German sociologist Werner Sombart wrote a little book with the title "Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?" The question was significant, for it was raised in what Daniel Bell has called "the 'golden age' of American socialism." This was the era in which European Socialist parties entered parliaments in growing numbers, polled votes running in the millions, and began to have impact on legislation. Yet in the United States Presidential election of 1912, the climactic year for the American Socialist Party, fewer than one million votes—6 per cent of the total vote—were cast for Eugene V. Debs.

Why this striking failure of socialism in America? Mr. Kipnis's careful and detailed history of American socialism before the First World War does not supply the answer. To be sure, "The American Socialist Movement" possesses major virtues: it is painstakingly documented and soundly written. The book presents as comprehensive and comprehensible an account of the growth of the movement as any reader could desire. The information is all here, and Mr. Kipnis clothes his solid scholarship in a lively and attractive dress. Since the movement he writes about was almost unbelievably sectarian and petty, his achievement is notable. The chief preoccupation of the various wings of the party appears to have been internecine warfare, with all hands ready to see the movement perish rather than have it disfigured by the ideology of the "others," who were clearly traitors to the working class. While most of the book is of necessity taken up with accounts of squabbles—over the name of the party, over aid to strikers, over political action, over "pure-and-simple" unionism—Mr. Kipnis manages to include some illuminating chapters on Socialist propaganda, and on the curiously know-nothing attitude of most American Socialists on questions of race and immigration. The author dwells on the immaturity of American Socialist thought with deft irony.

But the history of the movement is told, as it were, in isolation from the rest of American life. Surely, the muckrakers, the non-Socialist reform movements of Progressivism and the Wilsonian New Freedom, the growth of the American economy, the class structure of American society were all vital elements in the failure of the movement. Yet they are hardly mentioned, and in consequence we learn all about the activities of American Socialists without coming close to an understanding of the meaning of socialism to American life. The only conceptual scheme that seems to underlie this book is Mr. Kipnis's conviction that while the "shortcomings of the left were serious enough . . . major responsibility for the failure of the movement must rest upon the right wing."

It is instructive to compare this volume with Daniel Bell's brilliant long article The Background and Development of Marxian Socialism in the United States in "Socialism and American Life." Mr. Bell hardly shares Mr. Kipnis's predilection for the left; his generalizations are on occasion facile, and sometimes he is too ready to credit the evidence of professional ex-Communists. But Mr. Bell at least attempts to write meaningful history—he goes beyond the events themselves to their logic and significance. No one can dispute the utility of purely narrative history, but the first-rate historian must penetrate to the essential character of the period about which he writes, and disclose the basic realities of which the surface events are the reflection. Daniel Bell's essay undertakes, in my judgment with considerable success, to answer Sombart's fundamental question. It should therefore be read in conjunction with, and as the indispensable supplement to, Mr. Kipnis's straightforward chronicle.

PETER GAY

Verse Chronicle

KENNETH REXROTH'S "The Dragon and The Unicorn" (New Directions, $3) is one poem, a long essay in short lines, where the author discourses on places he has been and ideas he has had. For a while this reviewer was inclined to skim lightly over such passages as: "Just as the time of mathematics / Is a convention of measure, / So past, present, and future / Are qualifications of / Knowledge. They have no being / Outside the experience / Of possible and consequent. / They are the way discursive / Knowledge comes to us, and their / Essential relation is / One of inclusion. The past / Is less experience than the / Present and it than the future"; and to dwell with more interest on the descriptions of Welsh mountains, French food and drink, Italian people, all the human aspects in which Mr. Rexroth partakes. But before too long one succumbs, or adapts himself to the ways of this traveling companion, and listens. "The beginning of truth is / Wonder. He who wonders shall / Reign and he who reigns shall rest." The abstractions, the more general ideas, gain interest from the sensual content out of which they emerge and break. Mr. Rexroth enjoys living and people, though there is much about both he does not enjoy, and he is not at all coy about letting you know where he stands. This is on the side of the angels, whose dwindling company cannot afford to be too particular these days anyway; I am not so sure about this, and suspect that Mr. Rexroth may have more allies than he is willing to admit. All told, there is a lot of fun in this book, possibly a bit too much minstrelsy about tarts with hearts of gold, but a philosophical anarchist, same as anybody else, is entitled to his conventions.

The gey fey side of the Scots comes out in "The White Threshold," by W. S. Graham (Grove Press, $2.25). Mr. Graham, with his less flexible rhythms, sounds somewhat like a bumpier Dylan Thomas, at times only a trifle bumpier, as in

> With all many men laid down in the burial heart,
> Hearing spring fall and the joyfaring weather waken
> Another thunder's arrival under my footfall,
> I walk well over the hill of my listening dead.
> I wear early April blessed in a best innocence
> Won from watched wonder and all my called people
> Falling behind me into the look in my eyes.

Language well wielded, here, and a good deal of exultation.

More sober in tone, more solemn in method, Stanley Burnshaw, in "Early and Late Testament" (Dial Press, $2.50), also affirms the need of the man of our time for community and love. He sounds a little desperate about it, in both his preface and the eight-section title poem, and his singing has a struggle to break through the weight of a tendency to didactic prose. "All the sad young men are looking for papa / the sad young men who think they were bad young men"—I think Mr. Burnshaw's message, the essential rightness of it, could have been more happily conveyed if he had let himself go, a little more often, with such skylarking as the quoted lines. In addition to the main poem Mr. Burnshaw has some well-turned odes, and some lyrics whose title, it seems to me, is a bit of a misnomer; it is too bad the term elegiac has lost its original meaning, which would be more appropriate for this kind of poetry, declamation with flute accompaniment, rather than the singing voice rising above the personal lyre. Mr. Burnshaw's translations of André Spire are finely made.

Roy Campbell has written "An Appreciation of Federico García Lorca, with Selected Translations of His Poetry" (Yale University Press, $2.50). I cannot help feeling a little shocked by this performance, for Mr. Campbell, one time or another, I believe, used to go around calling himself a fascist. The dirty word does not appear in his text; he claims, as a matter of fact, that Lorca's death was merely a private murder, the result of a grudge, which seems hard to believe. I do not suppose that Mr. Campbell would enjoy being likened to Hugh MacDiarmuid, but he rather reminds one of that other Scot in the way he throws his weight around. It was reactionary Spain, he states, that produced more good poets in this century than any other country; of the list he cites on page 15, he neglects to state that many, if not most, fled or were banished by the reaction. Both in his general observations and in his immediate interpretations of Lorca's poetry, however, Mr. Campbell's study is lively and at times illuminating. His translations, if I may say so, strike me as a little stiff, and, particularly in the Gipsy Ballads, forced by an insistence on Mr. Campbell's metrical theory into too rigid a form.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Books in Brief

WRITERS FOR TOMORROW. Second Series. Edited by Baxter Hathaway and John A. Sessions. Cornell University Press. $3. This second collection of student writing by members of Cornell University's Writers' Workshop displays a surprisingly high level of skill and an unusual variety of theme in the twenty-six stories presented. The quality of this short fiction may be attributed in part to the fact that the editors, and teachers, are largely responsible for the publication of *Epoch,* which has gained an excellent reputation in the last few years as a literary quarterly. Particularly noteworthy are three short stories by H. D. Rossiter, one of which had appeared in *Epoch,* Elaine's Hope by Ted M. Levine, and Edgar Rosenberg's The Happy One, originally published in *Commentary.*

THE NEWS IN AMERICA. By Frank Luther Mott. Harvard. $4.50. A simple, concise account of how news is collected, processed, and disseminated by large and small newspapers, wire services, and radio. While primarily informative, the book draws one important

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moral from the facts assembled—that the most dangerous trend in journalism today is not the decline in the number of papers but the over-emphasis on "soft" or unimportant news at the expense of "hard" or significant items.

THE NATURE OF GAMBLING. By David D. Allen. Coward-McCann. $3.50. A systematic analysis of the role and function of gambling in an attempt to find indisputable answers to three questions: Is it natural? Is it harmful? Is it suppressible? The answers arrived at are in each case affirmative. This academic approach to a lusty subject seems at first glance to be slightly comical but ends by being definitely illuminating.

IN SEARCH OF CHOPIN. By Alfred Cortot. Translated by Cyril and Rena Clarke. Bibliography and Discography Compiled by Cyril Clarke. Abelard Press. $3.50. This sentimental *causerie* on The Hand of Chopin, Chopin the Pedagogue, and so on, like all sentimentality, dishonors rather than dignifies its subject. Poor little Chopin again. Also there are not two concretely perceptive words about the music. All the vices of the intimate tone are here—breathy irrationality, lyrical banality, "unashamed" feeling. In addition the virtues of intimate contact with a third-rate mind.

Art

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

FOLLOWING the lead of the *diseuse* of the New York *Times,* Miss Louchheim, I offer some critical resolutions for the New Year. First, to speak favorably of whatever promising new work I am able to review within the limits of a monthly column. Second, not to speak unfavorably of what I do not like unless the artist already has an established reputation. Third, not to hesitate to attack an inflated reputation. Fourth, to balance the claims of past and present. Fifth, to write for informed consumers, not producers, of art—on the theory that criticism has little reason to expect to influence an artist—who, if he is any good, knows what he is about—and much reason to hope to develop a sympathetic audience for quality in art, wherever it may appear.

I have no hesitation whatever in advising anyone interested in these propositions that the Kootz Gallery has been showing on its walls a new work of Adolf Gottlieb, called Unstill Life, which is one of the major designs not only of this artist but of the present decade. Gone is the division of the canvas into some two dozen pictographs, related chiefly by a decorative scheme, through which Gottlieb has until lately been expressing his private world, relying all too heavily on symbolic association supplied by the spectator. Instead, this canvas is a single entity, a crablike design powerful in its contrasts of black and red on a white ground, and at the same time poetic in its sensitive variations within the white ground itself and in the atmospheric pinks and grays that link the blacks and reds. Unstill Life comes sufficiently to terms with contemporary restlessness, but its title belies its ultimate internal oneness, which I find classic in the sense of the best—not the recent—work of Léger.

All of this seems to imply that Gottlieb is now ready for major opportunities as a mural painter. These remarks are addressed, therefore, primarily to modern architects or those in a position to bring them to the attention of such architects. We have progressed a long way since Radio City, when the big wall surfaces of then not quite modern architecture were given over to false artists—what Walter Pach called the Ananiases—of that time. Escaping from the bitter winds that were shaking Radio City's magnificent Christmas tree one evening last week, I dodged into the main lobby. I have always thought that the removal of Diego Rivera's mural was more of a loss for artistic freedom than for the history of art, but I had not realized that Jose Maria Sert had in the meantime painted some additional square yards of his sepia murals on this surface. It seems clear to me that these works have rather less excuse for existence than John W. Alexander's Apotheosis of Pittsburgh, et cetera, on the stair well of the Carnegie Institute, because the latter were at least representative of the prevailing taste of their day.

There is reason to believe that Gottlieb and other potentially major mural painters of mid-century America will in fact receive opportunities of the sort I am speaking of. But these, with the few chances that have come their way so far, will at best constitute only a beginning. I recall a statement by Wallace Harrison some years ago at an exhibition sponsored by Vassar College to the effect that the greatest single influence on architecture of the past hundred years has been the painting of Picasso, Léger, and Juan Gris. It is more than time for successful architects in the modern idiom to repay their indebtedness—by placing mural commissions at the disposal of the rightful younger successors of these old masters of modern art.

In line with resolution number three, stated above, I have little hesitation in pronouncing Salvador Dali's latest productions (Carstairs Gallery) artistic junk. There is a new subject matter, according to the artist marking a shift from Freud to nuclear physics, but I do not seem to recall any historical instance of artistic salvation through iconography. The current items exhibit the same dreadful wastage of talent, like the agile pianist who lives for the cadenza, which one has seen in Dali so many times before.

A dozen tapestries, from paintings by as many modern artists (Sidney Janis Gallery), demonstrate that when texture is eliminated from modern oil painting, its heart is torn out. The chief exception to this statement—Etoile Polychrome by Léger (1937)—proves the rule: Léger's work of the past fifteen years has gone blandly decorative. A recent oil at the Kootz Gallery supports this negative judgment. Much as I admire the Léger of 1910 to 1925, and of perhaps a decade later, I fear the recent work is more at home in the salons of the Liberté than, let us say, in the United Nations Building.

Speaking of textureless art, I may refer briefly to the exhibition, recently opened at the Museum of Modern Art, on the early twentieth-century Dutch movement known as De Stijl. This is a small segment of a big show which was organized in 1951 by the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam, and went to the Biennale in Venice last year. The main significance of this exhibition is, of course, architectural, and I shall not question its importance for the history of architecture and the relationship of the several arts within an architectural complex. Unlike wines and Martinis, however, painting can suffer from dryness.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN MY recent review of the Toscanini recording of Prokofiev's "Classical" Symphony I forgot to mention one noteworthy feature of the performance—the extraordinarily and excessively slow tempo of the second movement. This was a change from the traditional faster tempo of his previous performances of the movement, and a change out of line with his recent tendency to play everything faster. My guess is that this time he felt impelled to obey the Larghetto in the score literally; and I won't be surprised if next time he feels impelled to obey again the impulse of the flow of the music toward the traditional Andante. For the fact is that there are such different decisions, each strongly felt at the moment, producing such changes from one performance to the next. When I wrote that Toscanini's tendency in recent years has been away from elasticity to strictness in tempo I should have added that there have been momentary reversals of the tendency: an American now in England wrote me about the many changes of pace in the Toscanini performances of Brahms's symphonies in London in September; and I was told of equally astonishing retardations in the recent performance of the Brahms Third here. Also, the tendency has been to play everything faster; but the recent Beethoven Eighth was slower and more relaxed than the one Toscanini recorded ten years ago.

These inconsistencies occur also in Toscanini's choices of music to play: the standards which don't permit him to play Tchaikovsky's Fifth do permit him to play Wagner's Ride of the Valkyrs, Saint-Saëns's Danse Macabre, Kabalevsky's "Colas Breugnon" Overture. However it works the other way too: if Toscanini has persisted for twenty-five years in playing those innocuous little pieces by Martucci he has persisted as long in playing parts and finally the whole of Berlioz's "Romeo and Juliet" which nobody else has done; he gave us performances of "Harold in Italy" when nobody else was doing it here; and he gave us our first experiences of Beethoven's Missa Solemnis. His program-making certainly has been open to criticism, but not to some of the criticisms it has received. He has played some bad music, but no more, I am quite sure, than other conductors. The difference has been that he has played bad music by Italians while the others have played bad music by Russians and Americans; and I don't agree that this constitutes the difference between bad program-making and good.

The bad music is of course regrettable and hard to take, especially when Toscanini is reported to have declared this is his last season. It is difficult to imagine him drawing breath and not being involved with an orchestral score, or studying the score and not being impelled to bring the work to life with an orchestra; but if one accepts the possibility that he will do as he says one is appalled by the waste of some of these precious last broadcasts, which might have provided last hearings of the performances of Schubert's C major and Berlioz's "Harold" and "Romeo," but instead are devoted to Saint-Saëns's C minor Symphony, a whole program of Martucci, and other less consequential matters. But on the other hand there has been the broadcast devoted to Act 2 of Gluck's "Orfeo"; there will be the one devoted to Debussy; and there will be the final Beethoven series concluding with the Missa Solemnis.

It is not Toscanini but Cantelli who one week has offered an excellent program comprising Mozart's Symphony K.201 and Bartok's Music for Strings, Percussion, and Celesta, and the next week has combined distinguished matters like Haydn's Symphony No. 88 and Stravinsky's "Jeu de cartes" with Ravel's Bolero. The performances gave us each work as something completely and beautifully and effectively achieved—except that the marches in "Jeu de cartes" were played too fast for their proper effect.

The playing of the NBC Symphony this year has again been something to marvel at; and if Toscanini's retirement brings the orchestra's existence to an end it will be a deplorable loss. As for the transmission over the air, NBC still cannot bring itself to use the CBS microphone set-up that achieves such excellent transmission of the New York Philharmonic, but persists in the monkeying around that transmits the NBC Symphony performances with a loss of some of the beauty they have in Carnegie Hall.

Cantelli's completely and beautifully achieved performance of the Musorgsky-Ravel "Pictures at an Exhibition" with the NBC Symphony has been issued by RCA Victor, reproduced with excellent over-all sound but with a few imperfections—e. g., the discontinuities in volume in the saxophone solo of *The Old Castle*; the not excessive hash around the huge sonorities at the end. On the same record is a beautiful performance of Tchaikovsky's "Romeo and Juliet" that Cantelli recorded in England with the Philharmonia Orchestra—the dubbed recorded sound good but requiring stepping up of bass and volume.

Though illness prevented me from hearing the Little Orchestra Society's repetition of Berlioz's "L'Enfance du Christ" I would like to report what a discriminating friend told me—that

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benefiting by last year's rehearsals and performance with the same musicians Thomas Scherman conducted a very fine performance of the remarkable work, in which there was especially beautiful singing again by Donald Gramm, bass, Leopold Simoneau, tenor, and William Jonson's Choral Art Society, and good singing this time by Martial Singher. I think it would be a good idea for Mr. Scherman to make the performance an annual Christmas event.

CONTRIBUTORS

OSCAR HANDLIN, a member of the History Department at Harvard University, is the author of "The Uprooted."

HAYDEN CARRUTH, formerly editor of *Poetry*, is on the staff of Intercultural Publications.

FRANZ HOELLERING is the author of two novels, "The Defenders" and "Furlough."

PETER GAY, instructor in government at Columbia University, has recently published "The Dilemma of Democratic Socialism."

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Is Mediation Still Possible?

Dear Sirs: After the rejection of the Indian proposals by Russia, I hope *The Nation* will reexamine its belief that mediation is still even remotely possible. For a long time I held on to the hope that the Russians wanted to end the Korean war or that they might not be confusing ends and means. It is folly to hope so now. It is inescapable that the Russians are quite willing to fight to the last North Korean and Chinese Communist.

Can *The Nation* still believe that mediation is possible with the "ruling circles" of the U. S. S. R.? The Russians want concessions and conciliatory gestures, not mediation. What was called a policy of appeasement in Hitler's time is now called a policy of mediation. . . .

And the purge in Czechoslovakia. Is this evidence of a truth-loving, liberal, progressive regime, or is it another terrifying display of Soviet fascism? How much evidence does *The Nation* need to be convinced that mediation is impossible with totalitarians?

The Nation has been critical and rightfully alarmed at the undermining of freedom here at home. "How Free Is Free?" hit many bull's-eyes. Its appraisals of the F. B. I., of our State Department's bumbling nonsense over passports, of McCarran and McCarthy are right. . . . I do not say that affairs here are healthy, but I would like *The Nation* to exercise a little more judgment concerning the Soviet "ruling circles" when internal freedom is being discussed. In fact, *The Nation* might do well to publish a list of the responsible liberals—artists, writers, journalists, scientists, and *Nation* staff members—who can travel freely in the U. S. S. R.; the list won't take much space. Ask Mr. Werth whether Russia opens its arms to travelers. . . .

New York JACOB D. HAMMER

How to Break the Korean Deadlock

Dear Sirs: The Communists' rejection of the Indian proposal on Korea has widely been taken as ruling out any formula of "voluntary" repatriation at this time. But Russia's offer to postpone repatriation and Stalin's reply to James Reston, published recently in the New York *Times*, hint that if a really practical proposal is put forward, China and North Korea may settle for less than unconditional repatriation.

In providing a bipartisan commission and taking all prisoners out of the hands of their captors before a vote is held, the Indian proposal tacitly invalidated the earlier U. N. poll as coercive and prejudical. In line with Vishinsky's suggestion, a revised draft of the Indian proposal should underscore this point. The groundwork for the first poll was laid by the U. N. in December, 1950, in a resolution which construed "voluntary" repatriation as being consistent with the Geneva Convention. By a bill of particulars citing this and certain other pertinent facts, a revised Indian formula could make it clear that the first poll was not intended to prolong the war.

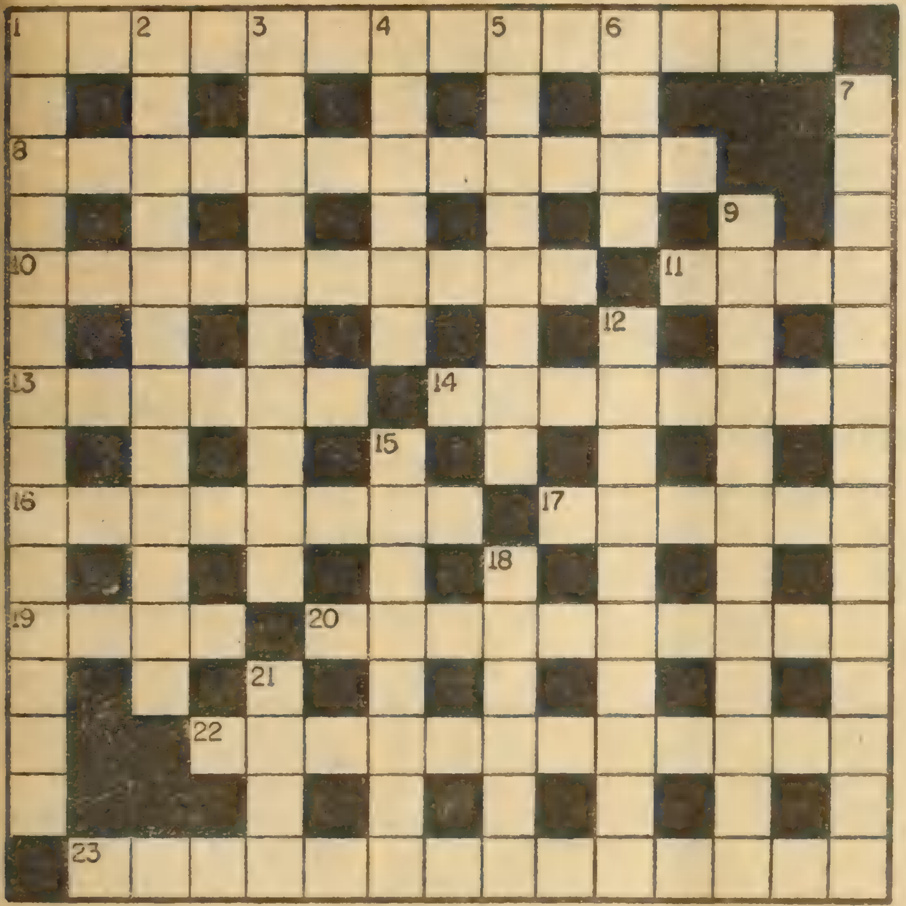
As a result of the first poll, the 50,000 prisoners of war who renounced their allegiance to North Korea and China were fatally compromised. They were indoctrinated against changing their minds by the anti-totalitarian programs the U. N. ran in the prisoner-of-war camps until the Red Cross put a stop to them. A revised Indian formula should not allow its poll to become a façade to legitimize the results of the first poll. It should accept Vishinsky's criticism that the first poll created new coercive condition that a new poll cannot remove unless extraordinary measures are now taken.

A pledge would have to be included in the new Indian formula binding official agencies of all countries to refrain from using the results of the poll as a propaganda weapon, because if they were they would undoubtedly imperil subsequent peace negotiations. No loophole could be left whereby the U. N., a party to the dispute, would be allowed to select the umpire who casts the deciding vote on the bipartisan commission. For only an umpire acceptable to both sides would give China and North Korea reasonable assurance that the commission would adopt rules of procedure granting them an opportunity to "unindoctrinate" their own men captured by the U. N. forces and prevent those who reject repatriation from being forcibly incorporated in Chiang Kai-shek's army.

New Brunswick, N. J. ALAN SILVER

Crossword Puzzle No. 498

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 All the way from red to violet? (9, 5)
8 Waxed in the automobile like 14? (12)
10 See 23
11 Youth movement a foreign country formed. (4)
13 One speaks of giving one of these to new enterprises. (6)
14 Kept doctored? (8)
16 He sounds and looks as though he's in the van! (8)
17 A common complaint for [redacted] bird!
19 Desserts might imply duties if you take off with them. (4)
20 Despite the name, one shouldn't go faster in them. (5, 5)
22 If you waste, one hopes you don't have to blame it on this. (12)
23 and 10 Implying thos e who come comparatively early in the week [redacted] pretty forward. (7, 5, 2, 4, 2, 4)

DOWN

1 Did their inhabitants rely on sheer protection? (5, 9)
2 Countercharges. (12)
3 Some sorrel grows wild, but not specifically. (4, 2, 4)
4 One does when starting [redacted] drive, perhaps. (3, 3)
5 Gambling can get it confused in one whose job was mediating. (8)
6 Staff insigne. (4)
7 Russian and French, perhaps, with such a make-up as saddens girls. (5, 9)
9 Is it time for the Russian plan? (12)
12 It should be a high-sounding method of preparing chicken. (10)
15 Is this a standing condition? (Or the position of an inclined plane?) (8)
18 Characterized by great excitement. (6)
21 This old animal might be [redacted] real friend! (4)

* * *

SOLUTION [redacted] PUZZLE No. 497

ACROSS:—1 VALEDICTION; [redacted] BROCCOLI; 10 LANDAU; 11 STILTON; 12 CURRIED; 14 MONDAY; 15 OPHIDIAN; 17 CROSSBAR; 20 ORMOLU; 22 SWIPING; 24 ASHTRAY; 26 ONEIDA; 27 CRUISING; [redacted] ALLITERATED.

DOWN:—2 ACCOLADES; 3 ECONOMY; 4 and 5 IT IS TO LAUGH; 6 OWNER; 7 GROTTO; 8 and 20 CAMERA OBSCURA; 13 BOERS; 16 DEMITASSE; 18 ROWENA; 19 BENGASI; 21 LEARNS; [redacted] PHIAL; 25 ACRE.

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New Strait-Jacket for Unions?—*Richard A. Lester*

THE *Nation*

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Chiang's Troops To Korea?

AN EDITORIAL

*

POINT 4
FOUR YEARS LATER
I. The Rich Got Richer

BY PAUL A. BARAN

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THE NATION IN 1953

An Announcement to Our Readers

WITH the start of 1953 *The Nation* is instituting a series of editorial changes which we believe will produce a more effective journal, as well as a more economical one.

Readers will already have noticed the creation of a group of Contributing Editors which includes, besides *The Nation's* regular correspondents abroad, Keith Hutchison, until recently our Financial Editor, and two eminent political scientists, H. H. Wilson of Princeton University and W. Macmahon Ball of Melbourne University. Other names will be added shortly.

We have also engaged Bruce Catton, journalist, historian, and former government official, to write a weekly series from the capital, beginning next week. The opening of the Eighty-third Congress and the advent of the new Administration call for the sort of reporting-in-depth that he is preeminently fitted to provide.

A resident of Washington for many years, Mr. Catton knows national and international politics both as an observer and as a participant. He began his newspaper career on the Cleveland *News* and *Plain Dealer,* later became Washington columnist for N. E. A. service, the Scripps-Howard feature syndicate. During and after World War II he served in an executive capacity on many government boards and departments. His most recent post was as assistant director of information in the Department of the Interior, under Oscar Chapman. "The War Lords of Washington," an inside story of the War Production Board, was published in 1948. His latest book, "Glory Road," is part of a trilogy he is preparing on the Civil War.

In addition to the weekly articles by Mr. Catton we shall publish occasional reports on special aspects of the new regime by William L. Shirer, famous correspondent and author of "Midcentury Journey," and by Carey McWilliams and Freda Kirchwey.

Beginning in a few weeks there will also be a new and different book section. In place of a number of long and short reviews we shall publish each week one major article on an important book or group of books by a leading critic. This will be supplemented by brief comments on other books worthy of attention. Our hope is to offer readers the best critical judgment available, while at the same time effecting economies in space and personnel—economies necessitated by the inflationary rise in production costs. While we are following no single model in reshaping the department, the change reflects a trend apparent in most of the serious publications. As a regrettable part of this change we must also announce that Margaret Marshall will no longer serve as Literary Editor. Miss Marshall has held that position for some fifteen years of the twenty-four she has been on the staff. Herself an able writer and discerning critic, she has been responsible for the integrity and high standards maintained by the book section. It is the firm intention of the Editors to preserve those standards.

Other plans have to do with *The Nation's* appearance. Without introducing any startling innovations we are preparing changes in paper and format which will make this journal handsomer, easier to read, and at the same time more economical of space. The redesigned *Nation* will be presented to our readers with the issue of February 21.

This is only a foretaste of our plans for 1953. Others will be announced from time to time.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Proposals for Peace—IV

BY BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM

HITLER affirmed "the nothingness of the individual." Stalin sees man as but an incident in an inexorable historical process. Jesus of Nazareth believed every man is a being of infinite worth, created by the eternal and in his image, morally responsible. Out of the heart are the issues of life. The transforming power of the Christian religion must be brought to bear upon the human heart to the end that men may be motivated by love and dedicated to brotherhood. Statesmen give too much attention to the boundaries that divide, too little attention to the brotherhood that unites.

Peace cannot be built upon foundations of economic injustice. Positive programs of land reform designed to give the disinherited peasant ownership of the land are essential to peace. The democratic idea must live in the economic life if it is to be preserved politically.

The United Nations must be perfected. Loyalty to the United Nations must be developed, and those who would destroy it must be restrained. The idea of preventive war must be rejected. Concepts of absolute national sovereignty must give way to the idea of world law, democratically determined.

We must come into world affairs with clean hands. This means the end of all discrimination based on race or religion at home, and the constant support of human rights and basic freedoms in world affairs.

It is imperative that the number of private agencies, such as the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches and the Church World Service of the same organization, be increased to release the thought and the charity of groups other than government.

We must refuse to break the moral law upon grounds of military necessity, and must consider the relative worth of bases in Spain as compared—as Justice Douglas puts it—with "bases in the hearts of the common people." Decisions of statesmen must then recognize that God is the ruler of the universe, that he will not be mocked, that his law is relevant to all the activities of man.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 176 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 17, 1953 NUMBER 3

Chiang's Troops to Korea?

PRESIDENT-ELECT EISENHOWER is being strongly urged to use Chinese Nationalist troops in Korea. The advice is reaching him from top military men who speak his language and who are presenting persuasive arguments in favor of the plan.

It might be a simple decision if there were not political and psychological factors involved. On the familiar pattern the multi-starred generals are thinking of more armed divisions without realizing there is another sort of division, which means dissension.

What Eisenhower does about the matter may be the first test of his caliber as President. It is an exercise in weighing possible military gain against probable political loss. One would normally expect men like Dulles, and other American diplomats, to approach a problem like this with a civilian mentality. But nowadays their attitude too often reflects a military point of view. The immensity of the Pentagon dwarfs the State Department.

There have been visible signs that activation of Chiang's forces on Formosa has been preoccupying Eisenhower. The American ambassador in nearby Tokyo, Robert Murphy, never saw the General during his Far Eastern mission. But Major General William Chase, chief of the United States mission in Formosa, was hurriedly summoned to Seoul from his post two thousand miles away to talk about the eventual disposition of the Chinese Nationalist forces. And after Eisenhower returned to New York, he consulted with Nationalist China's Foreign Minister, George Yeh.

What can be done with the Nationalist troops? Some say they should be sent against China's mainland, only a hundred miles across the Formosan Straits. Or part of them could be shipped to Korea. A third possibility is to use them to reinforce the French in Indo-China.

American and even Chinese Nationalist military men admit that the Nationalists are now wholly incapable of seizing a beachhead on China's mainland and holding it. Their forces are underequipped. Not a single unit has enough artillery to venture into battle. They lack the necessary landing craft. Above all, only by a miracle could they supply such a beachhead, even if it were established. Contained along the coast, they would present a completely exposed target for aerial machine-gunning and bombing.

Dispatch of Chiang's troops to Indo-China can also be ruled out in existing conditions. France, however gladly it would welcome reinforcements, would be the first to reject the offer. Such aid would only give the Chinese Communists a cogent reason for open intervention in Indo-China. That is what France dreads most.

Chiang's garrison on Formosa is a wasting asset. His 550,000 troops have been undergoing training there for more than thirty months. Their average age is twenty-nine; many are between thirty-five and forty-six. In another few years, as far as their combat value goes, they can settle down to playing Mah Jong.

Eisenhower knows all this.

THERE REMAINS the alternative of sending these forces to Korea. It is a tempting plan. Militarily, it has the advantage that supply lines are already operating in Korea.

This is known to be the view of American military leaders in the Far East. To make their project even more attractive to Eisenhower, they are suggesting that the Nationalist forces be sent to the front lines piecemeal, on rotation, so that eventually the whole Nationalist army in Formosa would be transformed into battle-hardened troops. This, they argue, would cause Mao Tse-tung to chew his fingernails.

If only these military considerations were involved, Eisenhower might have a reasonable case for accepting his colleagues' advice. Unfortunately, this military simplicity is heavily larded with political liabilities.

Chiang may be far less anxious than is popularly supposed to fight at all. He must realize that battle will cost him dearly in men. Besides the casualties, many might desert to the Communists, as they did by the hundreds of thousands in 1949. Where would he get replacements?

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The huge reservoir of man-power on China's mainland is inaccessible to him, even if one rashly assumed its sympathy for his cause. None of the millions of overseas Chinese have volunteered to join him. There remain, theoretically, the Formosans. In 1952, out of 90,000 Formosans who came of military age, Chiang conscripted only 12,000. Although of Chinese origin, these island people regard their present masters as alien and have shown no disposition to help Chiang reimpose his rule over China.

So if Chiang risks his troops in battle, it will be a one-time throw. Yet if Eisenhower wants them for Korea, Chiang is too dependent on America to say no. But he could say, "Yes, if . . ."

If his forces were used in Korea, he would almost certainly insist on having a voice in any future Korean settlement. He would demand arms not merely for his invasion troops but for his forces on Formosa. He would want jets, radar, anti-aircraft guns, to defend them against Communist air attacks. These are extremely costly weapons.

Chiang has already complained because he has been left out of the security pacts which the United States has signed with Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines. As President, Eisenhower might go some way to meet this complaint by de-neutralizing Korea and declaring it a kind of protectorate of American military power.

But it is doubtful whether Chiang's other terms would be acceptable. If President Eisenhower is actually to carry out some of the budget economies he has promised, he cannot increase expenditures enough to satisfy Chiang.

AS TO the political aspects of using Nationalist forces in Korea, the objections begin in Formosa and extend far beyond. They exist in Korea itself. President Rhee has denounced every suggestion of transferring the Chinese civil war to Korean soil. He distrusts the Chinese, be they red, white, or even yellow. He has hinted that it might be easier to bring the Chinese Nationalists into Korea than to get rid of them later. If his opinions are shared by South Korean troops, their morale would hardly benefit from the appearance of Chiang's forces.

Britain, France, and our other European allies are against infusing the Nationalists into the United Nations forces in Korea. Several nations fighting in Korea have declined to recognize Chiang's regime. They believe Chiang's participation would confuse our war aims and put an intolerable new obstacle in the path of an ultimate settlement. As they see it, Chiang has one fundamental objective: to return to China. That collides head-on with the United Nations' limited purpose of repelling Communist aggression in Korea. There is no common ground here. To identify the United Nations cause in Korea with the sweeping ambitions of Chiang, moreover, would reverse the drift of India, Indonesia, and Burma toward the non-Communist camp. They want no part of Chiang.

To many Americans and to almost all our friends abroad, a confusing of Chiang's objectives with those of the United Nations would mean an immensely extended war that could easily become a universal blood bath.

On the other side, there is a dangerous element in these calculations, and it is much closer home. That is the influence of the China Lobby and of the politicians on its periphery. Both Eisenhower and Dulles have close personal ties with the Knowlands, Hickenloopers, Judds, Luces, and their like. Any activation of Chiang Kai-shek's armed forces would receive the support of these powerful groups. It would arouse enthusiasm in an important sector of the Republican Party and enjoy the approval of some rightist Democratic leaders and independent publishers.

Eisenhower is expected to order swift preparation of a major offensive in Korea to break the stalemate. He will promote the training of yet more South Korean divisions, but this takes time, and it is an even longer process to qualify officers for the higher commands. It may seem alluring to use Chinese Nationalists in Korea because their training is far advanced. Their arrival might shorten the period of preparation for a northward drive. But if Eisenhower adopts this course, it will strengthen the growing belief abroad that military motives dominate America's foreign policy. It will discourage those who expect the United States to equate military power with economic, social, and political advancement. To employ some Chinese Nationalist troops in Korea could by no means be decisive, but it could alienate many of America's friends and buttress the alliance between Communist China and Russia.

In the vastness of Asia Chiang Kai-shek personifies a bygone age.

The Shape of Things

Enter M. Mayer

René Mayer, the new French Premier, has the reputation of being a "strong man" in the Radical Party. It will certainly require strength and determination to get the country out of the almost impossible situation brought about by the absence of a genuine and dependable parliamentary majority. Through concessions to the Gaullists involving the sacrifice of Robert Schuman, artisan of all the European unification plans, M. Mayer has assured himself at least a temporary majority. But the price will probably be a sharp break in the policy aimed at a federated Europe and a European army.

"The great operation upon which the right and center parties have now embarked," writes our Paris correspondent, "is to get the support of the Gaullists, who by changing their tactics and becoming a government party, or at least a supporter of right-wing governments, hope to improve their fortunes and gradually work their way into positions of authority." The conservatives for their part were naturally readier to make a deal with the Gaullists than with the Socialists. Following the trend initiated when the Communists and later the Socialists disappeared from the government coalitions, each successive Cabinet has been farther to the right than the one it replaced.

In the domestic field M. Mayer's first task will be to secure the adoption of the budget. He has already hinted at some reforms in the fiscal system but has wisely abstained from making the promises of a balanced budget that had proved fatal to his predecessor, M. Pinay. In his presentation speech he gave a new emphasis to the development of economic activity, which, coming from him, means greater profits rather than higher wages. A strengthening of the Socialist opposition can be anticipated.

Exit M. Schuman

In the domain of foreign affairs M. Mayer's accession to power and the disappearance of M. Schuman have shaken the Western world. In Bonn Chancellor Adenauer overnight lost his most valuable ally and has been forced to acknowledge that he must accept delay in the ratification of the treaty providing for the inclusion of German troops in a European army. In London the reopening of negotiations on the treaty is viewed with even greater concern in view of Schuman's removal. In Washington his loss was considered an American loss, the departure of a friend who had struggled hard and long for the sort of European unity that is now a major element of American foreign policy.

But it is the future of the European army, already behind schedule, that worries Washington most. Immediate efforts to salvage it are being made. Among them is the proposal of Field Marshal Montgomery, Deputy Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, that the British government formally join the European Defense Community. Lord Montgomery undoubtedly believes that such a move would offset the harm done by M. Schuman's departure and M. Mayer's concessions to the adversaries of the European army. If the British come in, the French will not find themselves facing alone a Germany that is each day growing richer, stronger, and more pro-Nazi. The British Foreign Office lost no time in rebuking the Field Marshal, pointing out that he was expressing only his personal opinion. Just the same, the crisis in Nato will inevitably sharpen with time unless something is done to counterbalance promptly the effect of the French situation.

Unbudgeable Budget?

After the election pathologically suspicious Republicans expressed two contradictory fears about President Truman's budget-making. Some thought he would seek to embarrass his successor by inflating it recklessly; others suggested he would slash it to the bone, forcing the G. O. P. to begin the new era by increasing appropriations. These fears have been proved as unjustified as they were ungenerous. Mr. Truman's last budget is quite unpolitical, and if the expenditure it envisages is very large, that is because, to quote the New York *Herald Tribune*, it is "the fiscal expression of policies that have been adopted by previous Congresses."

Actually, proposed expenditure for 1953-54 is almost $10 billion less than the total Mr. Truman asked for a year ago, a total which Congress, after much flourishing of verbal meat-axes, cut only by some $2 billion. However, largely because of lags in the placing and fulfilment of defense contracts, outlays this year are falling far below the original estimates, and as a result the expected deficit on June 30 will be under $6 billion. Next year, according to Mr. Truman's estimates, it will rise to $10 billion, assuming that the automatic tax cuts provided by existing laws are allowed to take effect.

Thus, to achieve its twin ambitions, a balanced budget and lower taxes, the Republican majority in Congress must carve at least $10 billion out of the proposed expenditure total. Since security programs account for 73 per cent of the whole, they will have to bear a large part of the cutting. But any major economies in this field will require much greater changes in defense and foreign policies than Mr. Eisenhower appears to contemplate. Indeed, such changes as he has hinted at—in the Far East, for instance—are apt to increase rather than decrease costs. We suspect, therefore, that when the dust settles, the main structure of the Truman budget will be intact.

Churchill's Visit

While no statement has been issued on the Eisenhower-Churchill talks, the British Prime Minister on arrival gave the press a good idea of the topics he was most anxious to discuss. He made it plain, for example, that he resented the repudiation of Roosevelt's promise to exchange information about atomic development and was going to press Britain's claims to be "a useful partner" in this field. He also referred to Britain's desire for "trade not aid," pointing out that this policy could not be implemented without a revision of American laws that hamper the entry of foreign goods.

But it was on the subject of the Far East that Mr. Churchill was bluntest and most communicative. He reiterated his well-known opinion that Western Europe is "the real center of gravity" and suggested that while stalemate in Korea was bad, "checkmate" would be infinitely worse. It would be "a great pity," he said, "for the United States and the United Nations army to wander about this vast China." Asked about continued British recognition of the Peking government, he hedged, saying that it was "a difficult question," but he added significantly a hope that the United States would "listen to the opinions we express."

Perhaps Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles proved good listeners. Many of their followers, however, appear deliberately deaf to any opinion that conflicts with their own congealed views. Thus David Lawrence in his syndicated column of January 6 accused Mr. Churchill of "ineptness" in his references to the problem of recognition, and of insulting the intelligence of American leadership by suggesting that extending the Korean war would mean sending American troops to the mainland. The sublimity of Mr. Lawrence's confidence on this point is equaled only by that of his lofty complaint that Churchill "is still following the Truman-Acheson line . . . unaware that it was repudiated in the recent election." That should put these British colonials in their place. George III, move over!

Dropping the Oil Suit

The Government's decision to drop any attempt at criminal indictment of the major oil companies on anti-trust charges came as no surprise to Washington. For weeks both the Defense and State departments had been generating tremendous pressures to this end. The decision, it is important to note, had nothing to do with the nature of the case against the oil companies, which is just as strong today as it was a month ago. (Indeed, the way is still open for the institution of a civil suit.) It was simply that the National Security Council, composed of the heads of key government departments, decided that criminal prosecution would endanger some of our oil supplies and would in general discourage private investment abroad.

It is known that extreme pressure is also being brought to bear upon the Truman Administration to get the Iran oil problem settled quickly. Iran and the anti-trust suits are not unrelated. The British are said to be willing to relinquish title to the Abadan refinery and to certain profits which they have been claiming from Iran, provided the oil suits are dropped and a monopoly is granted the major oil companies for the marketing of Iran oil. It may yet be that Washington's latest attempt to smash the existing cartel will end with the creation of a new one.

There remains the possibility that the new Administration will elect to proceed with a civil suit against the oil companies. But this too would have its irony, for it was these very oil interests that furnished a good part of the money which made possible the nomination and the election of our next President.

POINT 4—FOUR YEARS LATER

I. The Rich Got Richer

BY PAUL A. BARAN

[*On January 20, 1949, President Truman presented Point 4 to Congress. Four years have passed, and now, on all sides, there is a hue and cry for a new foreign economic policy. "A new pattern for America's foreign-aid program and a new look at its foreign economic policy appear inevitable," writes Alfred Friendly in the Washington* Post. *"A new long-range foreign policy," says Winthrop Aldrich, our next ambassador to Great Britain, must be supplemented with a "dynamic economic strategy." What, then, has happened to Point 4? And what about the U. N.'s "Point Four," or technical-aid, program? In this article Paul A. Baran, a member of the Department of Economics of Stanford University, describes the "reinterpretation" of Point 4 now shaping up. Next week Peter Weiss will discuss the U. N.'s development schemes. In following issues W. Arthur Lewis and Stringfellow Barr will present proposals for another kind of Point 4.*]

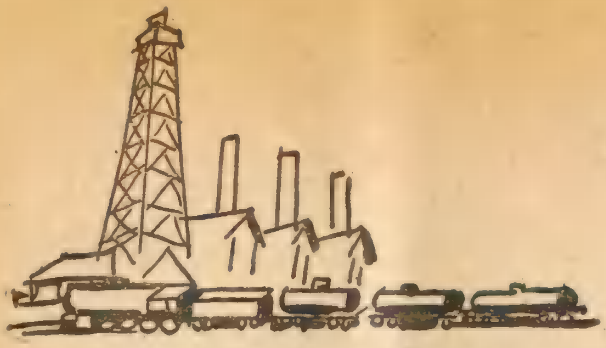
PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S announcement, in his 1949 inaugural address, of a "bold new program" of American aid to underdeveloped countries was a shrewd political move. It was calculated not only to give a "Fair Deal" touch to the rapidly unfolding foreign policy of the cold war, making it more palatable to progressive opinion both in this country and in Western Europe, but also to conjure up for the American business community a new vision of prosperity, just as the post-war boom was apparently drawing to a close. These considerations however, though important and urgent, were secondary. The main purpose of Point 4 was to counter Communist propaganda in backward countries with the prospect of economic and social development sponsored and generously aided by the United States.

The first objective was easily attained. Editorial writers and radio commentators were thrilled by the Administration's "imaginative" and "humanitarian" plan and talked and wrote about it so busily that they paid little attention to the State Department's flirtation with Franco, to American support of the French *guerre sale* in Indo-China, or to the rapid revival of fascism in West Germany and Japan. As a device for assuring prosperity, the proposal did not do so well. The recession of 1949 was short and mild, the international political scene was not conducive to much private investment abroad, and Wall Street accorded a rather sour reception to the idea of sinking large funds in underdeveloped countries. Nor was the chief purpose of Point 4 realized with any great success. Whatever propaganda value the program might have had was almost nullified by the magnetism of the victorious Chinese revolution and the United States' open alliance with the traditional colonial powers and native reactionary elements.

Under such circumstances not much enthusiasm for Point 4 was evinced by the policy-makers in Washington. The first Congressional appropriation for the newly established Technical Cooperation Administration did not exceed $34,000,000, and twenty-eight months later the London *Economist*—usually the State Department's most faithful friend on the other side of the Atlantic—noted that Mr. Truman's "bold new program" was "still being watered with little more than fine phrases and lavish promises." The situation was subsequently somewhat improved. For the fiscal year 1951-52 the Point 4 program got a larger appropriation, and for 1952-53 the amount, though about one-third less than the Administration requested, was still $137,000,000.

What is most important, however, is that this increased support for the Point 4 program is accompanied by a far-reaching "reinterpretation" of the nature and purpose of the entire undertaking. Indeed, altogether new wine is being poured into the old bottles, and it promises to be a much headier brew than that decanted in Mr. Truman's inaugural address. The first indication of what is to take the place of the President's noble promise to "supply the vitalizing force to stir the peoples of the world into triumphant action, not only against their human oppressors, but also against their ancient enemies—hunger, misery, and despair," was conveyed in a report of the International Development Advisory Board entitled "Partners in Progress." This report, prepared under the direction of Nelson Rockefeller, takes a "realistic view" of the United States' interest in underdeveloped countries and frankly places "first things first." "Since three-quarters of the imported materials included in the stock-pile program come from the underdeveloped areas," it declares, "it is to those countries that we must look for the bulk of any possible increase in these supplies." A great number of commodities are involved. "Aside from minerals, important expansions are contemplated to increase our supplies of rubber, petroleum, fats and oils, and some basic fibers."

This theme has been elaborated and solidified in another document called "Resources for Freedom," prepared by the President's Materials Policy Commission



headed by William S. Paley. "The commission believes that the United States will find it increasingly worth while to turn abroad for more supplies of many basic materials, particularly minerals." Production of these materials must therefore be increased in the underdeveloped countries. And neither the Rockefeller nor the Paley report leaves any doubt about how this increase is to be obtained. "The production and distribution of goods and services is primarily a function of private enterprise, whether it involves food and manufactured goods to meet ever-growing civilian demand or whether it involves the production of strategic raw materials" ("Partners in Progress"). But although "private enterprise can and should continue to carry the major burden" ("Resources for Freedom"), it cannot be expected to carry it all. The government must step in and relieve private business of excessive responsibilities. Whenever outlays that are indispensable to the conduct of business are unattractive to private investors either because they would not be remunerative enough or would be too risky or too big, the government should pick up the check. In the words of the *Economist* (July 5, 1952) "a way has been found for the government to bear part of the burden in the name of national defense, which is the umbrella under which all those wanting subsidies now shelter from the storms of the free-enterprise system."

Spending on the Technical Cooperation Administration and on its Point 4 activities is thus given an altogether new significance. It is seen to be for the purpose of insuring a steady flow of strategic materials, smoothing the way for private enterprise, providing American corporations with free prospecting services of all kinds, saving them the "burden" of exploration, and financing undertakings that they find exceedingly useful but insufficiently profitable.

ONCE the principle of private profits but public losses is firmly established, the Rockefeller and Paley reports express profound solicitude for the health and happiness of the peoples inhabiting the underdeveloped countries. Indeed, as if to illustrate the astute observation of the *Economist* cited above, "Partners in Progress" proclaims that "an improvement in their living levels must be considered a vital part of our defense mobilization." Unless more food, more clothing, more medicine are supplied to the people in backward countries, the necessary expanded output of raw materials may be unattainable. It is needless to add that while appropriate investment in the nutrition and health of the natives of the "source countries" would be thus fully justified by "hard-headed self-interest," it is up to the government to provide what is required to support a reasonably efficient and contented labor force. As noted in "Partners in Progress," "the absenteeism on the Vitoria-Minas railroad was cut dramatically by effective malaria control. This has made it possible to reduce maintenance crews by one-third, which in turn has cut the cost of extracting and transporting iron ore and mica from the Rio Doce Valley."

Such expressions of concern for the welfare of the people only throw into sharper relief the nature of the entire program. While great pains are taken to prove that it is "vital" to the United States to obtain control of "the manganese and tungsten deposits of Latin America, Africa, and Asia, the chrome ores of Turkey and the Philippines, the timber stands of Chile and Brazil, the pulpwoods of Labrador" ("Partners in Progress"), little thought seems to have been given to the question whether such an arrangement would confer equally vital benefits on the people living in the backward areas.

It is undoubtedly true that exports of minerals and other raw materials could "provide the financial basis for a domestic development program" ("Resources for Freedom"), but the fact remains—though neither report mentions it—that none of the raw-materials-exporting regions have thus far been able to carry out any development program worthy of the name on such a "financial basis." The misery in the oil-rich and oil-exporting countries of the Near East is no less proverbial than the squalor, disease, and stagnation in cotton-rich and cotton-exporting Egypt, in sugar-rich and sugar-exporting Cuba, and in coffee-rich and coffee-exporting Brazil. The Paley report cites the prosperity of Venezuela as an example of the blessings that accrue to backward areas catering to the vital needs of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. But the less said about Venezuela the better. Harvey O'Connor's brilliant report on that country published in the July, 1951, issue of the *Monthly Review* reads like an account of conditions in India in the heyday of British domination:

> What has happened in Venezuela is a gold-plated disaster moving on noiseless oiled bearings toward tragedy. Its ancient, static, but self-sufficient economy has been tossed in the ash can. . . . When the oil runs out . . . the nation will be like an old tailors' chest filled with useless spangles. It was impoverished, disease-ridden, illiterate twenty-five years ago, and still is.

Nor is it by any means fortuitous that even large revenues derived from raw-material exports do not stimulate economic growth. In most underdeveloped countries all or the bulk of these revenues are collected by a small group of big proprietors who use them for luxurious living or deposit them as capital abroad. The share going to the corrupt governments supports a parasitic bureaucracy and an overgrown military establishment.

Such economic development as takes place is of necessity lopsided. The raw-materials-producing enterprises form islands of advanced technology in seas of general backwardness. In these islands cluster a relatively small number of native workers, business men, and lobbyists. Only there does growth take place, and it resembles that of a cancer rather than of healthy tissue. It assumes mainly the form of bigger and better hotels and night clubs, of residential construction for foreigners and privileged natives, and of some industrial and commercial establishments serving this small élite.

FOR the raw-materials wealth of the backward countries to provide a basis for their economic development, it would be necessary for the extraction and marketing of the raw materials to proceed within the framework of a well-considered plan of general economic growth. Only by using the proceeds of their general exportation for the harmonious development of industry and agriculture, only by advancing from a raw-materials economy to a technologically and economically balanced processing economy, can the underdeveloped countries attain a decent level of productivity and welfare. They are not likely to attain it by being Mr. Rockefeller's "partners in progress" or by supplying Mr. Paley with "resources for freedom." They are not likely to attain it by paying, as they currently do, over 17 per cent per annum for such capital as is invested in their economies by American corporations.

The scheme of creating a raw-materials base in backward regions and reserving the role of industrial center to the mother country is by no means new. It may "work" for a short time; it is bound in the longer run to lead to increased misery and colonial revolutions. It is essentially inimical to the interests and aspirations of the people living in underdeveloped countries. It may be forced upon them with the help of the native upper classes and the *nouveaux-riches* of the raw materials booms; it will not be tolerated by them forever. More than a hundred years ago Lord William Bentinck, the governor general of India, reported to the British public:

> If security was wanting against extensive popular tumult or revolution, I should say that the Permanent Settlement, though a failure in many other respects and in its most important essentials, has this great advantage at least of having created a vast body of rich landed proprietors deeply interested in the continuance of the British dominion and having complete control over the mass of the people.

The fate of the Indian people under this "complete control" is well known. Is it the ambition of the United States to be able to boast about a similar success for Point 4?

The Future Comes to the South

BY ALFRED MAUND

Columbia, South Carolina

To the President of the United States, the Attorney General, and the Governors of those states where racial segregation is enforced by law:

WHEREAS, There are before the Supreme Court of the United States cases involving the constitutionality of enforced segregation in Delaware, Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and the District of Columbia, and

WHEREAS, The decision rendered by the court will have great bearing upon the very existence of democracy within the boundaries of the United States, which must stand today as the democratic stronghold of the world, and

Whereas, We as youth will be vitally affected by this decision, and whereas equal opportunities which are fundamental to a democratic society cannot exist in a segregated system, and

WHEREAS, A segregated system is founded upon undemocratic laws, which are in antithesis to the substance and spirit of our Constitution,

We, delegates coming from forty-five colleges in seventeen Southern and border states and attending a Southwide conference on youth and racial unity through educational opportunity convened in Columbia, South Carolina, do hereby petition that you act immediately to eliminate segregation in education.

THIS resolution, after paragraph-by-paragraph discussion, was passed without dissenting vote by the 138 persons, white and Negro, attending the final session of the recent anti-discrimination conference at Columbia.

The conference was sponsored by more than five hundred outstanding Southerners and was arranged by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an organization with headquarters in New Orleans. Attendance was widely representative. Besides college students and teachers there were present, for example, a white business man from Savannah, the first Negro to graduate from the University of Arkansas law school, a white high-school girl from Louisville, the president of the South Carolina Federation of Labor, and a Negro Methodist bishop. All delegates paid their own transportation and other expenses.

The meetings were held at Allen University, a Negro institution in downtown Columbia. The delegates were housed in one of the dormitories, with the young men on one floor and the young women on another. "The dining tables," the Columbia *State* reported, "are non-segregated. Some of the white students have Negro roommates. There is an air of informality and friendliness about the place."

No one would have thought that Columbia was the citadel of James F. Byrnes. It outdid itself in hospitality. The mayor sent regrets that he could not attend the opening session. In his stead City Councilman Marion A. Park extended official greetings to the delegates. By informal arrangement the ordinance forbidding whites and Negroes to ride together in a taxicab was suspended. The city's two newspapers, the *Record* and the *State*, were impeccably fair and thorough in their coverage. Radio station WMSC broadcast transcriptions of the opening session and of interviews with Dr. James A. Dombrowski, director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and Dr. William Marshall, president of Wayland Baptist College in Plainview, Texas. A party, with dancing and games, was given for the delegates at a U. S. O. hall.

Only one small incident occurred, and it ended happily. Some twenty delegates who arrived before eating facilities were available at the university went to a Negro restaurant in the neighborhood to get supper. The white proprietor sent word by the Negro waitress that he could not serve a mixed group. So the delegates started to walk out and were followed by a number of other customers who apparently held similar views. The proprietor then reconsidered, and the group was served without more ado.

The conference rewarded Columbia's hospitality by discussing the issues before it with the greatest moderation and seriousness. There was no posing or bragging, although the gathering was probably the first of its kind ever held in South Carolina. In panel discussions which covered every aspect of racial relations—school, home, church, industry—participants stressed both the lag and the promise of their home states. No one presumed to know exactly what would happen if segregation were outlawed, but all agreed that present progress and the needs of the future made that step immediately desirable and, indeed, inevitable.

The principal speakers emphasized the careful planning that would be necessary if legalized racial integration led eventually to the disappearance of race as a competitive and socially exclusive factor. Dr. Marshall described the steps he took to induce the Wayland board and student body to accept Negroes. Dean James P. Hupp of West Virginia Wesleyan College, who initiated integration there, discussed ways of leveling psychological barriers. Aubrey Williams, the Alabama publisher and writer who is president of the S. C. E. F., and Dr. Herman H. Long of Fisk University warned that court and legislative battles must be continued even if we are so fortunate as to get a good decision from the Supreme court." A campaign for tenure laws to protect the rights of Negro teachers in any merger of school systems that might take place was strongly urged.

The awareness and reasonableness of the young people were wonderful to behold. Although many were active members of church groups or students at church-supported schools their thoughts ranged far beyond sectarian lines. When the conference was asked to approve a section of a panel report urging that "personal behavior" be made "more spontaneously Christlike" the word "Christlike" was challenged as being possibly offensive to non-Christian groups both in the United States and abroad and was amended to "moral." A report pointing out the need for more social contact between the races if integration of schools was to work smoothly stated: "The principal means of contact is through the church." This was contested because it might be construed as advocating church intervention in state affairs. It was amended to: "A principal means of contact is through religious groups."

I went down to Columbia with some misgivings. The meetings had been widely announced. The prophets of doom who say the end of segregation will mean blood flowing in the streets had ample opportunity to make the gathering prove their thesis. Perhaps old Bishop Richard Allen, who a century ago broke with the Methodist church because of its segregation policies, interceded in heaven for the university named after him. All of us were certainly sustained by the thought of the countless persons in the South who have taken a resolute stand for decency and reason. I left Columbia feeling that I had seen the South's future—and that it worked.

ALFRED MAUND is on the staff of the Louisville Courier-Journal. *He has made a special study of the economic and racial problems of the South.*

What Germans Talk About

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

DURING the last few months I have been lecturing in West Germany on American foreign policy in Europe and on the present armament economy. My audiences—in Hamburg, Munich, and Frankfurt, in Cologne and Düsseldorf, in the Ruhr and the Rhineland, in Berlin—included chambers of commerce, trade unions, Socialists, liberals, university and middle-class groups. This experience taught me, first, to what an amazing extent the world has become homogeneous, since I could give the same talks in any German city that I had given in New York and Chicago; and, second, that Germans of all sorts in every part of the country are interested primarily in problems of foreign policy. An extended question period followed each lecture, and the discussions were long and spirited.

It is easy to understand why foreign policy is the first concern of most Germans. Everyone feels the presence of the occupation forces and wonders how long they will stay. In addition, Germany's geographical situation between the two great power blocs makes the importance of its international relations very clear. Thus discussion centered in the question: Will there be a war and if so when? No one wanted war. Over and over again people said that the results of another war, especially for Germany, would be so frightful that they could not even be thought about. In this context one question was invariably raised: Why haven't the Russians already launched a war?

A handful of those who contributed to the discussions argued that the Russians were peace-loving, or that they knew the horrors of war from experience. In Munich some of these belonged to Communist groups; the majority were members of the Bavarian trade unions. Other trade unionists, supporters of Adenauer, would retort: "Those are just empty words that you don't even believe yourselves." Just once, at a meeting in the Rhineland, a man declared that the Russians were deterred from starting a war by the NATO divisions stationed in Europe. Everyone laughed at him. But many said that the Russians did not want a war because they were afraid that their cities would be atom-bombed. Almost invariably someone would then ask why, if that were true, the Americans were pushing so hard for European and German divisions, which would not be needed if the threat of the bomb were sufficient. Some said that the Russians were having difficulties with their satellites and could not risk a war in Europe until their empire was consolidated. Another frequent contention was that Moscow did not need a war to gain most of its objectives in Europe; the differences among the European nations were so great that the Russians would eventually profit from them. Speakers generally agreed that if the Russians did not start a war in 1952, they were not likely to do so in 1953 or 1954. The consensus was that although Russia is rearming on a tremendous scale, America is building up its defenses much faster.

It was emphasized time and time again, by white-collar groups as well as workers, by students and middle-class audiences, that the Russians were not political hysterics like Hitler but coldly calculating men. In 1948, when Soviet authorities sought to seal off Berlin, and again at the beginning of the Korean war many Germans had been afraid that the Russians might launch an attack on West Germany any day. But since the rearming of Germany had been planned, this fear had vanished. Germans in all walks of life seemed convinced that the Russians would not wage war in the near future.

The question of what America would do after 1954, or whenever its arms output equaled Russia's, was frequently raised. As long as Germany's own military preparation was not brought into the discussion, there was usually some measure of agreement that it was better for peace if neither power bloc had military superiority; therefore all speakers—except the Communists, of course—favored America's rearming rapidly enough to close the gap between the two countries.

But what would happen when an approximate military balance had been attained? Some thought that the United States would have to reach an understanding with Russia. Others, particularly Socialists and trade unionists, asked if there was any guaranty that the Americans would stop rearming once they had caught up with the Russians? After all, the United States produced three to four times as much steel as the Soviet Union. If there were no war, it might end by outarming the Russians. Middle-class spokesmen usually thought this unlikely, arguing that the American people were known to be anti-militarist and would not support such a policy in peace time. Socialists and workers would reply that this was true only on the assumption that American prosperity continued: if a severe depression occurred after 1954, America, they believed, might step up its rearmament program. To which their middle-class opponents would

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FRITZ STERNBERG is the author of the widely discussed book "Capitalism and Socialism on Trial," which came out in this country at the beginning of the year. It is soon to be published in France, Yugoslavia, and Japan.

answer that the Russians had predicted a depression in the United States right after the war but it had failed to appear. They had again expected it during the first phase of the Marshall Plan, and again it had not materialized. Moreover, America now had government agencies prepared to counteract depressions as it did not have in 1929. They therefore discounted the danger that the United States would increase its military expenditures in order to avoid or cure a recession.

RATIFICATION of the treaties which provide for a German army was discussed at every meeting. In Berlin, where the situation is different from that in the rest of West Germany, military revival is favored not only by the middle class but also by a large majority of the trade unionists. The fight against the Russians and the Communists is so much part of everyday life in West Berlin that most factions accept the idea of a German army within the framework of the Atlantic Pact. In the rest of West Germany middle-class representatives in Parliament are in favor of the army; the Socialists are opposed. The trade unions have not yet taken a clear stand, but many of their members are against the idea. These divergent views were reflected in the discussions that followed my lectures. The middle-class position is that in the world today power politics prevails, and this means military power. If Germany is to regain its independence, it must be armed; and if the Americans favor a German army, they should be supported.

The Social Democrats are absolutely opposed to the Soviet regime and advocate the military defense of West Germany in case of Russian aggression. However, for reasons of internal politics they regard the creation of a German army as a grave danger, to be accepted only if absolutely necessary. Since Russia, in their opinion, is unlikely to attack in the near future, the need of an army is not urgent. Meanwhile they are fighting for control of the government. They do not expect to win a majority in next summer's elections, but they hope to make large gains and thus become an integral part of the government. If the government begins to build an army between now and then, the Social Democrats fear that internal politics will veer sharply to the right.

An additional argument against remilitarization phrased by Socialist intellectuals was that Germany would be in a weakened condition for a long time, and that a weak democratic state would not be the master of its army but would be ruled by it. With old and new Nazi officials in high posts, this army-dominated West Germany could play an ominous role in Europe. In that case the United States might be prodded by the Germans to extend its own rearmament program beyond 1954, until it had attained clear-cut military superiority over Russia, and then demand that Germany be unified. If the Russians refused, the Americans might threaten war. But if the Americans did not insist on unification, then Germany might change fronts and join with Russia.

It is an interesting comment on the present world situation that when the question of ratifying the German treaties came up in the British Parliament, the arguments presented and the misgivings expressed were very similar to those voiced by German intellectuals.

In other countries rearmament is generally considered in relation to the social sacrifices it entails, but in the talk I heard this aspect was subordinated to the effect of rearmament on German unification. Many middle-class and intellectual groups without definite political affiliations opposed the creation of an army on the ground that, at least for the time being, it would rule out unification; in fact, it would widen the split between East and West. Why, they asked, should Russia give up Eastern Germany if it received no reward? A frequent argument was: The creation of our army means that twentieth-century Germany will meet the fate of Poland in the nineteenth century.

IN WEST GERMANY today the Social Democrats have the backing of the vast majority of organized and unorganized labor. The Communists, outnumbered seven or eight to one by the Social Democrats, have become a mere sect because they are identified with the Soviet regime. The experiences which German residents have had with the regime in the eastern zone and in the eastern sector of Berlin cannot be concealed; those who leave the areas spread the facts.

In the Ruhr and the Rhineland I frequently talked before hundreds of workers who had come directly from the factory. More than once a man stood up during the discussion period and said that the standard of living in West Germany and West Berlin was much higher than in Eastern Germany. Men who had at one time worked in the eastern zone would confirm this. At one meeting a worker of about fifty took the floor and said that while that might be true, it was not the main thing. He was a skilled metal worker, he said, who had formerly worked in Saxony. He had now been in West Germany for six months, had been unable to find a job in his own field, and was earning at other work only 90 per cent of what he had got in the eastern zone. Yet although he was worse off financially, he had never considered going back, for when he attended a meeting like this he could be sure that his wife and two children were still at home and had not been arrested, and if he participated in the discussion as he was doing now, he did not have to fear that the police would spirit him away. As a rule the applause was perfunctory when someone made a speech in the discussion period after my lectures. This time, however, it was vigorous and spontaneous; the man had said what they all thought.

One question frequently asked in academic circles was: Can Germany regain its sovereignty in a world where all Western Europe, and England as well, is becoming more and more dependent on the United States, economically, militarily, and politically? Everyone agreed that political independence did not simply happen, that it must be fought for, but opinions differed as to means. Some intellectuals said that Germany could become a sovereign state only by remaining aloof from both the United States and Russia and pursuing Talleyrand's policy of playing one big power against the other. The Socialists said there could be no pact with Russia and that Germany could grow more independent of the United States only by developing a democratic planned economy integrated with that of Western Europe.

New Strait-Jacket for Unions?

BY RICHARD A. LESTER

EACH time a crippling strike takes place, employer groups revive the union-fragmentation scheme, which failed of approval in the Eightieth Congress by only one vote in the Senate. In the last Congress many Republicans and Dixiecrats sought some means of breaking up nation-wide unions and putting them under anti-trust control—the Gwinn bill would have banned industry-wide strikes; the Lucas bill, bargaining with more than one company or local group. Before Congress adjourned in July, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that Senator Taft was considering introducing in the next Congress a new "anti-labor-monopoly law."

Although state experience with laws against strikes on utilities shows that proper provisions for seizure can protect the public against paralyzing stoppages, there is no basis for the belief that breaking up the national unions would solve the problem of strikes creating a national emergency or cure monopolistic practices in the purchase and sale of labor. Fragmentation is rather an artful scheme to entangle unions in legal red tape and to weaken organized labor by forcing it into uneconomic units and destroying loyalties that extend beyond the individual company or locality.

The campaign to sell the proposal to the American people has been marked by misuse of terms, misleading analogies, ambiguity, and astounding ignorance of labor organization and history. Company negotiation to establish wage patterns and union action to enforce them are miscalled industry-wide bargaining, which is indeed rare in manufacturing industries in this country. The principal industries in which it is found are men's clothing, pottery, and pressed and blown glassware, and these have been strike-free for fifteen to fifty years. In steel, bargaining has been on a company basis, although at times of deadlock and government intervention the large companies have united in the presentation of their case. In bituminous coal, agreements have been and are now reached by separate regional negotiations and not by one industry-wide bargaining conference.

Advocates of partition contend that the federal anti-trust laws limiting business practices should be balanced by an anti-trust law applicable to labor. This argument, however, disregards the fact that employers have not been subject to the federal anti-trust laws with respect to the purchase of labor services; they have, in fact, freely cooperated and colluded on wages and hiring through personnel associations and management meetings. Moreover, under the Taft-Hartley act all secondary boycotts—really sympathetic strikes—are declared unfair labor practices and made subject to damage suits. Inter-company cooperation to defeat a strike is not similarly proscribed by Taft-Hartley.

Even Senator Taft has recognized that the federal anti-trust laws are not well designed for application to labor. Prosecution of unions under anti-trust legislation is certainly not the road to constructive labor relations. Only a person without experience in industrial relations would maintain that union rivalry has beneficial consequences for the public and exchange of information among companies or local unions injurious ones.

Proponents of partition fail to explain how single-firm bargaining would prevent disrupting strikes, given large materials producers like United States Steel, the Aluminum Company of America, and Kennecott Copper; certainly it has not stopped the spread of strikes from one firm to another in the past. And they disregard the fact that the elimination of monopolistic buying and selling of labor services would require truly revolutionary changes in the structure of American industry as well as in that of unions. It could probably be achieved only by compulsory central hiring of all labor through a single community employment exchange, modeled after stock and commodity markets; only thus could assurance be given that no buyer or seller would handle more than a minor fraction of the total hirings of a given type of labor in a locality.

Nor has any attempt been made to answer the many other questions and objections that have been raised.

RICHARD A. LESTER is chairman of the Department of Economics of Princeton University and author of "Labor and Industrial Relations."

The proposal for autonomous company and local unions is offered as a simple reform that could be realized without too much difficulty. Its advocates fail to state, or perhaps even to realize, that their program would mean the practical destruction of craft unionism, the transformation of the two hundred-odd national unions into ineffectual federations that would duplicate present A. F. of L. and C. I. O. set-ups, the compulsory severance of long-standing institutional and personal loyalties; and the enforced isolation of the parts of a movement with fifteen million members and a hundred and fifty years of militant tradition. It is like proposing to carve up the Presbyterian or Catholic church into local units which shall remain separate and autonomous.

TO BE logical and defensible, the program would have to be accompanied by a thoroughgoing dissolution of large firms and employer associations and enforced independence of the severed parts of company or personnel organizations. And in slicing up industrial combinations, account would need to be taken of the appropriateness of each segment as jurisdiction for a union. It has repeatedly been emphasized by labor experts that little more reason exists for unions to be cut up according to the odd assortment of activities in which many multiplant companies are engaged than for a company to be restricted in its operations to the jurisdiction of an individual union. To insist that the unit of organization of a company and of a union should be identical is to ignore their different needs and historical development; the most economical and effective unit for business purposes may be completely inappropriate and unsatisfactory for the activities of a labor organization.

Company unionism of this type would generate industrial strife and raise problems of enforcement that stagger the imagination. By creating a fundamental threat to union existence, it would make union security a major issue throughout the economy for an indefinite period. Severance of long-established institutional ties and enforced autonomy of the pieces would require artificial barriers to communication between union officials and federal policing of a union's internal affairs.

One cannot but wonder why such a naive and obtuse proposal, with its revolutionary implications for the structure of industry and for labor relations in this country, should find ready acceptance in certain business quarters. Is it because many industrial leaders still hanker for the company-union era of the 1920's? Is it because they hope to entangle organized labor in new legal difficulties even at the risk of additional restrictions on industry? Is it because a propaganda campaign against "labor monopoly" and "industry-wide bargaining" is useful in obfuscating issues and forcing labor into a defensive position? Or does it simply reveal mental rigidity and lack of constructive ideas at a time when we need a new approach to the problem of industrial disputes?

A constructive program to protect the country against crippling strikes should have high priority in the next Congress. State experience with utility strike legislation offers a basis on which to build. Virginia, for instance, provides penalties for both parties in case of stalemate and state seizure; such a provision makes it unattractive for either side to block a settlement. If Congress is not sidetracked by debate of whimsical ideas for institutional reconstruction, the prospects are good for the adoption of legislation that is fair and that contains real incentives for the two parties to reach workable solutions to their differences.

TV's Brave New Experiment

BY SAUL CARSON

TELEVISION has brought us the biggest jackpot yet offered on the air waves. It is a $2,000,000 prize, put up by the Ford Foundation. The value immediately obtainable, for the mere twist of a television dial, is an excellent program. But at the end of the rainbow are possible rewards far outweighing present benefits. The distant goal is nothing less than curtailment of the advertiser's role, which since the days when "The A. and P. Gipsies" first wowed American radio listeners has infused so many programs with mediocrity out of concern for the lowest of all possible common denominators and inured an entire generation to the vulgarity of the pitchman's taste.

This venture of the Ford Foundation's TV-Radio Workshop is centered in a video program that may be seen any Sunday afternoon on sets tuned to one of at least fifty-one stations hooked up with the CBS-TV network. The name of the show is "Omnibus." It is an outsize show, big in every respect. In its ninety minutes—a very large slice of "peak-period" time—it brings the viewer famous performers projecting drama, poetry, dance, music, with a good deal of dazzling glamour and considerable sheer pretentiousness. But the important thing is its promise to show broadcasters the advantages of freedom from advertisers' control.

SAUL CARSON has been a radio and TV critic for many years. He is now writing for both mediums.

Curiously enough, the revolt against advertisers' influence is being carried on with the help of the advertisers themselves. The maximum of five sponsors has been signed up, and the lucky ad men—they were literally standing in line to buy in!—are handing over $25,000 apiece each week for a program bought blind.

The sponsors have absolutely nothing to say about format, content, or any of the details of production. These matters are the concern of the TV-Radio Workshop, and no one's money can make the slightest difference. The sponsor who buys "Omnibus" must forget the old convention that the huckster who pays the bills gets a blank canvas to decorate or deface at will. Broadcasters never had any business relinquishing program control; the legal responsibility as licensees is theirs, and so is the moral obligation. They abdicated their trust when they permitted advertisers to run programs, thus opening the way to the vapidity of so much of our radio fare. Now the Ford Foundation, without lecturing or scolding, is doing something about the situation. It has bet $2,000,000 that an established trend can be reversed. From this viewpoint alone "Omnibus" is an experiment worth watching. It must of course build audience popularity or find itself bogged down in futile if well-intentioned philanthropy. So far "Omnibus" has stayed on the road.

FROM the beginning the Ford people discarded several of the hobbles that advertising had imposed on programming. One was strict adherence to a schedule of quarter-hour periods. Because time must be found for commercial plugs, a play or an act must be fitted to the fifteen-minute framework, cut if necessary, padded when short. "Omnibus" dispenses with such artificiality. On its debut, November 9, and again two months later, time was found for a "spot" that took exactly two minutes, all that was needed for a movie of the new X-ray films. If a drama needs twenty-two minutes, or forty minutes, the time is there. On February 1 the entire ninety minutes, with time out for commercials, will be given over to the Metropolitan Opera Company's studio production of the Garson Kanin–Howard Dietz version of "Die Fledermaus."

Another traditional practice from which "Omnibus" has freed itself is that of sticking largely to one or the other of the usual modes of television production—films or live studio performances. "Omnibus" lets the subject matter, not the budget or convenience, determine whether a number shall be transmitted directly from the studio or by film.

James Agee, co-author of John Huston's much-praised movie "The African Queen," wrote for "Omnibus" an affecting and highly poetic drama called "Mr. Lincoln." It was necessary to film the play, both because its length exceeded the ninety minutes allowed and because the script called for camera shots on location in the scenes of Lincoln's youth. Louis de Rochemont was hired to make the movie and did a superb job. On television "Mr. Lincoln" has been divided into five parts, the running time ranging from twenty-five to forty minutes.

Maxwell Anderson has written three original plays for "Omnibus"; William Saroyan, six. Rex Harrison and Lilli Palmer starred in the first of the Anderson plays, "The Trial of Anne Boleyn." Helen Hayes and Burgess Meredith gave emotional intensity to the second of the Saroyan plays.

There has been some excellent ballet. Several numbers were filmed for the program in Paris by Jean Benoit-Levy, producer of the pictures "Ballerina" and "Maternelle." The music department is particularly strong. Helen Hayes has given a reading to the music of Ravel's "Mother Goose Suite." A film made in Finland has brought us Sibelius. Stokowski has presented Moussorgsky; and other Stokowski numbers are in the works.

Science is not being overlooked. Among the films to be shown will be some made at medical-research centers, some at large industrial plants, a few at museums and zoos. In the documentary field a film showing the work of a tugboat captain in New York harbor was a failure. But some slips must be expected.

Alistair Cooke, chief correspondent of the Manchester *Guardian* in the United States, who acts as master of ceremonies, is an urbane man with a keen sense of humor and the ability to interpret what he perceives, but "Omnibus" does not give him the chance to do much more than explain the meaning of its title. Left to himself, Cooke could do much better and could pull the program together on days when it threatens to disintegrate into a potpourri.

The program could and should be a laboratory for new writing. There is safety in relying on Saroyans and Andersons, but it would be bolder to seek out and help develop fresh and brave television authors. "Omnibus" could also afford more technical experimentation, especially in music and the dance. I think it might even now and then venture into straight educational fare and show tomorrow's educational-TV broadcasters what can be done with ample resources.

Since "Omnibus" is likely to be with us a long time, the defects may eventually be ironed out, the gaps filled in. The $2,000,000 earmarked for the program was just about enough money to keep the show rolling for twenty-six weeks—without sponsors. But after nine weeks on the air five had boarded the bandwagon. What they pay covers not only the time cost ($60,000 a week) but the show's entire budget. Thus "Omnibus" will hardly have to touch its principal and will be able, perhaps, to turn some of its money back into other productions by the TV-Radio Workshop. The program may usher in a new tomorrow in television.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

ARTISTS AND GONDOLAS

BY DOROTHEA S. GREENBAUM

WE MET in the Palace of the Doges on a mild autumn morning. There Unesco's director general, Jaime Torres Bodet, welcomed us and asked us to "investigate the practical conditions for the freedom of the artist in contemporary society and to discover ways of associating creative artists more closely with the work of Unesco." That afternoon we moved across the Grand Canal to the island of San Giorgio. And more than four hundred artists sat down together to start a week's discussion.

This was the International Conference of Artists sponsored by Unesco and held in Venice September 22 to 28—the first international meeting of artists. The arts were the theater, literature, music, architecture, painting, sculpture, and the cinema; forty-three member nations and international associations sent representatives.

There were silks from the Far East, leather jackets and beards from Australia and Israel, black vestments and fuchsia birettas from the Vatican State, and the high stiff collars of the French lawyer. There were people wearing rows of medals, pushing into every photograph, some with selling schemes, others handing out national propaganda. And there were men and women of prestige—Jules Romains, Henry Moore, Gabrielle Mistral, Le Corbusier, Jean Lurçat, Jacques Villon, Idelbrando Pizzetti, Arthur Honegger, Francesco Malipiero, Marino Marini, Marc Connelly, Roberto Rossellini, Stephen Spender, Graham Sutherland, and many others.

We met in the Cini Foundation, that beautiful monastery designed by Palladio; flying angels on the painted ceiling peeked through the materials draped across them in a vain effort to control the blaring sound waves from the loud speakers.

The United States delegation consisted of Thornton Wilder, theater, who was chairman; Allen Tate, literature; William Schuman, music; Valentine Davies, cinema; Ralph Walker, architecture; and George L. K. Morris, painting. I represented sculpture. Henry Billings was on the organizing committee of the conference.

We arrived with high hopes and sharp pencils, eager and business-like, impatient of delays. We met at 8:15 every morning, and our smoke-filled room was the sunny terrace of the hotel where we breakfasted. We talked over our ideas. Then we went to the conference.

There was something for everyone: for the idealist, addresses on respect for the dignity of man, on the need for collaboration among architects, painters, and sculptors, on the artist's place in society, on the formation of an International Council of Arts and Letters; for the practical artist, discussions of his relations with dealers, critics, the public, and fellow-artists; of the difficulty of obtaining studios and contracts; of removal of custom barriers, and many other concrete subjects. Good solid fare.

But thanks to a fine disregard for the agenda in the conference as a whole and in the various sections of it, subjects and suggestions were lost in a torrent of generalizations. This was particularly true of the Visual Arts Committee, an unwieldy body composed of architects, painters, and sculptors. The smaller committees fared better.

The French were determined and voluble. Their long domination of the art world made them impatient of any opposition, and we felt a disturbing resistance to our delegation. They and the Italians were solidly behind the creation of an International Council of Arts and Letters. Great Britain, the United States, and many smaller nations insisted that the money needed to support another international organization could be used for more direct benefits to the artists.

The confusion was hard on artists, who, as Thornton Wilder put it, "spend their days in making the ideal concrete," and especially hard on the sculptors, those tough-muscled, grubby-handed people, part plumber and part gardener, whose brains are in their finger tips and who cannot believe in anything they cannot touch. The exception was Henry Moore, whose paper was one of the high points of the week.

The difficulties were legion: bad acoustics, the difference in language, the lack of a common parliamentary procedure and of proper clerical service, which led to much misunderstanding. Italy's chivalrous desire to honor old age resulted in the appointment of men of unquestioned distinction but totally unqualified to be committee chairmen. Our greatest obstacle was the lack of opportunity to meet informally with fellow-artists—for in such contacts lay the real vitality of the conference.

Yet out of the morass of difficulties something gradually emerged. At the end of a week of outward turmoil and frustration we were surprised to find that we had been part of a wonderful experience. Aside from the resolutions adopted—for the establishment of an International Federation for the Visual Arts, for free circulation of artistic works, and so on—there developed a genuine awareness of the other fellow—a realization that winning a resolution sometimes meant losing a friend, that a resolution good for Connecticut is not necessarily good for Thailand, that the very size of the United States, with its vast number of artists, its state autonomy, and its conception of democratic government puts it in a class by itself.

We learned that there are no blanket solutions, but that friendliness and patience can overcome much hostility. And perhaps most important, we learned that we all value our freedom above everything else and our freedom to decide what freedom means to us. It was a week of contradictions and accomplishments, of naivete and connivance, of unexpected hostility and warming sympathy. Its value was intangible but real nevertheless, and the proof was in the eagerness with which we talked of meeting again.

It is singularly fitting that the conference was held in Venice, that city of contrasts where beauty and tawdriness rub elbows. Built on salt marshes, it is a monument to man's vision and defiance of obstacles. It rests on mud flats, but its bronze horses cavort unimpeded and the carved angels on the churches trumpet hosannas to the sky. The indescribable joy of creation is everywhere!

The German Generals

SWORD AND SWASTIKA. By Telford Taylor. Simon and Schuster. $5.

LIKE the so-called national character of the German people the famous general staff of their past armies belongs to those subjects about which much nonsense has been written. Both the admirers and the haters of the German officer corps usually glorify it in one way or the other, exaggerating either its virtues or its faults. It is all the more satisfying, therefore, to find the former chief counsel of that dubious performance, the trial of the war criminals at Nürnberg, coming forward with an objective work that perfectly achieves its limited purpose: to furnish the general reader with enough data in narrative form to enable him to approach and to consider the whole controversial subject intelligently.

Starting with a sketch of the origins of the German officer caste, its development during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and its curious survival of the World War I defeat, Mr. Taylor proceeds to the ingenious building up—with the connivance of Trotsky and Stalin—of a new skeleton army during the few years of the Weimar Republic. He then analyzes, with rare insight for a foreigner, the relationship between army and state leadership when, after the 1929 New York stock-market crash that shook the world, times became ever more critical. All of a sudden the swastika began to rise along with the unemployment figures. Until then Hitler's movement—which had the sympathy of many generals because it allegedly possessed "the power to make converts among the workers for the cause of nationalism"—had had no success whatever: after ten years of effort there were only 12 Nazis among 491 Reichstag deputies. But even after 1929 Hitler was unable to attract the workers.

The notion, later on widely accepted abroad, that the German people swept Hitler into power was sheer Nazi propaganda. The power was handed to Hitler from above at the very moment when the National Socialist Party was falling apart. The specter of a liberal, Social Democratic Germany—there was no Communist danger—was too much for the generals and the big industrialists. If their dated dreams of German might, of subject labor, and of dominating positions for the members of the old ruling classes had to be forced upon the German people, only Hitler and his henchmen would be ruthless enough to do the job. The aristocratic officers differed with him more often than not on manners, method, and timing, but they were in basic agreement with his goals and his anti-parliamentary pseudo-philosophy.

Mr. Taylor traces the ups and down of the unholy alliance of an archaic caste and a modern demagogue during the fateful years from 1933 until after the crushing of Poland in September, 1939. If anything, Hitler moved too fast for the professional soldiers. They figured that by 1944 or 1945 they would have restored German military might and could then face all possibilities with confidence. But they were unable to restrain Hitler. The Pope and Stalin had been the first to dignify his rule; the world had accepted his tearing up of the post-war treaties and his march into the Rhineland; the English were negotiating with him for a naval treaty. He moved from success to success on the international scene. And in Germany itself he had not hesitated to annihilate those of his followers who had wanted—prematurely, from his point of view—to dispose of the old officer caste. So until 1938 the generals had little to complain of. Only a few of them realized how their acquiescence in Hitler's lawless orgies of terror, the concentration camps, the pogroms, was sapping their moral strength, once their undisputed pride. But they were all busy building a new super-perfect army and stalemating the intrigues of Himmler and Göring, who craved all power for Hitler and themselves. What really mattered even to those generals who had come to despise and fear Hitler was to get their new mass army in shape.

With an eye to the essential Mr. Taylor pictures the attitude of the German General Staff during the decisive years 1938 and 1939. Here, with the accelerated course of events, his narrative makes exciting reading, though he never stoops to sensational writing. Mr. Taylor sees more clearly than others who have written about this period that if Chamberlain and Daladier had called Hitler's bluff in 1938, the Führer would in all probability have been done for. And it is with a sense of tragedy that we read of the generals' trust in the integrity of the French and English governments—the generals had no doubt that these governments would come to the rescue of Czechoslovakia! They had decided not to permit Hitler to plunge Germany into a general war for which it was not ready. Halder and Witzleben had set the date for their putsch—September 28, 1938—when the news came that Chamberlain would fly to Munich. It stopped them cold, and the next day Hitler proved the generals political fools. They were never to regain their self-assurance.

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and French secret service did not report to their governments that Germany was absolutely unprepared for a major conflagration, that only five fighting divisions and seven reserve divisions were guarding Germany's western frontier, while the mass of the Wehrmacht and Luftwaffe was deployed around Czechoslovakia. What, then, was the compelling reason for the surrender at Munich? The primitive Russian explanation that the idea was to push Hitler eastward is refuted by the events of the following year. But the archives in London and Paris have not yet been opened for full inspection. As far as the documentation goes, Munich is still a mystery.

Mr. Taylor's narrative closes before World War II began in earnest. His concluding chapter on the responsibility of the officer corps reads like the instruction of an efficient trial judge to the jurors. Here again he is to be congratulated for his impartiality and his skill in presenting highly complex situations with lucidity. His book is a timely contribution to today's debate about the rearmament of Germany.

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Letters of Stendhal

TO THE HAPPY FEW. Selected Letters of Stendhal. Introduced by Emmanuel Boudot-Lamotte. The Grove Press. $5.

"TO THE HAPPY FEW"—Stendhal's salutation to his friends and to those sensitive souls who, in the future, would understand him—is a selection of 225 letters and parts of letters from a monumental corespondence. M. Boudot-Lamotte's intention, he declares, has been to put together "significant pages that are beautiful by reason of their significance: pages, too, whose thousand touches reconstruct a bird's-eye view of the man who, by striving to understand himself, did much to deepen the understanding of the human heart." The annotations are copious and useful, especially many excerpts from "La Vie de Henri Brulard" relevant to situations and states of mind which the letters sometimes only hint at. The English of Norman Cameron's translation falls pleasantly on the ear.

On the whole these pages are less beautiful than M. Boudot-Lamotte thinks. For what they tell us of other times and other manners, or as an autobiographical record, they are not comparable to the best letters of Byron or Keats. Often they *are* engrossing, but they have confirmed me in heterodoxy: though he wrote two great novels, Stendhal has been overrated as a thinker by the disciples to whom his casual scribblings—they mount to the thousands and piety has catalogued them at Grenoble—are of vatic importance. The greatness of the novels lies in Stendhal's understanding of feeling and passion, and in that double view by which characters entirely involved with their own problems see themselves, from time to time, lucidly and objectively. In the same way the best of these letters are those in which he describes the passions which ravaged but never destroyed him, passions, however, on which, as a phrase will indicate or as the annotations attest, he could always shed a very dry light. On the rough draft of an anguished letter to Métilde Dembowski he writes, "Notions of throwing the whole thing over." And later, "Respectable women are as hussy-like as hussies."

Too often, however, his correspondence, as represented here, reveals the Stendhal addicted to generalizations about love or conduct or politics. The letters to his sister, Pauline, which make up almost one-third of the selection, are simply not very interesting. M. Boudot-Lamotte defines her as Stendhal's "chastest, tenderest, cruelest, and also most serious love." Nothing in them indicates any feeling approaching love. They were written by a young man recently come to Paris, poor, boastful, as yet without the friends and the influence he was determined to acquire. As a palliative to loneliness he formulated advice for the sister immured in the family circle in Grenoble, advice which is largely a mixture of rather worldly copy-book maxims and the empirical wisdom that abounds in the philosophical and pseudo-philosophical writing of the eighteenth century. Once Stendhal had embarked on a life dedicated to grand passions, and once he had established himself, so far as he ever was to establish himself, in the great world, this factitious concern with Pauline waned. She could not compete with the women who betrayed him regularly or who just as regularly did not want him; she could not even compete with his ceaseless intrigues to obtain a suitable government appointment.

To cease complaining. Many of these letters are very good. The three drafts of his letter to Balzac after the younger novelist's article on "La Chartreuse de Parme" are deeply moving. Or there is the stoic brevity of his reference to the malady which was to kill him: "I have been fairly successful in hiding my trouble. I consider that there is nothing ridiculous about dying in the street, provided one does not do it on purpose." His outpourings to Métilde Dembowski are a magnificent record of self-torment, self-analysis, and self-knowledge. The events he describes come to life, whether he is writing about the burning of Moscow or the tedious daily round of the last years at Civitavecchia. And some of his generalizations about the human condition illumine large areas of experience exactly as they light up entire chapters in the novels. Also, the Stendhalian egotism is never offensive. As M. Boudot-Lamotte points out, it is not "an excessive love of oneself but merely the habit of speaking of oneself. . . . In the meantime Stendhal had . . . clearly proved that 'egotism, if sincere, is a manner of depicting the human heart'." Certainly this book demonstrates that intense concern with the microcosm of the self may, on occasion, lead to self-knowledge and also to the kind of understanding necessary to great fiction.

ERNEST JONES

Politics and Ethics

THE NEW SCIENCE OF POLITICS. By Eric Voegelin. The University of Chicago Press. $3.

LORD ACTON, A STUDY IN CONSCIENCE AND POLITICS. By Gertrude Himmelfarb. The University of Chicago Press. $3.75.

HERE are two unusually provocative and thoughtful short books. Eric Voegelin, a political scientist well versed in classical literature and in philosophy, offers in his Charles R. Walgreen Foundation Lectures of 1951 an introduction to political science as understood before the rise of the positivistic and sociological schools of the last fifty years. Professor Voegelin leans rather heavily on theological concepts; he sees the predicament of modern times in the "gnostic" deification of man and society, in the expectation, without due regard for the limitations of man as a creature, of Messianic perfection here on earth and within history. This is in no way a new theory, but the author discusses it and its implications from an unusually broad background. Every reader will learn something from it. But though an eschatological element, a "messianism" secularized in the faith in progress and human betterment, forms part of the modern world, it is only one of its elements. Dr. Voegelin rightly believes that the English and American democracies represent the most hopeful and most firmly consolidated stratum of "civilizational tradition," but that is so because in their societies there is another and much more decisive element—namely, tolerance and freedom of thought rooted in the recognition of diversity, which unfortunately hardly penetrated in Germany, Russia, Asia, or Spain. The modern civilization of the West is based upon the rejection of dogmatic authority. In that connection Lord Acton rightly said that "the emancipation of conscience from authority is the main content of modern history." This emancipation of individual conscience from state and church, dogma and ideology, is one of the elements of strength in Anglo-American civilization, and the tragedy of Germany, Spain, or Russia is not their "Westernization" but their insufficient "Westernization."

Lord Acton, who never had any illusion about the weaknesses of human nature or about the moral dangers of spiritual or political power—as a Catholic moralist he opposed papal infallibility—has finally found, fifty years after his death, a worthy biographer. Dr. Himmelfarb, whose field is the intellectual history of nineteenth-century England, gives us here not a definitive biography of the great and solitary Victorian but a perceptive study, extremely well written, of a first-rate mind that probed even more deeply than Tocqueville into the issues of modern times. For all his apprehension about mass democracy, Acton was no prophet of doom. He was a deeply religious man; yet he did not regret the loss of authority, which so many of our contemporaries—and not only in the totalitarian countries—seem sometimes to think indispensable for the survival of morality.

Acton knew of the existence of evil. He opened his lecture on The History of Freedom in Antiquity with the words, "Liberty, next to religion, has been the motive of good deeds and the common pretext of crime," but the idea of liberty, nevertheless, remained for him the central principle of history. It did not depend on prosperity or material progress, on science or religion, on democracy or nationality. "All these things have been its tributaries and servants, but they have, in turn, been rivals and obstacles." Acton's liberalism was not founded in an exuberant optimism but in a sober commitment to a political faith that carries potentialities for disaster as well as the promise of improvement. While power corrupted, conscience could redeem; history was a tug of war between the two. "While conscience itself," writes Mrs. Himmelfarb, summing up Acton's belief, "was the metaphysical warrant for liberty, the conflict of consciences was its empirical security." In that sense again liberty in diversity, based upon tolerance and mutual respect, is one of the fundamental elements of modern Western civilization as it arose in seventeenth-century England and was expanded in eighteenth-century Anglo-America.

HANS KOHN

Films

MANNY FARBER

THE only way to pull the vast sprawl of 1952 films together is to throw most of them in a pile bearing the label "movies that failed through exploiting middle-brow attitudes about what makes a good movie." This leaves me with the following box-office stepchildren to list as my "ten best" films. It is difficult to say whether I liked or disliked a number of films that will appear on most other lists, since it was usually a case of being impressed with classy craftsmanship and bored by watching it pander to some popular notion about what makes an artistic wow. One such film, "Come Back, Little Sheba," went all out for sympathizing with underdogs; another, "Member of the Wedding," stuffed itself with odd "characters" of Dickensian proportions; "For

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REGINALD THOMPSON
Korean war correspondent, London Daily Telegraph (Conservative)

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bidden Games" rubbed amateur acting and untampered rural surroundings in your eyes. In each case, I felt I was supposed to applaud the "crutches" that are currently leaned on in cinema, and that, for me, negated some good things about the films.

"The Strange Ones." A macabre melodrama about incestuous adolescence; rates top honors in every film department for its tough-minded, unself-consciously clumsy but delicate treatment of a subject a movie crew could easily have murdered. Turns up one fascinatingly grotesque image after another; set in the small, special world of a fantastically disordered bedroom, it works with a sick brother and his sister who wander about in bathrobes seeking some new gadget or ritual for kicks; crowds the whole tremulous desperation of two deeply affectionate, anarchic little beasts into the performances of Stephane and Dermuthe, whose acting of the queer and fantastic should be studied by the overrated Julie Harris–Shirley Booth–Marlon Brando academy of overplaying.

"Oh, Amelia." A fifty-year-old French bedroom farce refashioned by Claude Autant-Lara with split-second timing, extreme gaiety, and ingenuity in repeatedly compromising a heroine without actually corrupting her; though it may have been slapped together by a group of aloofly amused actors during their lunch hour, it has the ridiculous charm of a Punch and Judy show and the innocent, pell-mell vulgarity of a Sennett comedy.

"The Turning Point." A tingling, rather moving example of the half-serious gangster film that Hollywood does better than anything else in its repertoire; particularly good for its unsentimental handling of cutthroat competitors in moments of duress, when their ambitious careers are about to crumble around them; also casts a touching spotlight on New York-type friendships: a cop turning virtuous but trying to play fair with his gangster friends; an attorney's girl friend methodically setting up a romance with his best chum but being very concerned about not losing the attorney's affections; a triumph of crisp acting (Edmund O'Brien, Tom Tully), vigorous camera work, lean writing.

"Don't Bother to Knock." An unpolished, persuasively written little melodrama about a blonde baby sitter drifting in cuckoo-land in a big-city hotel; Richard Widmark's acting of a grousing, ornery, efficient individual waltzing into a pick-up romance and then finding himself unable to cope with the personality of the girl; Monroe's amateurish manner and childishly blank expression used without the usual glamour treatment in the character of a paranoiac refugee from a small town; the best naturalistic photography on a drab American hotel since "When Strangers Meet" and a job of direction (Roy Baker) that seems to dig its way into stale hotel atmosphere through room radios, between plastic Venetian blinds, and over ugly ashtrays.

"Something to Live For." A soap opera that started with a story that was practically nothing and ended up as a strangely disturbing, clean, uncluttered picture of alcoholism; mark up another score for the camera magic of Director George Stevens, the only genuine pioneer working in current films; he evokes a rich lather of romance with his slow, imaginative use of looming close-ups, overlapping dissolves, filtered camera effects, and oddly contrived compositions; story-telling images bring out the inner problems of characters in a purely cinematic way: two members of Alcoholics Anonymous trembling through a party, with the camera insistently hovering over trays of Martinis and highballs; creditable acting by Milland and Fontaine.

"Five Fingers." In its literate, satirical way, this spy melodrama was the most unusual thriller since Hitchcock's first low-budget films; almost totally a product of witty scripting, it built up incredible tension and speed with elegantly comicalized dialogue, neatly turned portraits of war-time diplomats with their brains at half-mast, and practically no outward violence; a great job of perfectly controlled, suave acting by James Mason; wonderful bits of unscrupulous carrying-on: the slow awakening of Countess Danielle Darrieux to the possibilities of being a valet's mistress once she finds out he has a priceless pair of safe-cracking hands.

"Limelight." A sentiment-ridden tragi-comedy with enough of Chaplin's grace and absurdity as a funny man, and Raphael-like taste for visual qualities to compensate for the slow, rumpsprung style of story-telling.

"The Sell-Out." A fast thriller off the top of the news, with perceptive atmospheric bits of barroom drama that fall quietly into place, two plausible performances (Audrey Trotter, John Hodiak), and the feeling throughout of

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something chanced upon rather than confected.

The following also placed: "Room for One More," "Boots Malone," "Brandy for the Parson," "House Across the Street," "Young Man with Ideas," "Casque d'Or," "Scaramouche," "Wait Till the Sun Shines, Nellie," "Beauty and the Devil," "Apache War Smoke," "Pennywhistle Blues," "Jour de Fête."

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

MUSICIANS' lives have always been news, which it used to be the publicity man's job to get into the papers. What we have today—and what the present-day publicity operator's job is to get into the news magazine that originated it and is its chief publication medium—is the news-story with built-in critical estimate. An outstanding example is the story of the Monteux career as that of one of the giants to whom recognition has come belatedly, with its built-in estimate of Monteux as one of the giants. This one has been kept rolling for several years by one writer after another incapable of hearing Monteux's repeatedly demonstrated mediocrity, until it is now part of the body of accepted belief in terms of which most writing about music and musicians is done.

Only recently launched is the story about the soprano Milanov as someone who, having at last achieved the control she didn't have of her beautiful voice years ago, now occupies "the long-vacant throne of Rosa Ponselle" and, with the retirement of Flagstad, has "the grandest operatic feminine voice at the Metropolitan"; and one wonders whether this one will stand up very long in the face of the painfully audible fact that what Milanov has learned to control is a voice that has lost all its former beauty. As for the grandest feminine voice at the Metropolitan, rereading my report of Milanov's phenomenal singing in a performance of "Norma" in 1944, only a few days after her tremolo-ridden stridency in "Un Ballo in Maschera," I came to a similar report of Steber's singing in "Figaro." Previously, I wrote, "she had begun every performance with a strong tremolo which sometimes had cleared up and sometimes had not. This time, however, the very first tones of *Porgi amor* were clear and lovely; and her technical security continued to produce such tones, which her musical taste molded into long, continuous, and exquisite phrases." Since then I have reported other occasions when the slow vibrato in Steber's singing has become a clouding tremulousness, but also occasions—notably a performance of "Così Fan Tutte" last year—when her lustrous voice has been clear and she has done what I consider the grandest singing one can hear at the Metropolitan today.

As it happens, that singing—with moments of the tremulous shrillness—is heard in Columbia's recording of the Metropolitan "Così" and is its chief excellence, others being Guarrera's singing and Stiedry's pacing and phrasing of the music. Alvary sings agreeably; Roberta Peters (replacing Munsel as Despina) has a voice I don't find attractive, but produces it more freely and evenly than in the "Rigoletto" I heard last year; Thebom sings well with a voice that has worn a little threadbare; but Tucker's cold voice and tightness are again damaging to a part which calls for a lyric tenor's warmth and ease, such as one hears in Richard Lewis's singing in the "highlights" of the 1950 Glyndebourne Festival production on the earlier RCA Victor record. On this record Sena Jurinac doesn't achieve Steber's grandeur (nor does she manage all the notes in the florid passages of *Come scoglio,* the trills in *Per pietà,* that Steber does); but her singing is nevertheless very beautiful; Thebom's voice has more velvet left; the voices of the men—Lewis, Erich Kunz, and Mario Borriello—are warm and sumptuous; and to all this vocal warmth there is added the warmth of the recorded orchestral sound, as against the cold, veiled, sharp sound from the Columbia records. Moreover, the Victor record gives the music with the original Italian words that fit and go with it so delightfully, whereas the Columbia records give it with English words—"those silly words," as a writer I know characterized them angrily—which turn out at microphone range to be ear-jarring words, and a monstrosity with Alvary's foreign accent. One wishes Victor would issue the entire 1950 Glyndebourne performance if it was recorded, or, if not, an LP dubbing of the pre-war Glyndebourne recording.

As it happens also, the better singing that Milanov was still capable of last year is to be heard in Victor's "Il Trovatore." With it one hears singing by Bjoerling which demonstrates that while Tucker has been getting the news-and-picture-magazine build-ups Bjoerling has been the great tenor of our time. And the singing of Warren and Barbieri, the work of the Robert Shaw chorus and the assembled orchestra under Renato Cellini's direction, the excellent reproduction contribute to making this a superb version of Verdi's wonderful opera.

Capitol's "Il Trovatore" offers excellent singing by the tenor Gino Sarri, good singing by the baritone Antonio Manca Serra, and fair singing by the mezzo-soprano Sylvia Sawyer, but bad singing by Stella Roman, and playing by the Rome Opera orchestra under Luigi Ricci's direction that is astonishingly inferior to that of the Victor orchestra and poorly reproduced.

Urania's "La Forza del Destino" has Adriana Guerrini—with a voice that is lovely in its lower range but cold and shrill in its upper range—singing with a sustained legato that is in marked contrast with Caniglia's explosiveness in the old Cetra version; Giuseppe Cam-

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pora sings better than Massini; Anselmo Colzani and Giuseppe Modesti are as good as Tagliabue and Pasero; Armando La Rosa Parodi conducts a better performance than Marinuzzi; and its recorded sound has a spaciousness, liveness, and naturalness which the Cetra dubbing from 78s doesn't produce.

London's "Aida" has excellent singing by Tebaldi, Stignani, Aldo Protti, and Dario Caselli; fine work by the chorus and orchestra of the Academy of Saint Cecilia, Rome; sensitive conducting by Erede; recorded sound that has London's characteristic depth in space and solidity, though also London's characteristic veiled violins. Its blight is the singing of Del Monaco whenever he is required to produce anything lower and softer than a ringing high B flat.

CONTRIBUTORS

DOROTHEA S. GREENBAUM, sculptor and founder-member of the Sculptors' Guild and Artists' Equity Association, was a delegate to the International Conference of Artists in Venice.

FRANZ HOELLERING is the author of two novels, "The Defenders" and "Furlough."

HANS KOHN is professor of history at the City College of New York.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Discrimination in Federal Employment

Dear Sirs: I wonder how many people know that some 400,000 persons are now barred from employment by the E. C. A. and other federal agencies operating outside the United States. For practical purposes they are also barred from consideration by any government agency. These are the men and women who during the past twenty years have been so unwise as to contribute money to any one of several hundred organizations listed by the Department of Justice as subversive. . . .

When every person who has contributed a dollar to fight social injustice is barred from federal employment, the path has been cleared, to that extent, for the coming of something horribly evil.

Madison, Wis. THOMAS R. AMLIE

A Personal Opinion

Dear Sirs: The November 8 issue of *The Nation* contained an article by Arthur Garfield Hays entitled The Rosenberg Case. Mr. Hays is identified in an editorial note as "general counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union." The statements in Mr. Hays's article represent his personal views only; he was not speaking for the A. C. L. U.

ALAN REITMAN, Assistant Director,
American Civil Liberties Union
New York

Civil Liberties Conference

Dear Sirs: An extremely important conference on the American Bill of Rights is going to be held on January 30 and 31. Sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—an organization set up at Princeton in 1951 to combat the current threats to civil liberties—the two-day conference, which will be devoted to a discussion of the present state of civil liberties, will open on Friday, January 30, at Carnegie Hall with a speech by a well-known Senator and a dramatization of the events leading up to the adoption of the Bill of Rights. Four forums will be held on Saturday morning at the First Presbyterian Church—on Academic Freedom, Freedom of the Arts, The Political Use of Fear, and Loyalty and the Fifth Amendment. Speakers will include Matthew Josephson, I. F. Stone, Carey McWilliams, Scott Buchanan, J. Raymond Walsh, Derke Bodde, Robert S. Cohen, H. H. Wilson, Dr. Lawrence J. Roose, Judge Hubert Delany, Alexander Meiklejohn, and Thomas I. Emerson. After a buffet lunch the conference will close with a discussion of the steps that can be taken to restore the full protection of the Bill of Rights to the American people; among the speakers at this final session will be Frank Lloyd Wright, Walter White, and the Reverend Paul L. Lehman, chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

One of the objects of the conference is to draw up a petition citing the governmental infringements on constitutional guarantees. This will be submitted to the President, the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, and Congress in the form of a demand for redress of grievances.

The sponsors of the conference, which is to be called The Bill of Rights—Sublime Risk of Free Men, include Stringfellow Barr, Reverend George A. Buttrick, Earl Dickerson, Albert Einstein, Rabbi Ira Eisenstein, Fowler Harper, Leo Lionni, Reverend John A. Mackay, Clarence E. Pickett, Reverend Edwin McNeill Poteat, Rabbi Joachim Prinz, Ben Shahn, William L. Shirer, and Reverend Paul Tillich.

Anyone interested in attending the Carnegie Hall meeting and/or the forum sessions should address their inquiries to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Avenue, New York 1, or call OXford 5-2863.

MALCOLM R. EVANS,
Spencer Memorial
Brooklyn Presbyterian Church

Pleased Reader

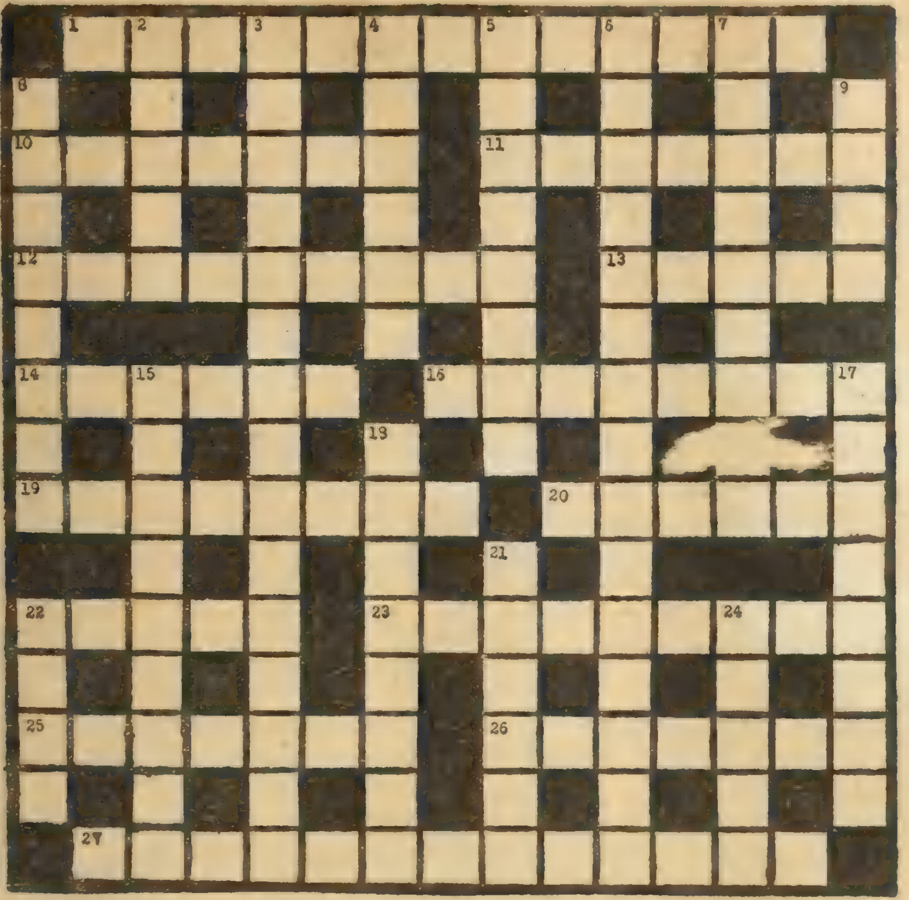
Dear Sirs: I'm sorry, but I feel that I must vehemently protest against the publication in your issue of December 27 of the poems by Abbie Evans. The poems are delicate and positively intelligible—infinitely beneath *The Nation's* time-honored standards of poetic incoherence and incomprehensibility.

As for the rest of the issue, it's grand, a fitting closing number to a year of progressive, social-minded journalism.

SOLON DE LEON
Long Island City, N. Y.

Crossword Puzzle No. 499

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Not the driver species of the tropics—they don't fight! (13)
10 A sort of bomb with an uneasy end for the cockney bird. (7)
11 Wound stitches. (7)
12 "L" engineer. (The water colors are blue and white, however.) (4, 5)
13 Stays sort of 11 without W? (5)
14 Metal posters in the mountains? (6)
16 The kind that binds things together isn't punishment. (8)
19 People scorn to behave like them. (8)
20 Swindle sheet out of it? Blanket more likely. (6)
22 The way a German agrees very loudly with a following is proper. (5)
23 21 takes gin, but isn't too badly shaken to find its bearings! (9)
25 Nothing separates Christmas time and the spirit like propriety. (7)
26 A pair of sixes would make this part cutting. (7)
27 Hotel detectives? (You'd know there'd be a hitch with one!) (5, 8)

DOWN

[illegible] If you mean a dipper, you might put water in front. (5)
[illegible] Had giraffe races made official, perhaps. (6, 1'8)
4 The way to excite [illegible] frenzy of the damned. (6)
5 There's a taste of bitterness in it, as in most stabs in the back. (8)
[illegible] Not exactly descriptive of a recommended study of Pope. (15)
7 Tips the hat in the gateway, perhaps. (9)
8 Leaves for good, when a bad son's reformed. (8)
[illegible] Employs an ungrooved 11 in its makeup. (4)
15 By virtue of position. (2, 7)
17 Putting on a layer of fat? (8)
18 St. Martin gets to pass thus. (8)
21 A part of one's clothes [illegible] collection of Zoroastrianism exhibits. (6)
22 One would expect to tire of this color. (4)
24 One that makes [illegible] attempt to become [illegible] cathedral city? (5)

⁂

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. [illegible]

ACROSS:—1 CHROMATIC SCALE: [illegible] INCARCERATED; 11 CUBA; 13 WHIRLS; 14 INTERNED; 16 LEADSMAN; 17 GROUSE; 19 ICES; 20 SPEED ZONES; 22 MALNUTRITION; 23 and 10 MONDAY'S CHILD IS FAIR OF FACE.

DOWN:—1 CLIFF DWELLINGS; 2 RECRIMINATES; 3 MORE OR LESS; 4 TEE OFF; 5 CHANCING; 6 CLEF; 7 SALAD DRESSINGS; [illegible] QUINQUENNIAD; 12 TETRAZZINI; 15 RAMPANCY; 18 HECTIC; 21 PARD.

Readers are invited to send for [illegible] free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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Soviet Military Strength—*J. A. del Vayo*

THE Nation

OC 2 '53

January 24, 1953

H. H. WILSON

The Senate Sellout

*

Scientists in a Mad World

BY MAURICE B. VISSCHER

*

I Have a Thing to Tell You

An Appeal to the American Conscience

BY RUTH E. CRAWFORD

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

City Censors Ban Classics

St. Cloud, Minnesota

FOR almost three years this city of 30,000 persons in central Minnesota has imposed a legal censorship on literature. More than 300 books and periodicals are already banned from sale, display, or distribution, and new books are being added to the list at the rate of about 30 a month.

Some of the banned books are sensational stories of violence and sex, but others are classics of American and British literature. Among the forbidden books are "Of Human Bondage" and "Cakes and Ale" by Somerset Maugham, "Sanctuary" by William Faulkner, "Tobacco Road" by Erskine Caldwell, the "Studs Lonigan" trilogy by James T. Farrell, "Scottsboro Boy" by Heywood Patterson, "What Makes Sammy Run" by Budd Schulberg, "Black Boy" and "Native Son" by Richard Wright, and "The Gallery" by John Horne Burns.

A city ordinance delegates censorship power to a board of five members, which can proscribe a book by a four-fifths' vote. The board met in secrecy until the city adopted a new charter which requires open meetings of all city boards. It has never made public its list of banned books.

The ordinance says publications may be outlawed if they "prominently feature an account of horrors, robberies, murders, arson, assault with caustic chemicals, assault with a deadly weapon, burglary, kidnapping, mayhem, rape, theft, voluntary manslaughter, ridicule of law enforcement or parental authority; or are obscene, immoral, or lewd, or ridicule any person or persons by reason of race, creed, or color; or advocate un-American or subversive activities." Violators of the ordinance are subject to a fine of $100 or 90 days' imprisonment, but none have been prosecuted. Board members say they prefer to keep dealers in line by obtaining their cooperation rather than by compulsion. A committee of twenty-five persons appointed by the mayor makes spot checks of the newsstands. If banned books are found on display, the dealer is asked to remove them, with the unspoken threat of a fine or jail sentence if he does not. Critics contend that legal enforcement has not been attempted because any court would rule the ordinance unconstitutional.

MRS. ELMER BARG, chairman of the board, says, "It isn't a matter of whether it is constitutional to ban objectionable literature. It's just that young people shouldn't be reading that kind of thing." A devout Catholic housewife, Mrs. Barg believes censorship is a means of "saving souls." She started the drive against bad books in St. Cloud when she overheard some youngsters talking about comic books. Supported by a Catholic priest, she demanded an ordinance to keep "trashy books" off the newsstands. The ordinance was passed by a Catholic-dominated city council and signed by a Catholic mayor.

The mayor then appointed a board of review consisting of three Catholics and two Protestants, and the board drew up a working code based on principles of the National Organization for Decent Literature, a Catholic group. One of the principal readers is the Reverend Richard Wey, a Catholic priest, who has read and reported on more than 250 pocket-size books. Other screening is done by members of a local Catholic literary group. Less than 10 per cent of the books examined are approved. If board members disagree about a book, it is placed on a secret "border-line" list.

"Werewolf of Paris," by Guy Endore, was apparently banned for showing a Catholic priest in an unfavorable light; "Wild Palms," by William Faulkner, for giving information on abortions and birth control; "Quietly My Captain Waits," by Evelyn Eaton, had been criticized by the *Catholic World* for its account of marital infidelity.

So far the board has screened only pocket-size books on sale at newsstands. Members say they seek only to protect juvenile readers, but the actual effect of banning a book is to keep it from adults too. The board has the power to ban books anywhere in the city, including the public library, but it has made no effort to have books removed from the library shelves. Newspapers are exempt from censorship.

Liberal opposition to the censorship program has its center at the St. Cloud state teachers' college. Dr. Lewis Smith, an English instructor, thinks the ordinance should be rewritten so that it can be used only to keep offensive books out of the hands of juveniles. "The problem," he said, "is to strike the fine balance between protecting the youth and keeping our freedom."

Many critics who believe the board is exercising religious censorship prefer to remain anonymous because Catholics are the dominant economic, political, and social element in the city. Mrs. Barg, however, insists that it is not a religious campaign. "It is strictly a civic project," she says. "We're not being radical about this. We're just after those books that really cause young people to go to hell if they read them consistently."

MRS. BARG and her followers have now carried their program to other communities. Father Wey has started a board of review in nearby Foley. Ordinances patterned after that in force in St. Cloud have been adopted in Sauk Rapids, Hibbing, and Faribault and are under consideration in several other cities. The Knights of Columbus are vigorous supporters of the movement.

Both Mrs. Barg and Father Wey seek to make censorship state wide. Vince Halloran, president of the Minnesota Association of Juvenile Judges, also favors a state literature code and screening system and has asked all juvenile judges to join a campaign against indecent literature.

Arnold Paulson, president of the Minnesota Junior Chambers of Commerce, says representatives of the Catholic church have approached Jaycee officers in several Minnesota communities to urge curbs on the sale of undesirable books. The Jaycees decided against a state-wide campaign. "Freedom of the press is one of our basic freedoms," Paulson said. "We don't want it taken away."

DEAN SCHOELKOPF AND TOM WILSON

[*The authors are students at the University of Minnesota who once worked as reporters for the St. Cloud* Daily Times.]

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

Harry Says Goodbye

Harry Truman will not be numbered among the great Presidents, but he will have his place in history and may, in time, become the hero of a kind of folk legend. For there is a Horatio Alger quality in the contrast between the long, drab years of his political apprenticeship and its culmination in the White House. And nothing in the history of the Presidency is more dramatic than his sudden elevation to a position for which he felt, as he said in his farewell broadcast, "there must be a million men better qualified."

Mr. Truman rose to the occasion in a way that has commanded the respect of most fair-minded people. In contrast to other promoted vice-presidents—Calvin Coolidge, for example—he grew in stature as his responsibilities increased. Inevitably he made many mistakes, and his judgments of men and affairs were often defective. But there were also occasions when he acted boldly and wisely. Usually he showed a real sympathy with and understanding of democracy. And most of the many enemies he made do him credit.

In his last talk to the people Mr. Truman was simple, direct, and moving. Putting rancor aside, he gave a generous welcome to his successor and then reviewed in modest terms his years of office. This has been a tense, unhappy period in the world's history and Mr. Truman could hold out little hope to his listeners of an early turn for the better. But he spoke out strongly against the immoral doctrine of preventive war and emphasized the vital necessity of clinging to the principles we seek to defend. This solemn warning will, we trust, be heeded by the incoming Administration.

The Truman Record

In his farewell talk Mr. Truman touched briefly on the growth and the spread of domestic prosperity during the past eight years. It was a subject he had already covered intensively in his final report to Congress on the economic condition of the nation. There, extending his review over the whole period of the New Deal and Fair Deal, he was able to cite impressive evidence of economic progress—evidence that makes nonsense of the calamity howling that has been the chief Republican stock in trade ever since 1932.

Comparing conditions in 1929, a year of high production and prosperity, with those in 1952, Mr. Truman pointed out that in the intervening twenty-four years the national output of goods and services was doubled in volume and annual average income, after taxes, increased 50 per cent, measured in terms of current prices. He cited many other comparative statistics indicating both the striking improvement in living standards that has occurred since 1929 and the more equitable distribution of income that has been achieved.

But the message was not complacent. It pointed out that there was still much to be done before the problems of economic and social justice were solved; it warned that the end of the defense build-up might test our ability to avoid depression if the tools developed in the past twenty years were allowed to rust. On the other hand, provided a balanced and progressive economy were maintained, Mr. Truman forecast confidently that another decade would bring us to far greater heights of wealth and welfare. Altogether this economic report seems to us worthy of careful study. We advise all citizens, including the members of the Eisenhower Administration, to file but *not* forget it.

Inauguration

So the New Deal and the Fair Deal pass into history. What do we have now—the Big Deal? There is bigness all around the White House: General Motors, the Chase bank, Dillon Reed, Continental Can. When is the last time we had a candidate for Cabinet office who was embarrassed by owning $2,500,000 worth of stock in a single corporation?

We wish President Eisenhower well, but fear that in surrounding himself with Big Dealers he has cut himself off from the millions of little people who elected him.

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The Issue Is Bigotry

In denying membership to Planned Parenthood, a national birth-control organization, the New York Welfare and Health Council has touched off what promises to be the year's bitterest controversy in the field of social service. Planned Parenthood was a member of the Health Council of Greater New York before its merger last spring with the Welfare Council. In rejecting the application of Planned Parenthood for membership in the merged council, the directors specifically cited, as the basis of their decision, the threat by Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York to withdraw from the council. Yet the rejection followed a vote approving the program, policies, and services of Planned Parenthood as consistent with the council's objectives! Seeking to justify its action, the council contends that it should not be made "the battleground for the contest of this issue." But what issue? Birth control was not the issue. The issue was whether a religious group should be permitted to impede and injure an accepted medical program. The council's action has not allayed controversy; on the contrary it has started one that will continue for months.

An agreeable postscript indicates that Catholic Charities might not have withdrawn had the council ignored its threat. One year ago seven non-Catholic physicians on the staff of St. Francis Hospital in Poughkeepsie were told to sever their connections with the Planned Parenthood movement in Dutchess County or get off the hospital staff. Three of the physicians reluctantly complied with the order but four of them defied it. The sequel came this month. Thanks to a solid front among the physicians of the county, warning was given the hospital that one firing or one refusal to renew a staff membership in 1953 would precipitate mass resignations from the staff. All seven of the physicians who were served with the ultimatum in 1952 have received letters continuing their affiliation.

Peak of Destruction

The President's warning that the atomic age is moving toward "yet unforeseeable peaks of destructive power" can be amplified by four related statements. The first is Joseph and Stewart Alsop's informed guess, based upon "crude but dependable calculations," that the primitive hydrogen bomb tested at Eniwetok was "between 150 and 250 times more powerful than the bomb that fell on Hiroshima. It was the equivalent of between 3,000,000 and 5,000,000 tons of TNT." The second is the expression of strong Congressional support for the use of atomic weapons even on the relatively small Korean battlefield which came in the wake of the President's message. The third is the statement of Gordon Dean, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, before the American Bar Association in San Francisco on September 17, that sooner or later a point would be reached, "and *not* in the *unforeseeable future*," when we would have acquired all the bombs needed to destroy not only the industrial ability of an aggressor to make war but also his forces in the field. "When this point is reached," Mr. Dean said, "what do we do then?" The fourth is a too little noticed item in the Nippon *Times* of December 30 reporting that Japan has begun to split atoms with a new cyclotron installed at the Institute of Science in Tokyo and calling attention to the fact that the peace treaty places no restrictions on Japan's atomic research. Forgotten now is the episode of November 23, 1945, when American engineers armed with acetylene torches, sledges, and crowbars smashed five cyclotrons and related equipment in Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, dumped the pieces into the sea, and announced that everything which might some day go into the making of atomic bombs in Japan—"except scientists' brains"—had been destroyed.

Despite the President's warning, the moral, political, and military implications of the H-bomb are being ignored. For one thing, as the Alsops point out, "the facts about the H-bomb are being concealed from the American people . . . the problems are unbearably unpleasant, which is the real reason why nobody is thinking about them."

The Conant Appointment

The appointment of President Conant of Harvard as United States High Commissioner for Germany—a good one on the merits—may provide some special protection for Harvard, but it is bad news for American education in general. With three Congressional committees eager to ferret out "reds" and "Communist thinkers" in our colleges and universities, key academic spokesmen like the President of Harvard, who has publicly opposed loyalty oaths and the more rabid forms of loyalty investigations, should remain at their posts to speak out in defense of American education.

President Conant's decision to accept the appointment is consistent, however, with his view—from which *The Nation* sharply dissents—that American education should be regarded as "an instrument of national policy." Both President Conant and General Eisenhower (then of Columbia) were members of the drafting committee which prepared the 1949 report, "American Education and International Tension," for the Educational Policies Commission of the National Educational Association. The view of education as an "instrument of national policy" was established in this report and was reaffirmed in principle at the recent meeting of the Association of American Colleges, which also adopted a resolution welcoming a "free and impartial" investigation of American colleges and universities.

The Congressional committees will of course contend that in making the investigation their purpose is merely to see how efficiently American education is discharging the function assigned it by President Conant. Concerning this narrow concept of education Edward R. Murrow, noted CBS commentator, said recently: "The purpose of education is to teach people to think in order that they may have informed views on many things, including national policy. . . . The concept of education as an instrument of national policy was the dusty contribution of Mussolini and Hitler to the destruction of freedom in Europe."

Next Week in *The Nation*

On the record, the Republican Party now holds power at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue. But is it really the same party that has moved into the White House at one end and the Capitol at the other? That may prove the basic question which will determine the nature of the Administration for the next two years.

Bruce Catton, brilliant journalist and historian, will give you his analysis of the problem in next week's *Nation* in the first of his dispatches on the new Washington scene.

More Purges

IN THE conduct of the recent Prague trial anti-Semitism was flagrant. (The official indictments began: "Rudolf Slansky, born in 1901, of Jewish origin; Ludvik Frejka, born January 5, 1904, of Jewish origin; Bedrich Geminder, born November 19, 1901, of Jewish origin.") The examination of Geminder during the trial was a classic of racist innuendo: "You never learned to speak Czech? . . . Can you really speak a decent German? . . . That means that you speak no language decently. A typical cosmopolitan!" In Moscow the matter has been handled more circumspectly. The religion or racial origin of the doctors arrested was not mentioned —though in most cases the names spoke for themselves: at least six of the nine are Jews. Only some of the group were identified by the Russians as "Jewish Terrorists" or as "connected with the international Jewish bourgeois-nationalist 'Joint'." The others, apparently were linked with Tito, Trotsky, or the State Department—you can take your pick.

It may be that the Russians, in the handling of the trial when it comes, will continue a certain circumspection. It may be that the Soviet people, disciplined by thirty-five years of communism, will act with restraint towards their 2,500,000 fellow-countrymen of the Jewish faith. But what will be the ultimate effect of this spotlighting of Jews as "bourgeois conspirators" in other countries behind the curtain? In Rumania (with 250,000 Jews), in Hungary (155,000), in Poland (45,000), anti-Semitism is old; it is communism that is new. There have already been ugly repercussions from Budapest, where the leader of the Jewish comunity has already been arrested and the newspapers are crying that the "Joint"—the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee—and Zionism are worse dangers in Hungary than in the Soviet Union. What an omen for the purge that is expected shortly in the Hungarian capital!

The world-wide sense of outrage provoked by the Prague trial and by the latest Moscow development has not been entirely wasted. Communists everywhere have been put on the defensive, dialectically at least. Here in this country the Communists point to certain statements made editorially by the Prague newspaper *Rude Pravo,* and by the Czech President Klement Gottwald, hotly denying anti-Semitism and even warning the Czech people that they must learn to distinguish between plain Jews on the one hand and Zionists and Jewish "bourgeois nationalists" on the other. It is a distinction which clearly did not impress the prosecutor in the Slansky trial. It is likely to impress even less millions of ignorant people who, having been nurtured on prejudices for ten generations or more, are not likely to have got rid of them in ten years or less.

THE COMMUNIST leaders of Eastern Europe know all this. They know who can follow their dialectics and who cannot. Had they really been concerned only with bringing a few people to book for crimes real or fancied, they had the machinery to do so swiftly and secretly. They are old hands at swift and secret justice. But they have chosen instead the *cause célèbre,* with Israel, Zionists, the philanthropic Joint Distribution Committee, and that neo-Marxist phenomenon known as the "Jewish bourgeois nationalist" as the principal victims.

One asks again: Why? In our issue of December 6 we pointed out Soviet Russia's historical enmity toward Zionism and its present interest in playing up to the Arabs. That is unquestionably part of the answer. But there is also the feeling, shared by many close observers of the Eastern European scene, that these purges are the outer manifestations of the inner stresses which periodically attack monolithic political structures. But are the purges designed merely to strengthen a Malenkov faction against a Molotov faction? Or are they designed to strengthen the Soviet bloc against the West—with a view to a showdown that the Russians believe imminent?

In the meantime the Russians have set in motion another kind of purge. Thousands of progressives all over the world—Jews and non-Jews—who abhor Hitlerism even when practiced by the avowed enemies of Hitler are purging themselves of any last belief they might have had that communism is for them. In the West even members of the Communist Party are tearing up their cards.

The Senate Sellout

BY H. H. WILSON

ON JANUARY 2 the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections released the main body of its report on the financial manipulations of Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin. It is probable that no more damning document involving the integrity of a member of the United States Senate has ever been drawn up.

Twenty-four hours later the Senate chaplain, the Reverend Frederick Brown Harris, opened the Eighty-third Congress with the prayer: "Save us from the supreme hypocrisy of making this holy moment of communion with the Unseen and the Eternal but a conventional gesture of unfelt piety." Thirty-six Senators then took the oath of office, and not a voice was raised to protest the seating of McCarthy. No Senator had sufficient courage to object or to call for a hearing on the charges. Ignored was the warning in the subcommittee's report that "this is a matter that transcends partisan politics and goes to the very core of the Senate body's authority, integrity, and the respect in which it is held by the people of this country."

It is now taken for granted that the episode is closed. The Senate stands revealed as a body capable of ferocious zeal in hunting down all sorts of liberals and radicals suspected of subversion but incapable of acting on charges of genuine subversion against one of its own members. However, it is not the Senate alone which is at fault. The subcommittee responsible for the report showed timidity in gathering its facts and a lack of forthrightness in presenting them. With a few honorable exceptions, the press and radio of the country, wilting before the malodorous Marine from Wisconsin, has completely ignored the report. Surely nothing more clearly illustrates our social malaise and moral bankruptcy than the fact that McCarthy has been able to make good his boast: "They should know by this time that they cannot scare or turn me aside."

For eighteen months McCarthy conducted a campaign of insult, smear, and terror against members of the subcommittee. He accused them of doing the work of Communists and of "stealing from the pockets of the American taxpayers tens of thousands of dollars." Apparently as a result of this kind of pressure Senator Gillette resigned and Senator Monroney started on a European trip. It is less remarkable that investigator Jack Poorbaugh resigned on the ground that the subcommittee was unfair to McCarthy. Poorbaugh, according to the report, "had conferred with associates of Senator McCarthy, including Fulton Lewis, Jr., just prior to his resignation in order to assist Senator McCarthy in the primary election." Although McCarthy was invited at least six times to testify before the subcommittee, he refused to do so. The failure of the subcommittee to subpoena him is not mitigated by its naive remark that "until very recently, there was a chance that Senator McCarthy would himself come in to give explanations with respect to the many transactions under question." Nor can it be reconciled with the subcommittee's account of his insulting behavior. "The record of what took place thereafter leaves the inescapable conclusion that Senator McCarthy deliberately set out to thwart any investigation of him by obscuring the real issue and the responsibility of the subcommittee by charges of lack of jurisdiction, smear, and Communist-inspired persecution." Senators Hennings and Hendrickson of the subcommittee must have been aware that McCarthy had similarly flaunted it in 1951, when it was investigating his participation in the Butler-Tydings campaign.

THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S report does not go into McCarthy's activities before he was a candidate for the United States Senate, "except in so far as such information may be necessary to a better understanding of later financial matters." Thus it does not deal with his rebuke by the Chief Justice of the Wisconsin Supreme Court for a highly improper "abuse of judicial power" in ordering a portion of the court record destroyed, or with his alleged operation of a divorce mill, or with his Wisconsin tax troubles. It notes, however, that "under all the circumstances," including McCarthy's membership on the Banking and Currency Committee with jurisdiction over the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Housing Agencies, his acceptance of a $10,000 fee from the Lustron Corporation, which was being financed by the R. F. C. "would appear to have been highly improper, to say the least."

The report also implies that McCarthy may have used inside information about the R. F. C.'s intention regarding Seaboard Airlines Railroad, to which it made a loan of more than $15,000,000—McCarthy bought more shares of Seaboard with Lustron's $10,000. In October, 1948, "it did not appear to an 'outsider,' or to the uninformed, to be either a good investment or speculation," but by September, 1951, McCarthy was able to sell 1,000 shares for a net profit of $35,614.

Rarely has the racket aspect of the anti-Communist drive been more nakedly exposed than by the revelation that funds contributed to support McCarthy's "crusade against communism" were apparently used to finance his private speculations. With $10,000 obtained from Mr. and Mrs. Alvin M. Bentley, and operating through County Superintendent of Schools Henry J. Van Straten of Appleton, Wisconsin, the plunging Senator speculated in soybean futures in October, 1950, for a net profit of $17,354. The subcommittee noted that "just prior to the transaction in question, the Commodity Exchange Authority . . . conducted an investigation of alleged soybean market manipulation involving, among others, a number of Chinese traders." None the less the subcommittee was "reluctant to conduct any extensive inquiry" into McCarthy's relations with Alfred Kohlberg and the China Lobby.

Coming Soon

Mark Gayn, whose articles frequently appear in *The Nation,* has prepared a careful two-part analysis of the recent purges in Russia and its satellite states: I. Red Purges, the Inner Rot; II. Red Purges—Why?

According to William T. Evjue, editor of the Madison *Capital Times*—the first editor to expose McCarthy's record some six years ago and a close student of that record—the names of Bentley and Van Straten are "absolutely new in the five-year investigation of the tangled financial affairs of the Senator." Writes Mr. Evjue: "I have a copy of the committee's report and I am amazed over the new revelations." If the facts amaze Mr. Evjue, doubtless other Wisconsin citizens will be amazed. Why, then, were not these facts made known to the voters of Wisconsin before the election? And why has the press so generally failed to identify the Alvin M. Bentley of the report as Congressman Alvin M. Bentley?

The Senator received sizable contributions from Craig B. Sheaffer, president of the W. A. Sheaffer Pen Company ($1,000), Bernard Peyton, president of the New York Air Brake Company ($500), and Frank M. Porter, president of the Fain-Porter Drilling Company ($500). Unfortunately, "interviews with persons who were identified from checks deposited in Senator McCarthy's special account were limited to the above," although "the makers of other checks deposited in this account, whose identities have been established, are retained in subcommittee files." The subcommittee might have listed all these individuals, as well as those who paid for McCarthy's television attack on Stevenson.

IN 1947, when the Appleton State Bank was pressing McCarthy for additional collateral, he persuaded Russell M. Arundel, Washington representative of the Pepsi-Cola Company, to endorse a $20,000 note. The subcommittee comment on this transaction adequately represents the kind of weak-kneed capitulation and double-talk that characterize many "opinion leaders" in our society: "His acceptance of a $20,000 favor from the Washington representative of the Pepsi-Cola Company at the very time he was attacking the government for its manner of handling sugar control makes it difficult to determine whether Senator McCarthy was working for the best interest of the government, as he saw it, or for Pepsi-Cola."

After discussing McCarthy's possible use of his family and associates to conceal his financial operations—his brother admitted that an account was opened in the name of Julia Connolly as a precaution in the event of an investigation of the Senator's affairs—and his possible violations of Wisconsin tax and banking laws, and of federal and state corrupt-practice acts, the report concludes without recommendations for action. This, it has been suggested, was a concession by Senator Hennings to overcome the resistance of Senator Hendrickson.

Thirty-one years ago in a report to Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty, S. L. Scaife remarked that "the government is being overthrown not by Bolshevists but by crooked politicians and trusted officials who know what is going on and have not the courage to fight or expose the conditions." It is increasingly essential that Americans should identify those in our society who are prepared to sacrifice freedom, human dignity, and the democratic political process in their drive for profits and power. McCarthy does not operate in a vacuum.

For Americans and for the survival of political democracy this record has profound implications. It reveals the failure of nerve of a sick society. What causes this cowardice? What made possible the defeat of Tydings, Benton, La Follette? Why did the press fail to emphasize the Hennings report? How explain the public's apathy and indifference? We believe that apparently isolated phenomena made these results inevitable. They stem from President Truman's loyalty program; General Eisenhower's agreement to strike out a favorable reference to General Marshall at McCarthy's request; Senator Taft's praise of McCarthy's "great service to the American people." Those who deplore McCarthy's tactics while assuming that he is devoted to the service of democracy themselves undermine the democratic political process. And there are always those who deliberately utilize McCarthy's tactics for their drive to power. These people have helped to create an atmosphere in which resistance to McCarthyism becomes increasingly difficult.

The Senate in its surrender to McCarthy has fumbled the opportunity to provide leadership. President-elect Eisenhower has been compromised, and in any case he does not seem aware of either the issues or the stakes. In general our political leaders have created the impression that the more they talk about the "American Way" and democracy, the less they respect it in practice.

Soviet Military Strength

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE recent NATO meeting in Paris was a great disappointment to the Allied High Command, forcing General Ridgway to defer his hopes for more concrete decisions until the spring meeting of the council. One of the main reasons for the lack of agreement lay in divergent estimates of the imminence of the Russian peril. While General Gruenther, one of NATO's ablest strategists, declared that "every year is a year of peril," and the State Department, wishing to make a more precise statement, talked of 1954 as the crucial year, the British and the French placed the fateful date, if it should come, in 1956. For the purpose of this article, let us accept a compromise and make it 1955. Having done so, the question I would like to put here is whether there is any solid basis for the theory that in 1955 NATO will have such military superiority with respect to the Soviet Union that the policy of "peace through strength" can be shown to have been effective.

I have undertaken the task, not an easy one, of wading through the available documentation on present Russian strength and on its expected development in the next two years. To supplement this material I have obtained figures and analyses from people directly acquainted with conditions in Russia.

My choice of 1955 was not merely to strike an average between extremes. It is precisely in this year that the most important parts of the new Soviet Five-Year Plan must prove capable of fulfilment. No close estimate of Russian military strength can be made, now or in years to come, without taking the Five-Year Plan into account. Its presentation before the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party was somewhat overshadowed by political speculations caused by the simultaneous announcement of a substantial shift in Soviet foreign policy. However, the numerous comments published in the following months, both in the Soviet press and in the specialized Western press—the London *Economist,* for one—make it easier today to gauge accurately the meaning of the new plan.

The first important conclusion reached from such an analysis is that the Soviet Union is, by the very nature of its regime, in a position to carry out its rearmament program without having to struggle with all the complexities of a free economy. Harry Schwartz, drawing up the balance sheet of the past year in the New York *Times* (January 6, 1953), reports that Russia is in a position to manage its armaments program on a progressive scale. He writes: "The Soviet Union's economy at the end of

1952 was far better prepared for war and stronger in military-economic potential than ever before in that country's history." Morever, as the London *Economist* reminds us (August 23, 1952), "the Soviet economy can switch resources from civil to military production, from consumer goods to industrial equipment, with a speed, ruthlessness, and secrecy that no government in the free world could hope to match in peace time."

THIS feature of Soviet economy was emphasized in the presentation of the new plan by M. Z. Saburov, chairman of the Planning Committee. Commenting on this speech, Professor Philip E. Mosely, director of the Russian Institute of Columbia University, wrote in *Foreign Affairs* for January, 1953, "The American negotiators who dealt with [Mr. Saburov] at the Potsdam conference and later in the Allied Council at Berlin found him incisive and efficient, extremely well informed about economic and reparations problems, and, in a sense, 'unideological' in his approach to concrete problems." Nor is there any inclination among other non-Communist students of the new Five-Year Plan to dismiss his figures as propaganda. Experts as little pro-Soviet as the Geneva economist, Prokopovich, accept them as broadly accurate. In Professor Mosely's opinion, the Saburov figures are "generally in line with the high tempo of recovery and development which has been shown by the Soviet economy since 1947."

The plan adopted by the recent Communist Party Congress lays stress, for obvious military reasons, on the development of heavy industry. It foresees a 70 per cent advance for the whole Soviet industrial output, which means that by the end of 1955 production will be three times the pre-war figure. The planned increase in the production of coal is from 260,000,000 to 370,000,000 tons; of pig iron from 19,000,000 to 34,000,000 tons; and of crude steel from 27,000,000 to 44,000,000 tons. But as the London *Economist* (September 6, 1952) observed, "The planned increase in oil production is the most spectacular target of the plan."

Figures on the military strength of the two blocs do not, of course, tell more than half the story. However, they can be useful both as a warning and for the purpose of calculations, provided the inevitable margin of error is borne in mind. Nobody outside Russia knows the precise size or strength of the Soviet armed forces, but the conventional estimate will serve as a basis for comparison. Experts usually quote a figure of 175 first-line and active divisions, a third of them armored or mechanized, which would give the Soviet army a total of 3,100,000 men. Adding a navy of 600,000 and an air force of 800,000, we arrive at a minimum figure of 4,500,000. But these figures, which have lately been used in the most serious studies of Russian military power, do not take into account the almost unlimited possibility of accumulating trained reserves by accelerating the flow of men through the services. The population of Russia was put at 200,000,000 at the end of 1949 and is increasing, according to Deputy Premier Beria, by 3,000,000 a year.

To get a more precise idea of the balance of forces, let us consider one of the most acute danger spots in the present cold war, Germany. Until recently, Western planners assumed that the Russians no longer had the margin of superiority in Germany necessary to make a successful attack without substantially reinforcing their garrison in the Soviet zone. They counted on eighteen NATO divisions in West Germany: six American, five French, four British, and the others composed of Canadian and other European forces. Suddenly, only two weeks ago, the highest French military commander, Marshal Juin, declared that if the Russians were to march today, they would be in Paris within twenty-five days. Other Western experts dispute this. In any case, concepts of a line on the Elbe or on the Rhine, derived from the First World War and proved disastrous in the Second World War, are by now completely antiquated. Besides this, with war becoming ever more "total," the state of mind of the masses has become a vastly more important factor. The pro- and anti-war sentiment of the people, which the Russians are able to exploit through many avenues, has created a new situation.

Nor is Marshal Juin the only pessimist in NATO. Western statesmen and experts, in the process of urging a greater rearmament effort on the part of the West, talk of Russian strength with seemingly more conviction than the Russians themselves. On November 27, 1952, in an illustrated booklet "Let Freedom Ring," the American State Department estimated that the Russian bloc mustered a total of 491 army divisions stationed in Europe and Asia. At a press conference held in Paris in October the United States Secretary of the Navy, Dan A. Kimball, said that the Soviet Union had now about 300 submarines, four times as many as the Germans had at the outbreak of World War II. With regard to aviation, General Vandenberg has been repeatedly quoted as stressing Russian superiority. According to a recent official American estimate the Soviet Union produced probably twice as many aircraft in 1951 as the United States did in 1952. "The Soviet and satellite armed forces will add more trained men to their reserves in two years than Britain and the United States will add in three," wrote a British military expert in the London *Times* of October 7, 1952.

Figures on the strength of the entire Soviet bloc are subject to the same margin of error as the figures on the strength of Russia itself. However, a scrupulous examination of all the published material, as well as of the data I have obtained by talking to experts, reveals a minimum total of 9,000,000 men under arms. This includes an estimated 1,130,000 men in the armies of the Eastern European Communist nations outside of Russia, as well as an estimated 2,300,000 in the field armies of Communist China.

As regards aviation, the current annual output of Soviet military aircraft is estimated at 11,000, that of armored fighting vehicles at 5,500. The Russians have apparently not yet been able to match United States and British designers in the development of jet-powered military aircraft, but they are reported by European experts to be working feverishly in that direction. Again figures are lacking. The Russians do not publicize each new advance in tactical and atomic weapons, as is customary in the United States. For example, they pointedly refrained from exhibiting their entire strength in the military parades held in Moscow on May 1 and in last fall's celebration of the October Revolution.

IN COMPARISON to the Soviet bloc's 9,000,000 men under arms, Western man-power consists of the 3,600,000 in the armed forces of the United States, plus the 2,400,000 (Hanson W. Baldwin's estimate) in the combined armies of the NATO countries in Europe. To this must be added a few hundred thousand troops represented by the South Korean army and various Allied forces in the Far East. Yugoslavia's 400,000 men should also be counted in.

But it is in divided Europe that the disparity between Eastern and Western man-power is most dramatic. As against the minimum of 230 divisions which the Soviet bloc could muster in Europe, the most the West could today put in the field, according to Baldwin, is approximately sixty full-strength divisions backed by some thirty-five weak reserve divisions. As for aviation, the number of planes assigned to NATO, plus others operating in Europe or from carriers in European waters, totals little more than 5,000, or the equivalent of a half-year's production by the Soviet Union.

Baldwin and others recognize Western naval superiority in over-all quantity and for certain types in quality. But Admiral Denfeld has warned: "Except in aircraft carriers, Russia is building to match us in surface ships."

On the basis of these figures and comments, all of them from Western sources, and given the political difficulties which the recent French political crisis has abundantly demonstrated and which will considerably retard the creation of a European army, it is quite impossible to see how within two years, or even three or four, the proportion of forces can be fundamentally altered in favor of the North Atlantic coalition. In the very important statement mentioned above, Marshal Juin said that he saw no way of "meeting the Russian figures" unless the Lisbon program—already abandoned—were not only maintained but enlarged. Clearly he does not share the hopes of General Ridgway, who believes that aviation, and in particular tactical atomic aviation, offers a means of filling the gap between Western rearmament and that of the Soviet bloc. Hanson W. Baldwin, writing on the NATO crisis in the New York *Times* (January 12), seems to agree with Juin: "A sustained NATO defense," he says, "would be extremely difficult in the near future if not impossible, for nearly all of NATO's strength is in its show window." But most serious of all was Marshal Juin's comment that he was unable to see how this state of affairs could be remedied by 1955 if NATO pursued its present course. The only available way "to fill the gap" would be by using American divisions. Since this would make the United States carry the heaviest military burden in Europe, as it already does in Korea, it is not a very enticing prospect for the American people. Again, Baldwin makes the point well:

> Some of the principal nations of Europe are now claiming that even materially reduced objectives are beyond their capabilities. Others are still planning to achieve their original objectives by late 1954. But for many there is no firm completion date. Thus the future shape and complexion of the NATO armed forces are subject to major doubt. The military shoe is pinching Europe, and she does not want to wear it.

It is not only a question of numbers and of man-power. The new Five-Year Plan, the basis of Russia's military strength, makes an unprecedented effort to overcome the shortage of skilled labor which has consistently hampered Soviet plans in the past. Already trade, railroad, mining, and factory schools are turning out about 500,000 workers yearly. This will be reflected both in industrial output and in the increased efficiency of the army. One of the weaknesses which plagued Russia in the war against Germany, that in radio and wire communications, is now being remedied. Intensive effort is also being made to build up the fire power of Soviet army units in terms of accuracy. New arms are being created: for example, Russian-made 57-mm. recoiler rifles, recently observed in action in Korea, give evidence of considerable improvement over the 1944 model.

In the light of these facts there seems to be no reason to believe that by 1955 the balance of military power will be so altered as to permit the Western bloc to dictate the terms of a general agreement to Russia. If the crucial date is put off to 1956 or 1957, the situation may be even less favorable to the West; it is more likely than not that some of the NATO members will by then have wasted their economic substance in the long-continued rearmament effort. There still remains the hope of the bombs—little atom bombs, big atom bombs, the hydrogen bomb, and the as-yet-unnamed super-bomb which may be invented and made by that time. It is not my intention to base any conclusions on sensational guesses, but various reputable observers have warned the West against falling into the error, for the second time, of underestimating the Russians in the field of atomic production. One interesting report of this kind by the German atomic scientist, Dr. Paul Vossinger, appeared in the Swiss journal *Die Nation* of December 17, 1952. Vossinger, who recently fled from Russia via Manila and Colombo and is now in Trieste, described on the basis of considerable data Russia's atomic-war preparations in Kamchatka. This Swiss report is in line with the recent series of articles by the Alsop brothers on the hydrogen bomb.

I do not deny the reality of the dangers implicit in the new super-explosives. But this sort of reporting looks only to the Apocalypse, to a future of nothingness, a world in ashes; it has nothing to do with diplomacy or negotiation. If there is still any intention to negotiate some day, it is preferable to do so in 1953 rather than in 1955 or 1960. As we have seen, it is futile to hope that by waiting the proportion of strength between the Soviet bloc and the Western bloc will permit the West to settle the cold war by means of an ultimatum. Certainly the West has considerably increased its strength since 1950. Obviously it will be very much stronger in 1955. But the Soviet bloc will also be very much stronger by then. And if the balance of forces is not to shift decisively in favor of the West, the growing tension of the cold war will progressively reduce the chance of a settlement through negotiation. Once that chance is lost, we shall have to think about the Apocalypse in sober earnest.

Scientists in a Mad World

BY MAURICE B. VISSCHER

THE paramount ethical problem facing scientists today is what moral stand they should take in the crisis of freedom of thought and expression. I do not pose the problem in terms of civil liberties in general, for everyone is surfeited nowadays with talk about the virtues of freedom. I wish rather to stress the evils of our twentieth-century intellectual slavery, to analyze the background of the trouble in which scientists find themselves, and to consider what they must do to get out of it.

While the more literal-minded may object to my use of the term, I think we live in a psychotic world. I shall not try to prove that a majority of Americans, or Russians, are psychotic in a legal sense—we do not have enough insane asylums for the obviously psychotic, to say nothing of those who would be committed by my new definition. The really insane people, by my definition, are found in vociferous minority groups, and the great masses of people are putty in their hands, or, to mix the metaphor, sheep being stampeded by wolves.

The insanity abroad today is a sort of schizophrenia. The psychiatrists define that disease as "a psychosis characterized by lack of affect, inappropriate mood, unpredictable behavior, and disintegration." They say further that it "frequently terminates in mental regression, total withdrawal from reality into fantasies, and paranoid formulations." The schizophrenic is a split or dual personality. He is frightened because he is never sure which of his mental processes are related to reality and which are hallucinations; since he cannot distinguish between dream and reality, the two have equal validity, and both therefore are worthless.

In the world today there are fairly large minority groups who show typical paranoid behavior. What is a paranoid like? A paranoid fixes upon some mere shred of reality or some pure fiction and builds up around it a great structure of threat to himself. He may imagine that some individual who he thinks dislikes him is planning to kill him. Or he may convince himself that the F. B. I. or the O. G. P. U. is tapping his telephone or has wired his room for sound recording. Or he may believe that some group of persons is "out to get him." The paranoid personality fabricates an unreal picture of a threat and reacts in violent and anti-social ways.

Numerous supposedly patriotic organizations and individuals in the United States are displaying paranoid behavior toward scientists. They are inducing large sections of the public to believe that the country is gravely threatened by the widespread disloyalty of its scientists and other scholars. Some have personal motives for falsifying issues; others are genuinely paranoid. They note that a few scientists—Dr. Alan Nunn May, a

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MAURICE B. VISSCHER is chairman of the Department of Physiology of the University of Minnesota and has held important posts with various national and international scientific bodies. This article is based upon a speech he delivered before the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Proposals for Peace—V

BY GABRIELA MISTRAL

Peace can be born in the schools. As an old teacher I send you a few suggestions that could be applied in schools everywhere.

Pictures make a lasting impression on the minds of children under fourteen. Let the teachers collect photographs of the games children play in foreign countries—in North and South America, in Europe, Africa, and the Far East.

Have pupils sing the folk songs of other peoples—but not their war songs. A teacher should explain the words and talk about the historical events to which they are related.

At school fêtes let the children dress in the costumes of other countries, sing their songs, and play their games.

Devote one day each month to a foreign country. Tell the pupils stories of its real heroes—its peacetime heroes. The older children should also hear about some of the horrible instances of genocide and zenophobia.

Give a prize for the best "Hymn to Peace!"

[*Gabriela Mistral is a Chilean teacher, diplomat, and poet. She has taught at Vassar and Columbia and has been attached to various Chilean consulates in Europe. Her poems have been published under the title "A Gabriela Mistral Anthology."*]

Canadian; Klaus Fuchs, a British subject; and two or three Americans—have been convicted of betraying atomic-bomb secrets. Ignoring the fact that these four or five men are about a thousandth of one per cent of the scientists, technicians, and engineers in the countries concerned, they build up a case of imminent danger so great that to meet it they propose to destroy freedom of thought and expression for all scientists, and of course ultimately for everyone else. This is to be done by driving from their positions or discrediting all scientists and other scholars who express views out of harmony with those considered orthodox by the paranoid clique. Among the prominent scientists who have been treated in this way are Edward U. Condon, Linus Pauling, Harlow Shapley, and Kirtley Mather. I mention these names because the attacks upon them have been front-page news. Literally hundreds of others have been exposed to abuse without their cases getting headline billing. The consequence, as intended, has been to discourage others from committing the folly of holding and expressing independent opinions.

No American scientist in a really responsible position has been shown to have been disloyal to the country. A small number of minor technicians have been convicted of the crime. It was the scientists themselves who set up machinery during World War II to prevent leakage of information of military value. The great noise made about the supposed disloyalty of scientists as a group is certainly an exhibition of paranoia unless the persons bringing the charges are totally dishonest, and I do not believe this is true of the majority.

The stigmata of insanity in the United States are unmistakable. What is the situation in the rest of the world? In Russia and its satellite states the disease is apparently in a much more aggravated stage. In those countries instead of unreasoning fear there is panic. While here non-conformists are in general simply being intimidated, there they are likely to be liquidated. However, the less violent case is not necessarily less insane or less subject to progressive deterioration. That, indeed, is the great danger.

Schizophrenics suffer from mental regression. They lose their minds, to put it bluntly. We in this country are losing our minds as a result of our hallucinations, delusions of danger, and general withdrawal from reality. In our insane desire to remove the imaginary threat to our security offered by the imaginary perfidy of our scientists, we are adopting the worst features of a totalitarian state and are stultifying our scientific free enterprise. In other words, we are proceeding along the road of insanity to suicide as a nation of free men.

IF ALL this is true, what can scientists do to arouse the paranoids from their nightmares before it is too late? Time is flying, and our cherished freedoms of thought and expression will not last long if the hallucinatory states of powerful minorities persist. Moreover, the quality of our scientific professional work is bound to suffer, since few intelligent men or women will choose a career that is in disgrace or under suspicion. Even now some of the best brains cannot be used because they are unjustly suspected of potential disloyalty.

One thing is clear: scientists should use the scientific method in their own thinking about the problem. They should discover and present verifiable facts. They should demand to be heard, and they should take the offensive rather than accept a false defensive position. The current paranoia is not going to be cured by false admissions of guilt. Such "confessions" are supposed to be the specialty of dictatorships, not of democracies. And our democracy will not long survive if Americans accept supinely the methods of dictators. Scientists and all scholars have a special obligation to society in these matters. Scientists in particular are devoted to the task of advancing verifiable knowledge. Are we going to allow our country to deteriorate into an asylum for regimented psychopaths? Are we so fearful that some paranoid may attack us individually or collectively that we will submit to permanent loss of freedom?

The scholars most likely to get in trouble in the

United States today are those who hold views contrary to the views of the psychotic fringe in one of several areas. The most important is the area of economic theory. Any supporter of socialism or even of consumer cooperatives must expect to be labeled a Communist and thus a person to be purged. Another area is that of philosophy. Any scientist or other scholar whose views on the nature of the world and man lead him to an agnostic or non-theistic position is linked with dialectical materialism and therefore damned. A third area has to do with attitudes toward war and peace. Pacifists and persons seeking alternatives to war are accused of being promoters of Russian imperialist aims and so discredited.

None of these areas are the concern of scientists only. Why then, one may ask, should scientists, as scientists, be singled out for persecution? For the very simple reason that modern warfare is essentially applied science. Scientists are being attacked because secrecy is so important in atomic, biological, and chemical warfare, in radar, jet propulsion, guided missiles, and space-ship design—to mention a few of the pleasantries of modern methods of warfare.

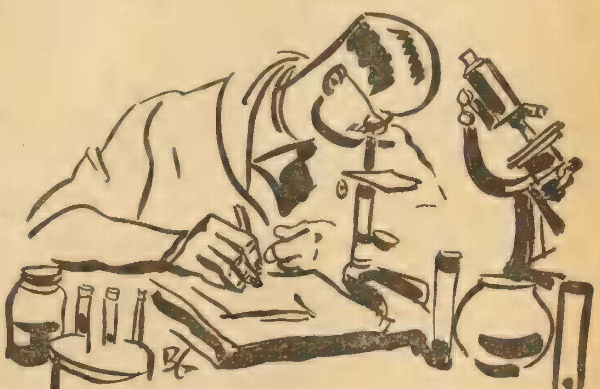
Science as an enterprise cannot flourish when scientists are looked upon with a mixture of awe and distrust. The strength of the Western world surely is based upon superior technology, which in turn rests upon scientific development. In a world of slaves there is no obvious reason why one set of slaves should be more productive than another. Lack of freedom, wherever it exists, promotes mediocrity, and mediocrity means stagnation and weakness.

A catalogue of the measures used to intimidate scientists and other scholars makes dreary reading, but it should be recounted. First, there are the dragnet activities of the federal and state un-American-activities committees. These depend on the power of suspicion and unsupported charges, the fear of unintended perjury, and the technique of condemnation by accusation. Second, there are the so-called loyalty tests to determine fitness to hold positions in teaching, research, and administrative work. Third, there is the refusal of passports for foreign travel, a new development but one which under the McCarran act will probably be much more widely used in the future. Finally there are the entirely extra-legal measures which are as dangerous as the legal ones. Some flag-waving scandal sheet, wishing to attack certain individuals or institutions, suggests that they are subversive, and millions of people assume that the charge is valid. Under American law individuals have almost no protection against insinuated libel.

What can be done to stem the rising tide of anti-intellectualism in America? (I assume that we are powerless to do anything about the even worse situation in Spain, Russia, and some other countries.) Individuals, I am convinced, can do little or nothing; only large and respected organizations can get results. I refer to such organizations as the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the National Academy of Sciences. The A. A. A. S. has allowed several of its past presidents to be slandered without adequate reaction. The National Academy as an organization has been silent while many of its members have been vilified and the body of scientists at large harassed. To be sure, its officers have worked hard in various ways to influence government officials, but their efforts have not been effective. The problem is too deep-rooted to be solved by conferences between a few scholars and a few well-meaning officials.

I would urge that the A. A. A. S., speaking for all scientists, and the N. A. S., speaking for the elder statesmen of science, make the problem of anti-intellectualism their concern. I feel sure that if they attack the virus with all their strength they will succeed in checking its inroads. Soft talk will not be enough. A resolution of censure solemnly passed by the A. A. A. S. or the N. A. S. would be laughed at by the paranoid fringe. The only language they understand is action. The A. A. A. S. and the N. A. S. will have to undertake an educational campaign among the people. Spearheaded by organizations of great prestige, an educational drive might yet save the day. A few years ago the American Medical Association assessed its members $25 apiece to finance an educational campaign against socialized-medicine legislation. While self-interest played a large role in its popularity with physicians, the venture achieved its objectives in large part.

Would there not be much more support for an educational campaign to protect the principle of free-enterprise in ideas? Who but a schizophrenic or a criminal could possibly condemn it? Our country is great, the Western world is great, to the degree that such free traffic in ideas is a reality. I suggest that one method of preventing the destruction of free thought would be for the A. A. A. S. to impose an assessment on its members for an extensive educational program to enlighten the public about the case for freedom. I would call it the A. A. A. S. Fund for Education in Free Enterprise in Scientific Thought.



POINT 4—FOUR YEARS LATER

II. The Permanent Sabotage

BY PETER WEISS

WITH $340,000,000 appropriated by Congress for the current fiscal year for economic and technical aid to Asia, the Near East, and Latin America, Point Four today is more than a phrase in an inaugural speech. At the same time the technical-assistance program of the United Nations, although its budget is only $20,000,000 for the same period, is becoming so important that David Owen recently relinquished his post of Assistant Secretary General for Economic Affairs to spend all his energies on coordinating it with the parallel activities of the specialized agencies.

The enthusiasm generated by these programs is understandable, but it is also dangerous, for it obscures the fact that the gulf between the world's haves and have-nots is widening every year. Technical assistance is only a relatively minor aspect of economic development. The demands of the underdeveloped countries for concerted action by the great powers to provide the substance as well as the trappings of progress have been consistently repulsed. Public indifference to these demands is indicative of our present shocking habit of being interested in issues chiefly for their relevance to the fight against communism. We ignore Iraq's opinion of the World Bank because it tells us nothing of the strength, if any, of Iraq's Communist Party; Chile's pleas for a campaign against world poverty are dismissed because they do not presage the defection of that country into the enemy camp. For the past five years Congress and our representatives in the United Nations have told the spokesmen of the less fortunate members of the world community that they sympathize with their plight but can do nothing much about it until the Russian menace is somehow disposed of. Piecemeal, palliative measures have been substituted for a real attack on the problem.

The open debate on economic development began in the United Nations in 1947 after various efforts to provide aid on a large scale had failed. First, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was scuttled by the United States and England in 1946. UNRRA by then had won the loyalty of millions of human beings around the globe. It had, furthermore, become the nucleus of a world development agency. Its relief functions were admittedly temporary, but the line between rehabilitation and development is tenuous. Its Chinese program, especially, was paving the way for a general attack on economic backwardness. Had the organization been continued, it would naturally have taken over the execution of an international development program.

Second, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which only the most unsophisticated observers consider international in control as well as in name, sorely disappointed its Asian and Latin American members by appropriating, during the first two years of operation, $497,000,000 for Europe and only $16,000,000 for all the underdeveloped regions. The proportion has changed somewhat since then in favor of the underdeveloped countries, but it is clear that the World Bank is first and foremost a bank and intends to remain that way.

Third, plans to establish in 1949 an International Trade Organization were abandoned. In this country the proposed I. T. O. was regarded mainly as a kind of international anti-trust division, but to the representatives of underdeveloped countries who participated in its organizational meetings it meant more than that. Article III of the final version of the charter declared that the I. T. O. should assist member nations in the formulation of industrial and general economic development plans and cooperate with the U. N. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and other inter-governmental agencies on all phases of such development, and particularly in respect of finance, equipment, technical assistance, and managerial skill. This was not the least reason for the failure of Congress to authorize American participation in the I. T. O. Like the World Bank, the I. T. O. was a potential instrument for carrying out a program of world economic development; both were prevented from doing so, largely by the United States.

In March, 1947, the Economic and Social Council requested its newly established Economic and Employment Commission to consider international measures to speed economic development, and the commission assigned that task to a Subcommission on Economic Development, four of whose seven members came from underdeveloped countries, After a month of deliberations the subcommission reported that it considered industrialization the key to economic development. While recognizing the important contributions the underdeveloped countries

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PETER WEISS is a lawyer who has closely followed the history of the International Development Fund in the United Nations. His article is the second of a series on economic aid for underdeveloped countries.

could make toward their own progress, it declared: "An examination of the main sources of international loans for development indicates that the total volume of funds is entirely inadequate to the needs. If economic development is to progress more rapidly during the next few years, a larger and better-regulated flow of foreign funds than is currently available will have to be promoted by and through international agencies working within the framework of the United Nations." The subcommission also sharply criticized the World Bank for its failure to make the funds at its disposal available for development projects and recommended that "immediate international provision be made for . . . underdeveloped countries by way of finance, food, and equipment."

THESE views proved extremely unpopular among the Western members of the Economic and Employment Commission. Instead of accepting the subcommission's report as that of a fact-finding, non-political body of experts, the delegates of Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States dissented vigorously from its conclusions and particularly from its emphasis on industrialization and the need for international financial action. Since the underdeveloped countries were in the minority, the commission confined itself to urging that individual member countries with adequate productive capacities take steps to speed the economic development of underdeveloped countries.

The subject has been debated in countless sessions in half a dozen other U. N. agencies and has produced no fewer than sixteen resolutions urging further study of the question of how to finance development plans, but the arguments have remained substantially unchanged. The underdeveloped countries have called attention to their plight and warned of the consequences of inaction for world peace and stability. They have taken turns reciting the catalogue of inequalities until the figures have lost their power to shock. Having resigned themselves to the idea that they will get no financial help from the West until defense expenditures begin to taper off, they are now fighting a holding action, defending the principle of international action for economic development until those with the means to implement the principle will no longer have an excuse for disregarding it.

Under the leadership of the United States the West has used these debates as training in the fine art of evading an issue while appearing to meet it. It has evolved a store of procedural devices—the subcommission-to-make-a-detailed-study-, the referral-back-for-re-examination-in-the-light-of-new-recommendations, the request-to-the-Secretary-General-to-report-next-year-on-steps-to-be-taken, and the resolution-approving-in-principle-but-urging-caution-in-fact—and displayed such ingenuity in their use that one is forced to wonder whether the new diplomacy is any improvement over the old.

All the talk, however, has not been in vain. The U. N., much to the discomfort of its Western members, is now on record as indorsing the principle of an International Development Fund. How this indorsement was obtained is an interesting story, confounding all who take a too simple view of the U. N., whether it be the Americans who think it represents the free world united for peace, with a few noisy obstructionists in its midst, or the Russians for whom it means Uncle Sam bullying a covey of obedient slaves, with none but the people's democracies to speak up for justice.

V. K. Rao

The proposal was first made by V. K. Rao of India, chairman of the Subcommission on Economic Development. In the subcommission's third report to the Economic and Employment Commission in 1949, Mr. Rao offered a fairly detailed plan for the establishment of a new international agency, to be called, appropriately, UNEDA (United Nations Economic Development Authority), whose main function would be to grant and administer long-term development loans for non-self-liquidating projects. The Economic and Employment Commission, with its majority of developed countries, was so outraged at this idea that it recommended to ECOSOC, not the establishment of UNEDA, but the abolition of the Subcommission on Economic Development—this was continued, however, for two more sessions.

Mr. Rao's proposal was revived in October, 1950, by Mr. Ali of Pakistan, who suggested in the Economic and Financial Committee of the General Assembly that the recently established Technical Assistance Board should be complemented by a Financial Assistance Board which would administer funds raised from three sources—long-term government loans, contributions by private foundations, and the sale of long-term, low-interest bonds to individuals all over the world. Mr. Ali's plan was enthusiastically approved by India, Mexico, Chile, the Philippines, Yemen, Iraq, and Yugoslavia. The response from Europe and the United States was such that Mr. Ali did not even submit a formal resolution.

On May 21, 1951, Western double-talk was stopped by the U. N.'s publication of the now classic report on Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries. The authors were five experts appointed by the Secretary General, among whom were

Professor Arthur Lewis of the University of Manchester [author of the next article in this series—EDITORS] and Professor Theodore Schultz of the University of Chicago. They estimated, with apologies for rough guessing, that to raise the national income of underdeveloped countries by 2 per cent a year would require an annual investment of $19 billion, well over half of which would have to be, and could be, furnished by the more developed countries. They also recommended the establishment by the U. N. of an International Development Authority to assist the underdeveloped countries in carrying out their development programs and to distribute to them grants-in-aid for specific purposes.

The experts' report drew sharp criticism from the representatives of developed countries on the Economic and Employment Commission, which was finally renamed Economic, Employment, and Development Commission in gracious recognition of the problem. But it encouraged Mr. Santa Cruz of Chile, who was the chief spokesman of the underdeveloped countries in this fight, to depart from diplomatic precedent in his opening address as president of the thirteenth session of ECOSOC, July 30, 1951. Instead of indulging in meaningless generalities Mr. Santa Cruz pictured the "utterly depressing" economic and social outlook before the world caused by the switch-over from peaceful endeavor to a vast war effort. He went on to recall that for two years the underdeveloped countries had been offered only "preliminary studies" emphasizing the gravity of the problem and recommending that they put their own houses in order and encourage the influx of foreign capital. The work of ECOSOC, he said, had been vitiated by the adoption of resolutions designed to satisfy the countries likely to bear the major responsibility for implementation. Demanding an end to "facile compromise solutions," Mr. Santa Cruz submitted his own proposal for the establishment of a "United Nations Authority for Production and Plenty," designed to increase consuming power by giving technical and financial assistance to member nations and to facilitate the interchange of products.

ECOSOC went on record in its thirteenth session as neither approving nor disapproving the principle of an International Development Authority. At the following session of the General Assembly in January, 1952, a resolution favoring the authority was lost by a narrow margin, but another one, indorsing the principle of an International Development Fund to administer long-term loans and grants for economic development on terms more liberal than those of the World Bank, was adopted by a vote of thirty to sixteen, with the United States and the NATO countries opposing and the Communist bloc abstaining. The underdeveloped countries consider this a substantial victory and attribute little importance to the change in nomenclature.

At its fourteenth session, which ended in New York last August, ECOSOC directed the Secretary General to appoint a committee of nine experts to draw up a blueprint for the new International Development Fund and submit it to ECOSOC's next session, scheduled for April, 1953. These experts have just begun their deliberations. The task they face is nothing less than to devise a way to mobilize for peace the energies and resources now being spent on preparations for war.

Socialist Bridge to Asia

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

GIVING his comment the revealing heading "Asians Need That Attlee Touch," Francis Williams, *News Chronicle* columnist, rated the Attlee visit to Rangoon as important as Churchill's visit to New York and Washington. "If the policies that the United States follows in the next four years or so," he said, "are of predominant importance to the struggle for democracy in the world . . . the course taken by the still free nations of Asia is likely in the long run to be of hardly less significance to the outcome of that struggle." The words have weight coming from Attlee's former public-relations officer, an authoritative labor publicist.

Attlee's visit to Rangoon was important on two counts. First, as the man who transferred sovereignty to India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma, he had the ear of many South Asian leaders and succeeded in strengthening their ties with the West. Second, his influence helped to keep the Asian Socialists linked with the European Socialists. Thus they can serve as an alternative channel for Western policy when other channels are drying up.

In a memorandum prepared three months before Attlee left for Rangoon, Morgan Phillips, British chairman of the Socialist International, warned against the possible emergence of "two Socialist Internationals divided, in effect, on racial lines." He expressed the hope that "from the forthcoming Rangoon conference of Asian Socialist parties an Asian grouping will emerge as the focus of socialism in Asia."

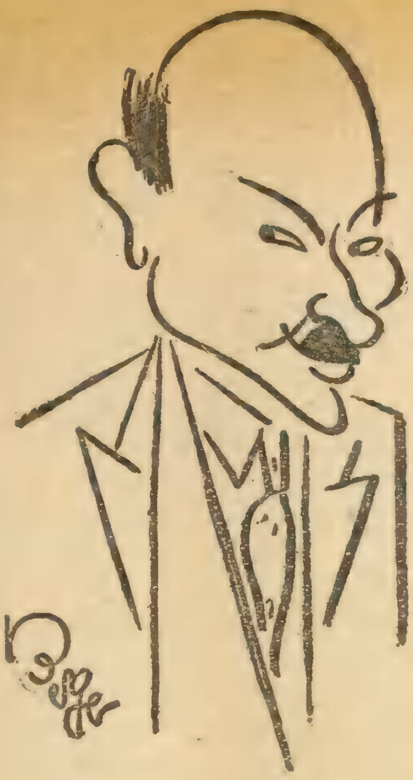
ANDREW ROTH is a contributing editor of The Nation *now writing from London.*

That is virtually what happened at Rangoon last week. A plenary session held in the closing days of the conference unanimously adopted a resolution creating an Asian Socialist organization which would "establish liaison with the Socialist International." The resolution specifically provided that members of the new Asian organization could also be members of the international body. Three Asian groups—the Israeli Socialists and the right-wing and left-wing Japanese Socialists—have been members of the International for some time and under the new set-up will remain so.

In dealing with the difficult question of "neutralism"—favored strongly by some of the left-wing groups—the conference after lengthy debate adopted a carefully worded resolution which read in part:

> The independent position of the Asian countries and their freedom of movement with regard to the problems of world peace do not mean ideological neutralism or any policy of sacrificing the liberty of other peoples or nations to one's own selfish interests.

Other parts of the resolution strongly supported democracy and the basic freedoms as against totalitarian systems.



Clement Attlee

ATTLEE's trip is a measure of the new regard in which Asian Socialists are held in the West, particularly in Britain. Only a few years ago the prevailing feeling was very different. At the end of 1949 when I was in Bengal, Jai Prakash Narain, the Indian Socialist leader, told me sadly that the British Labor Party had repulsed the Indian Socialists' request that it send a delegate to their annual conference. The Labor Party explained this "brush off" by saying it did not want to jeopardize its friendship with Pandit Nehru by sending a representative to a meeting of what had become an opposition party. Little more than three years later the Labor Party asked its seventy-year-old leader, described by Francis Williams as "the most trusted of all European leaders," to make a strenuous 18,000-mile trip to gain the friendship of Asian Socialist parties once rebuffed or ignored.

This new interest in overseas Socialist parties has developed among such insular British Laborites as Herbert Morrison, the former Foreign Minister, for quite practical reasons. During the crisis in Iran, Britain's traditional allies there—the army and the palace—proved inadequate. Finding he must choose between Dr. Mossadegh and the Communists, Mr. Morrison moaned to his colleagues, "If only there were a Persian Labor Party!"

That Britain could profit from the growth of Socialist parties in South Asia was stressed in a dispatch from Hongkong which was prominently displayed in the London *Times* of January 5. The *Times* correspondent said that while democratic socialism no longer had a chance in China, Korea, or Indo-China, where political forces had polarized into right and left extremes, in Japan and particularly in South Asia it was "a political philosophy which still has the field before it." He continued:

> There is one distinction which must be made for socialism in Asia, in the present world context. Its sources are exclusively European, it is not linked to Russia, and it does not look for nourishment to the United States. . . . It seems . . . to many observers of the Asian scene that the only workable solution for the development of economic resources in the newer nations of East Asia is, broadly, a Socialist one, for such a solution offers a desirable satisfaction to nascent nationalism, while avoiding the sometimes inefficient and sometimes undesirable practices of an immature capitalist class.

Mr. Attlee, then, can be said to have been reinforcing Britain's second line of defense. All British leaders have some grasp of the decisive importance of South Asia. It is not only a major market and source of raw materials; it is also an area of influence which enables Britain to describe itself as a world power and which it can use in bargaining with the United States. Thus when Britain does not want to accept an American policy it can always say, "Nehru won't swallow that." The loss of South Asia would mean the immediate decline of Britain from its present second-class to third-class status and tip the world balance of power.

Both Labor and Conservative statesmen feel that one of the great weaknesses of South Asia is the lack of constructive leadership. Ruling groups to which it would have been "safe" enough to transfer power in 1947-48 have not been able to retain popular support. The Conference of Economic Experts convened by the Socialist International in Vienna in November, 1951, complained that "difficult problems are raised by the existence of corrupt and reactionary governments in some of the independent countries" in the so-called underdeveloped areas.

In view of the mounting opposition to the conservative-nationalist governments in office in most of South

Asia, British leaders of both parties want to see a safe alternative party emerging. With regard to India, they feel little confidence that Pandit Nehru will succeed in raising living standards, and if the Congress government falls, they hope to see a moderate Socialist regime take its place. The Manchester *Guardian* said on January 6:

> The Asian Socialists are less likely than some of the Nationalist and religious leaders to be lured away from the hard and sustained effort which will be needed [in the field of] technical education and assistance to the peasant . . . by the temptation to appeal to the superstitions and emotions of the masses.

I Have a Thing to Tell You

BY RUTH ELIZABETH CRAWFORD

[The author of this article was for five years a public-information officer for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund and before that served in a similar capacity in the United States Children's Bureau. Immediately after her appearance before the McCarran committee, described in the article, she offered to resign her United Nations post, an offer which she subsequently withdrew in order to establish, through a proper hearing, her legal and moral fitness to continue in her job. This hearing was denied her by the United Nations administration, which urged instead that she again offer to resign. When she refused, she was formally dismissed on January 7 by the Secretary General in "the best interests of the United Nations."

Miss Crawford is appealing her dismissal on the ground that she is being made to suffer for her political opinions. As part of her defense she plans to invoke for the first time in such a case Article 19 of the United Nations' own Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression. This right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

Miss Crawford's name did not appear on the list of American personnel in the United Nations upon whom the State Department had made adverse comment.]

ON THE night of October 14 last I was ordered by telegram, along with other Americans employed by the United Nations, to appear the next day before the McCarran committee to answer questions about my past employment and political affiliations.

By noon of the fifteenth I had answered—or admitted or asserted, as the interpretation may be—that seventeen years ago I had been for a year or more a member of the Communist Party of the United States, that I was at the moment a member of the Progressive Party, and that I received the publications of several specified organizations and was in sympathy with their objectives. I had further described eleven years of employment with the United States government and five years with the United Nations.

It seems to me now that all that had ever happened to me was brought together at the moment when I had to answer the fateful question: "Are you, or were you ever, a member of the Communist Party?" At that moment I joined the ever-growing number of Americans who have been brought to account for their political beliefs. Of us, to borrow from Thomas Wolfe, *I have a thing to tell you.* That is the title of a story Wolfe wrote about his experience in Germany among the hunters and the hunted in the years just before the Second World War.

I chose to answer the questions put to me in the courtroom. I know that I might have invoked the Fifth Amendment. I think those who do so are protecting a great principle: the Fifth Amendment, I learned in my need, is the only barrier between you and the invasion of your constitutional rights. Perhaps I was tired, tired of being asked a question which I thought no one had the right to ask me in the first place. For as an American did I not have the right to belong to any legally constituted party I chose? So I answered, "Yes."

"I never felt so American," I told a friend after I left the witness stand, "as I did answering those questions." And to myself I said, "*They* don't need to be ashamed of me." By *they* I meant all the living and dead who have influenced my life and made me the person who answered the questions as I did that day.

There was my father, an old man now, whose people have been in this country since before it was a country. One of his ancestors, "a man named Stowe or Stow," cast the Liberty Bell. "I admired you for not giving any names," my father wrote me. There was my mother, who had tried to teach her children "to do what was right." There were the public-school teachers who had taught me about my American heritage. There were the Methodist Sunday School teachers who, believing, had taught us the Golden Rule. And there were those I knew through books—Longfellow, Whittier, Emerson, William Cullen Bryant, and in later years Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson, Alfred Kreymborg, and Carl Sandburg.

In the courtroom with me were the men and women I had known as a young reporter on the newspaper in Terre Haute, Indiana. Eugene Debs, home from prison, was a fellow-townsman; some of my friends had been his friends. "I missed much in life that other men have had," one of them once wrote to me, "but this much I can say: I knew Eugene Debs." In Terre Haute then the thing to be fought was the Ku Klux Klan, and I still remember the courage of those who fought it in the churches, the school board, the city council.

In this remembering I come now to the '30's. Many who today are being asked the crucial question were young adults then with backgrounds similar to mine. We were brought up in a liberal, humanitarian tradition; we knew Socialists, pacifists, anarchists, I. W. W.'s, single-taxers, and Communists—the last drawing their recruits from the other groups. Roger Baldwin came to our town and spoke of civil liberties. We knew and admired Clarence Darrow. We knew people who had been in the fight to save the lives of "the good shoemaker and the poor fish-peddler." (It was the Sacco-Vanzetti case that first taught me that even the courts can be tragically wrong.)

Then came the depression. In my home state of Indiana deep veins of coal lie under rich farm lands, but miners' children went hungry while farmers burned corn in their kitchen stoves. In New York a newspaperman described to me how mounted police clubbed and rode down the leaders of a demonstration of the unemployed; "The place looked like a battlefield," he said.

THE McCarran committee asked who had "invited" me to join the Communist Party. The truth is that I invited myself, moved as I was by anger and frustration at the things that were happening. I wanted to help those who were doing something to stop these outrages. The day I stepped from the curb to join unemployed demonstrators was the day my decision was made. My joining the party was no secret. I registered as a Communist—the party was then on the ballot in New York; I served as a watcher at the polls. "You ought not to have put down that you were a Communist," the Democratic watcher said. "You might get in trouble over that some day."

I have been in trouble over that ever since, as have so many others. I have been more fortunate than most, for during this period I have been able to work at jobs for which I was qualified by my training and talents and to which I could apply myself with zeal and conviction. What I did as an employee of the United States government and of the United Nations is an open record, but no one now thinks to ask how well I did my work. On the contrary, that I should have been so employed at all is now part of the offense: I was "undermining" my government by working for it, and I was disloyal to my government by working for the United Nations. The truth is that for my government I worked with a sense that nothing less than the best was good enough; my coworkers were some of the finest men and women I ever knew and shared my sense of responsibility. As for my employment with the United Nations, I counted it the greatest privilege possible to work for something in which the world has placed so much hope.

I always knew that one day, somewhere, somehow, my time would come as it had come for so many others who had been members of the Communist Party and for many who had not been. There is nothing you can do but wait. So I waited, and when my time came I saw in horror that my past affiliation was going to be used as part of an attack upon the United Nations. Whatever the intent, that has been the result. The hearings and their aftermath are now a matter of public record, and included is the suicide of the chief counsel of the United Nations, an American who was obliged to see one after the other of his associates take the witness stand and walk out of the courtroom with his work at an end.

For myself, my greatest immediate worry after the hearings were over was their possible effect upon my parents. I called them, and they told me the news was coming to them over the radio. Someone—may he ever be thanked—had come to be with them. "It will soon be over," he had reassured them. "It's just the politicians making trouble."

I thought of my colleagues at the United Nations and of my former coworkers in the government. I thought of the people who had given me jobs and of what might be brought down upon them through me. Would they understand?

That night I received the first of many telegrams and letters. "Cheers and sympathy!" it read. Perhaps I had not done too badly, after all. And indeed, of all the communications I have received only two attacked me; the others conveyed support and offers of help. A lawyer, a stranger to me, wrote forcefully of the "terrible consequences that result from failing to stand up for principles, from hesitating to assert and advocate one's opinions." A Quaker friend wrote: "Please tell me if there is anything I can do to help so *I* won't feel so guilty. For the thing is, as everyone must be telling you,

Common Sense from Canada

Ottawa, January 9.—Hon. Lester B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, at a press conference today was asked if Canada intended to do as the United States is doing in screening some forty of her United Nations employees.

"We have never taken the position in this country that a Canadian working for the United Nations is the responsibility of Canada," Mr. Pearson said. "It is the responsibility of the United Nations. We don't recommend Canadians for United Nations appointments. They are not appointed with our knowledge or consent, which is quite proper. We have never been asked to screen Canadians who are taking United Nations jobs for security purposes."—*From the Toronto* Daily Star.

there but for the grace of God go I; any of us of liberal tendencies might be there in Foley Square."

Many of the letters expressed fear for the future. And well they might. I have much to fear now. How will I, as a writer, now make my living? To use a pseudonym means starting all over again. And suppose I were found out? Where shall I live? I must always be careful not to embarrass friends. One message, sent through a mutual friend, requested me not to come there any more—"I hope she will understand . . . if I could do her any good . . . but I have my job and the children to think of." I must think of many things in order to protect my friends and acquaintances. I mustn't put my name and address on a letter. Better not give a check. Better not leave my name with a telephone message. Is my mail being watched? It must be, else how did my questioners know what kind of publications I was receiving?

These are fears that I, as a free-born American, have come to know. Nevertheless, I am a free-born American, and in a strange way I have been given back the freedom which I, like many others, was letting go, surrendering to this monstrous thing that is trying to tell us what we may read, what we may hear, what political party we may belong to, and with whom we may associate.

I shall fight that fear with affirmation, for I have a great birthright, the value of which I never really knew until I stood with only that birthright as my protection. Yes, I did belong to the Communist Party, as was my right. I now belong to the Progressive Party, as is my right. In future years I shall belong to the political party of my own choosing, as I hope will still be my right. Yes, I do receive the publications of organizations that, in the opinion of some, are subversive, but I have given no one the right to make that decision for me. My right so to decide, I believe, was given me by the First Amendment—the first of ten amendments, it is well to remember, that were put there by the people to protect their rights against the Congress. *Congress shall make no law*—these are the opening words.

So I do not apologize. I apologize to my fellow-Americans only for the times when I have not fully exercised those rights, when I kept silent though I might have spoken, when I stayed away from protest meetings because it was not safe to go, when I read furtively what someone had the courage to print openly. Like them, I was afraid—and because we were afraid this thing has happened which threatens our free America. That America to me is the realm of the mind which is free to follow after truth wherever it may be found, whether it be in the field of government, of science, of education, or the arts. For it is only by seeking the truth and acting upon it that we are free to serve the best interests of our own country and the world. So acting we shall find that the interests of the two—the United States of America and the United Nations—are the same.

Giving Wolves an Appetite

BY ELMER DAVIS

IT PROMISES to be a merry winter for our colleges and universities, for at least two and probably three Congressional committees are going after them . . . and the competition will be lively. The winner, of course, will be the one who can put the finger on the largest number, not of Communists, but of people who he says are Communists or something like it. . . .

McCarthy has broadened the field; he says he would rather say he is looking for Communist thinkers than for Communists. This of course is a conveniently vague phrase; you don't have to have any proof that a man is a Communist, only that you think he thinks like a Communist. . . .

All these committees are aware that their investigations may meet with objections on the ground that they are interfering with academic freedom. *Not* if they hit real Communists; as Senator McCarthy correctly says, a Communist has no freedom of thought. But when you go after people whom you choose to regard as Communist thinkers—perhaps because they believe in public housing or have failed to manifest sufficient enthusiasm for Chiang Kai-shek—then there may be protests in the name of academic freedom. Well, what is academic freedom? The McCarran committee today publishes a definition by J. B. Matthews, a specialist on communism for the Hearst newspapers, who has been around as a denouncer for some years past. Academic freedom, he says, is something under which a very large number of our colleges and universities permit the employment of men who are subversive in their activities. Who says their activities are subversive? Matthews. He has told the trustees of their universities about them and apparently the trustees didn't believe him. Which raises a dreadful suspicion; could trustees be subversive, too?

Now, nobody wants Communists teaching in universities. But these procedures promise to hit, not Communists, but people whom somebody doesn't like and chooses to call Communists. It would be a tough winter for American education if there were even one investigation operating on the principle that Congress must see that colleges and universities implant only what Congress regards as sound ideas. But with three sets of investigators competing for the headlines, and measuring their success by the number of people they can name as Communist thinkers, it will be a very tough winter. If we come through it without too much damage, it will only be if university presidents realize that you never get anywhere with people like this by running away from them; that it is no good throwing one innocent man to the wolves to save the others. You only give the wolves an appetite.—*Excerpt from a broadcast over ABC on December 29, 1952.*

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

POEMS - - - BY W. R. RODGERS*

The Airman

Afterwards he may take thought
And Praise, who now may not
Move farther than the moment's jot.
Afterwards who lives may dare
To stop and spit and backward stare
Up at the proved and friendly air.
But not now, no, not now: who knows
Which moment falls the forward rose?
What hole may open at the feet
Of him who boasts himself complete?
Or whose the mercy, whose the might
Sustains the tight-rope of his flight?
His armor's to be unespied,
Therefore he strips off all his pride,
Assumes the cerements of air
That has no here, and owns no there.
Then should death meet him it will see
Nothing but clear neutrality,
And, gazing still, its eyes will pass
Purely through him as if through glass.
And yet, compulsive and complete,
His fate caves darkly at his feet;
Far in the bottoms of the world
His path is smoothed, his pit is curled.
Oh, long the flight but short the spill
That lands the cock on his dunghill.
Balanced on searchlight-tip his plane
May glint like tinsel, fall like rain:
Wadded in fluffy salvos he
May see the silent blood flow free:
And look! Out of the blue unrolls
His vapory bandage, scrolls on scrolls
Of lightest linen following fast
As if to fold and overcast.
Then praise not now his skill or nerve
Who knows how errors made him swerve
From his dead reckonings that must
Have milled and ground him into dust.
He knows the smooth handrail of flight
Has stuttering verticals of fright;
Lives by death's negligence and not
By any guards the gods allot.
To meet with all but go with none
That is his fate whose single fun
And only ease is to be found
Upon the bosom of the round
And randy air: to it he'll give
Up everything that he may live.
Then keep your praise, nor ask him why
He pierces you with pin-sight eye;
Nor smile compliantly when he
Fobs-off applause, for yours may be
The grin that will precipitate
The gravelly avalanche of fate.
Gravely each night he raises hell,
And he has seen great Gabriel
Jog God's elbow, bid Him look
Up from His absorbing Book
To—absentmindedly—admire
The rhododendron banks of fire
Flowering from roots that upward point
Their pleading hands, all out of joint,
Till God, replete with sacrifice,
Rubs planes like motes out of His eyes.

Afterwards he may take thought
And praise, who now may not
Move farther than the moment's jot.
Meanwhile within the mindless deep
Of his humility he'll keep
A waking seed of self that will
One day dance on every hill.
These are dead men; like seed they fly
Widely on every wind, and die
Into their pride that there may grow
More humility below:
Not till that tuberous trumpet breaks the clay
Will they rise up, their resurrection day.

The Fall

O Angel of the ledges of our dread
On whose jellied edges each joy is dandled
Gently, like danger—now, like daws on trees
Unbalancing, turn our dread into ease
And let the fall open our wings' eyes wide
In wonder at ourselves who were so slow
To float out on the rootless raft of air
With flowing hold.
The fall! the fall, from that safe tree
Of love we so much feared to leave, elates
And lifts our other selves to life. Only
By daring do we learn our manyness.

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*These poems by Mr. Rodgers will appear in a volume entitled "Europa and the Bull," to be published by Farrar, Straus, and Young on February 18.

Safety stints us, turns us to stone, to one.
This always-gibbering between fear and hope
Doubles our life, and is the bloody pulse
Of every vein. O angel of our dread,
Delicately cater for us rough feeders
Who ask a stone; and duly give us bread.

Carol

Deep in the fading leaves of night
  There lay the flower that darkness knows,
  Till winter stripped and brought to light
The most incomparable Rose
That blows, that blows.

The flashing mirrors of the snow
Keep turning and returning still:
To see the lovely child below
And hold him is their only will;
Keep still, keep still.

And to let go his very cry
The clinging echoes are so slow
That still his wail they multiply
Though he lie singing now below,
So low, so low.

Even the doves forget to grieve
And gravely to his greeting fly
And the lone places that they leave
All follow and are standing by
On high, on high.

French Democracy

DEMOCRACY IN FRANCE: THE THIRD AND FOURTH REPUBLICS. By David Thomson. Second Edition. Oxford University Press. $3.

FRANCE UNDER THE FOURTH REPUBLIC. By François Goguel. Cornell University Press. $3.

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY IN ITALY AND FRANCE. By Mario Einaudi and François Goguel. University of Notre Dame Press. $4.

THE Fourth French Republic has officially been in existence for six years. Actually it has been operating for more than eight—ever since the liberation of the country in the summer of 1944. This is a span long enough to constitute a comprehensible historical period: it has seen the full five-year course of the first legislature elected under the new constitution and more than one dramatic regrouping of political forces. It was time for the historians and political scientists to give form and sense to what had happened. This they have undertaken in three studies that have appeared in the past few months. Two of them—those by Messrs. Einaudi and Goguel—are successors to the extremely useful volume "Communism in Western Europe" that a year ago inaugurated the publications of the "French-Italian Inquiry" sponsored by Cornell University. The third, by the well-known British historian David Thomson, is a revision of an earlier work on the Third Republic. These three, plus the Cornell volume on communism, may be combined with two of last year's books, "The United States and France," by Donald C. McKay, and "Modern France," edited by Edward Mead Earle, to form a substantial shelf of guides to the recent development of the most important of America's Continental allies.

Mr. Thomson's book offers a convenient starting-point. It is the least specialized of the three and the one that the systematic reader will do well to take up first. Since its original publication in 1946, it has ranked as the standard brief account in English of French democracy since 1870. Less a complete history than an analysis of the background and operation of French democratic procedures, it is a model of compactness and coherent exposition. Of particular value are the chapters in which Mr. Thomson analyzes the way in which the structure of French society has found its logical expression in constitutional arrangements that might otherwise strike the Anglo-Saxon as senselessly anarchical. Ultra-individualism and a love of symmetrical order, Mr. Thomson argues, are both legitimate products of the French tradition: they could be adequately reflected only in a hybrid constitution—combining administrative centralization and continuity with parliamentary effervescence and ministerial instability—such as France lived under for the two generations from 1875 to the Second World War.

Now Mr. Thomson has projected this thesis from the fall of the Third Republic in 1940, through the Vichy hiatus and the founding of the Fourth Republic in 1946, up to the present. He has done it in a single chapter of twenty-seven pages, which replaces a chapter in the earlier edition, entitled The Future Outlook, of precisely the same length. Besides being a curious revelation of the prohibitive expense of typesetting at the present time, the new chapter ranks as a tour de force of compression. Despite the obvious handicaps under which he is laboring, Mr. Thomson succeeds in telling us all we need to know. Essentially he informs us that the Fourth Republic is nearly an exact replica of the Third. After a gallant start in a new direction, it gradually slid back into the familiar routines established by its predecessor. And presumably it did so because the old procedures still expressed the basic character of French society. Although recognizing the changes that modern industrialism has brought—changes that even under the Third Republic gradually turned "all its original assets . . . into liabilities"—Mr. Thomson sticks to his thesis of continuity. There is still, he concludes, an amazing resiliency in the old country.

Yet he grants that one great political

novelty has appeared—"the subservience of the parliamentary representatives, and even of ministers, to the directives of their party organizations outside parliament." This is where Mr. Goguel's book comes in. Narrower in scope than Mr. Thomson's, it is a political history of the Fourth Republic, with particular emphasis on the problems of organized parties. These are questions on which Mr. Goguel is a recognized expert: he is both a permanent official attached to the Council of the Republic (the post-war quasi-Senate) and the author of a massive study, "La Politique des partis sous la Troisième République," which has become a classic for students of French politics.

MR. GOGUEL'S central thesis is that the traditional division of French parties into a right and a left is based on outworn ideological considerations—particularly anti-clericalism—that no longer correspond to social reality. This he discovers in the cleavage between the demands of the modern industrialized areas of the country and the resistance of the more backward areas characterized by peasant agriculture and small business. The former give France its present-day importance—yet the latter dominate the political scene. "The center of political gravity in France . . . coincides in no way with its center of economic gravity." The reason for this discrepancy is that of the six main parties that nearly monopolize French political life, the four that represent the newer areas and tendencies—the Communists, the Socialists, the Catholic Popular Republicans, and the Gaullists—are separated from each other by the traditional right-left hostility, thereby leaving a disproportionate influence to the two groups that stand for the "retrograde" areas and interests, the Radicals and the conservative Independents.

Excluding the Communists as politically impossible, Mr. Goguel quite logically proposes that the other three parties that appeal to the "modern" electorate—the Socialists, the Popular Republicans, and the Gaullists—should sink their differences and unite to manage the state. This he regards as the sole way out of the impasse of the "hexagonal" Chamber produced by the election of 1951. Aside from the rather obvious objection that Mr. Goguel's solution dismisses too lightly the fascist danger implicit in Gaullism, it suddenly appears that its author himself no longer believes it to be the only possibility. In an epilogue written after the rest of the book had presumably gone to press, Mr. Goguel admits with disarming candor that what he had earlier told us was most unlikely has actually occurred. The Independents and Radicals have persuaded a minority of the Gaullists and three-fourths of the Popular Republicans to go along with them in supporting an old-fashioned conservative government. And, what is still more surprising, this government, under the able leadership of Antoine Pinay, proved to be the most coherent and purposeful of the ministries that have ruled the country since the liberation. In France as well as the United States, it appears, political prediction is a perilous pastime.

The Pinay experiment immensely clarified the French political scene. It demonstrated that a responsible conservative coalition could exist as a functioning reality. The fall of the Pinay government did not invalidate this point, since the new Mayer Cabinet essentially represents a revival of the same coalition. What is now needed is a similar coalition of the non-Communist left—the Socialists and the progressive wing of the Popular Republicans—to balance it. In this way the hexagon would be reduced to a quadrilateral. Two responsible coalitions and two irresponsible parties—the Communists and the proto-fascist segment of the Gaullists—would offer the voter the four basic choices characteristic of our era.

Thus redefined, the terms "right" and "left" in French politics still appear to have a meaning: within each of them there is logically room for one—and only one—democratic and one dictatorial alternative. Thus the continuous elements dear to Mr. Thomson can be regrouped to correspond to the contemporary realities so deftly analyzed by Mr. Goguel. What is at present standing in the way of such a regrouping? Why is the unity of the non-Communist left still so far from being accomplished? Partly the responsibility lies

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with the sterile dogmatism of the French Socialists. But it rests still more with the Popular Republicans: the mere existence of a party based rather on religion than on a coherent political philosophy undercuts the whole concept of logical political alignment.

HENCE THE LAST of our three books—a collaborative study of Christian Democracy in which Mr. Goguel treats the French party and Mr. Einaudi the Italian—takes on a particular relevance. It is a unique and highly informative volume. Both authors are thoroughly at home in their subjects; both have considerable sympathy for the parties about which they write. But that is precisely where their difficulties begin. Last year when Mr. Einaudi and two European collaborators were dealing with communism, they wrote firmly and to the point. Now the tone has become more cautious. Such is frequently the case when Catholic social theory is under discussion: the very subject matter apparently breeds imprecision. This time both authors are apologetic about the parties they are dealing with: neither has turned out to be what they—and most of the party leaders besides—would have liked it to be. This is less true of Mr. Goguel than of Mr. Einaudi. The former takes legitimate pride in the fact that the French Popular Republicans have remained "pure" and have shown notable courage in their attitude toward De Gaulle. But the Italian Christian Democrats—as Mr. Einaudi admits with more sorrow than irritation—have bogged down in the rut of government-as-usual: standpat, discreetly corrupt, and arbitrary by fits and starts, the party threatens to become nothing more inspiring than a routine clerical-conservative vehicle for remaining in office.

"Christian Democracy," the book's preface explains, "represents the most important concrete expression of Europe's effort to direct its postwar political life towards democracy and constitutionalism. . . . For developments since 1945, Christian Democracy must therefore take a large part of the credit or, conversely, assume a large part of the blame." Messrs. Einaudi and Goguel have given the Christian Democrats their full measure of credit. But they are a bit too gentle when it comes to handing out the blame. H. STUART HUGHES

Sandburg's Middle West

ALWAYS THE YOUNG STRANGERS. By Carl Sandburg. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.

I HAVE heard it said by a man who knows about such matters that the century of the Middle West in this country, the hundred years of American history that were shaped and dominated by the prairie and the prairie town, has just come to a close; it lasted from 1850 to 1950. He likes to cite the many men who exemplified the region—Lincoln, Veblen, Dreiser, Altgeld, McCormick, Meade, Dewey, Hemingway, Sullivan, Field, Haywood, Wright, Pulitzer, Twain, Beiderbeck. All these of course and many others contributed fundamentally to the concept of America, whether it is good or bad, that we all share and that we have exported to the rest of the world. Now the locus of native feeling appears to have shifted westward, to California and the neon-lighted desert; but it will be a long time before the new attitudes engendered there produce anything as unmistakably and beautifully—and of course indefinably—"American" as "The Killers," the New Deal, the Monadnock Building, or the gasoline-driven combine. We can hope, I suppose, that it will be equally long before the West produces anything as ugly as the World's Fair or the Chicago *Daily Tribune.*

Perhaps the dilemma—idiotic but inescapable word!—of the contemporary intellectual in America can be put in terms of his embarrassment over these hundred years. Are they rich or poor, a waste land or a treasure house? We Middle Westerners from New England and the South, shall we admit the beauty of that level land with its mighty arc of sky? Or shall we condemn the dust and bitter cold, the primitive twang of the voices? More profoundly, what shall we do with the material of materialism in its greatest social, artistic, and even topographical expression?

Fortunately, a few, a very few of our critics and social scientists are beginning to realize that the interdisciplines of cultural anthropology and the sociologies of art, religion, and politics can be put to good use in the study of recent American civilization, and soon perhaps some theories and attitudes may emerge with which the artist and the ordinary man can pursue these questions. Carl Sandburg's "Always the Young Strangers" will serve as primary evidence for the study.

Already in the newspapers the book has been called a "masterpiece" and a "classic." Such talk is beyond my comprehension. The book is *not* a masterpiece. It creaks with bad grammar, formlessness, and an unfeeling use of language. It contains some appalling juxtapositions, as when Sandburg quotes part of Franklin's address to the Constitutional Convention in favor of ratification, an impressive specimen of eighteenth-century rhetoric, and then says of the book in which he read it, "It was a honey of a book." Furthermore, Sandburg is loquacious; sometimes his stories are tedious and unnecessary.

"Always the Young Strangers" is not an autobiography. One learns very little of Sandburg himself—the main impression is of his engaging and genuine modesty. Instead, one reads hundreds of remembrances and observations of Galesburg, Illinois, during the '80's and '90's. Sandburg's parents, brothers and sisters, classmates, neighbors, people in the town, even dogs and cats and horses, all are remembered in bountiful detail. He remembers the cigar his father was given each pay day when the family account was settled at the grocery store: "He smoked an inch or two each Sunday and it lasted him till the next pay day, when he got another cigar." He remembers the advice on marriage given by one drunk to another, overheard on the public square one summer night: "You'll never get what you want and if you do it won't last."

The hard ideal of respectability in spite of poverty, an unfailing loyalty to the Republican Party, a severe piety, whether Lutheran or Catholic, a fear of the rich, distrust of anything "impractical," and with it all a curious, naive humor—these are some of the qualities of the Middle West, where everyone was an immigrant, if not from Sweden or Ireland, then from Pennsylvania or Massachusetts. From Sandburg's roundabout and sometimes vexatious memoir these qualities stand forth in full; and it is important to have them on paper, now that the era of the Middle West has been gone long enough for us to begin to notice its departure. HAYDEN CARRUTH

Imperfection Unlimited

THE NEXT MILLION YEARS. By Charles Galton Darwin. Doubleday and Company. $2.75.

PROPHETS announcing various dooms and salvations are today a dime a dozen. Not even the ancient Hebrews produced quite so many or anything like so great a variety. Jehovah usually spoke in much the same voice, and there was only one Law to appeal to. We have thermodynamics as well as history, physics, psychology, economics, and a dozen other sure guides—all of which can be made to point in different directions. No wonder we may take our choice and have what looks like good ground for assuming that either Utopia or utter calamity is just around the corner. Those in search of either clarification or further doubts should, however, by no means miss the present book. For one thing, its author is both a distinguished scientist in his own right and the grandson of Charles Darwin. More importantly, his line of argument is as novel as it is well sustained. It will exasperate end-of-the-worldists only a little less than optimists of every variety, and it supplies a bewildering assortment of knockdown arguments to be used against all and sundry.

In the course of ten or a hundred million years, says the author, radical changes may take place. Our knowledge does not permit us to predict what a sufficiently long period of time may bring. But the history of mankind during the next one million years will be very much what it has been during the last five or ten thousand. There will be ups and downs as there have always been. There will be occasional local golden ages, such as the one which Western Europe enjoyed during the nineteenth century. But these will continue to be, as they have always been, rare exceptions. The human race will survive, but it will never for long succeed in doing much more than that.

This prediction—and Mr. Darwin insists that it is not a speculation but analogous to the kind of prediction which science has learned to make accurately when dealing statistically with aggregates without taking account of the individual behavior of a single person or a single atom—he bases upon the contention that the two determinants are human nature and population pressures, neither of which will be significantly modified during the period under consideration.

The new species of man upon whom the Shaws and the Wellses pin their hopes cannot be produced by evolution, since it is demonstrable that not one million but many millions of years are required for evolution to modify a species significantly. On the other hand, a new man cannot be produced by "education" or "reconditioning," since no educator or dictator can set goals which transcend the limitations of his own nature and cannot, therefore, even will anything significantly different from what he himself is. Moreover, since acquired characteristics are not inheritable while inborn tendencies are, everything that can be learned dies with each generation, leaving the next with only what nature has given it. Thus, to take an extreme example, the reeducated criminal's children will inherit whatever propensities made him a criminal in the first place without inheriting any effects of the reconditioning. Even eugenics can produce no radical change, for selective breeding is possible only where the animal is submitted, as man cannot be, to the control of some species "higher" than itself.

So far as population pressures are concerned, Malthus's law is still, in the long run, inexorable. Improved techniques for food production give temporary relief and are as a matter of fact largely responsible for the occasional brief golden ages during which whole populations seem to have escaped want. But population at last always catches up again, because there is always a limit to what any technique can produce, never a limit to the power of the species as a whole to multiply until the food supply is barely able to sustain it. Any class and any nation which voluntarily or involuntarily fails to keep pace will simply be overwhelmed by one which does. Speaking of a project which spread out the waters of the Indus River and turned a desert into a garden, Mr. Darwin writes: "According to the universally accepted standards this was a great benefit to the world, for it made possible the adequate feeding of a people previously on the verge of starvation. But—after a few years the effect was only to have a large number of people on the verge of starvation instead of a small number."

Though only a few more than two hundred pages in length, "The Next Million Years" manages a singularly cogent presentation of various other dilemmas only somewhat less fundamental than the two central ones, and to many it will seem to constitute a formidable attack upon every conceivable proposal for a better world. Yet Mr. Darwin disclaims any such intention, and it is perhaps worth pointing out that even if one accepts all his theses, one may, if temperamentally so inclined, dismiss them from every consideration of what ameliorations of the human lot may be attempted for a limited period of time and over a limited area of the earth. A golden age may last for centuries and may be succeeded by others equally golden. It is both permanent prosperity and temporary perfection that are declared impossible. Within the next million years there can be no City

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of God destined to an eternity of perfection.

Taking an even broader and more philosophical view, one may wonder whether the real significance of a scientific prophecy like this one may not be the same as that of a book as different in method as, say, Reinhold Niebuhr's recent "The Irony of American History." Fundamentally unrelated as Mr. Darwin's theses may seem to a reaffirmation of the doctrine of original sin, both might, nevertheless, be interpreted as attempts to give rational form to the loss of faith in that desire for and belief in perfectibility which underlies so much of recent political and social thinking. Perhaps neither is, in one sense, "true." Perhaps both are only very elaborate ways of saying what many once and few now believe: "The remedy for the ills of life is palliative rather than radical."

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Books in Brief

ANNAPURNA. By Maurice Herzog. Translated from the French by Lea Morin and Janet Adam Smith. Cartographic and Photographic Documentation by Marcel Ichac. Dutton. $5. The exciting events and something of the mystique of a mountain-climbing adventure as set down by the leader of a French Himalayan expedition which in 1950 reached the summit of the first peak of more than eight thousand meters ever to be conquered. The dangers and difficulties of the ascent were of the expected sort, but near the top the leader lost his gloves; the party was overtaken by a blizzard; and two men had to suffer repeated amputations of toes and fingers at the isolated base camps. Both were then carried through a monsoon over the long route to the Nepalese capital. Mr. Herzog dictated his narrative from the American Hospital in Paris, to which he was still confined a year later. Not all readers are likely to be persuaded by his account that the self-imposed torments of what he calls an *acte gratuit* result in a sense of liberation which justifies them to the sufferer. But perhaps his explanation will bring less Dionysian spirits as close as they are ever likely to get to comprehension.

THE WYNNE DIARIES, 1789–1820. Passages Selected and Edited by Anne Fremantle. Oxford. $2. The first one-volume abridgment (551 pages) of the diaries kept by three long-forgotten sisters and first published in three volumes about a decade ago. The Wynnes—who began journalizing at a tender age—were English girls who grew up on the Continent toward the end of the eighteenth century and amid a round of receptions, balls, and masquerades. They touched the fringes of history when the principal diarist married a Captain Fremantle who served with Nelson's fleet during the crucial years and through him they got glimpses of Trafalgar. The jacket's inevitable invocation of Pepys and Boswell is somewhat beside the point, since the Wynnes, though likable, vivacious, and intelligent, were conventional people. Nevertheless the diaries are well worth reading for the sense they give one of seeing a vanished age through ordinary eyes.

THE SELECTIVE TRAVELLER IN PORTUGAL. By Ann Bridge and Susan Lowndes. Knopf. $5.75. Anyone thinking of a vacation in Portugal will find this book by two Englishwomen both useful and irritating. One is the wife of an erstwhile British ambassador, the other the daughter of the writer Mrs. Belloc Lowndes, and married to a Portuguese journalist. Together they know more about flowers and baroque architecture than about economics or politics; so that anyone interested in finding out what Premier Salazar has done or how his people regard him will have to look elsewhere. These two friends have run up and down the roads of Portugal, delved into its history, looked with a critical eye at its major and minor works of art. One may not agree with their taste or their prejudices, but at least they have visited and described the things not to be missed in that minute land where history lies so thick. Travelers with time and patience may profit from their exploration.

THEY LEARN WHAT THEY LIVE. By Helen G. Trager and Marian Radke Yarrow. Harper and Brothers. $4.50. This is the account of an important project in intercultural education carried on in the Philadelphia public-school system. From six schools in areas where intergroup tensions existed, teachers and children were selected for an experiment in measuring and changing attitudes. The first job was to reeducate a group of teachers who had the usual emotional vested interests in old ways of teaching and at the outset failed to recognize the problems of prejudice existing in their own classes. Through tactful and patient leadership they were guided to a broader social outlook and equipped with the necessary tools of teaching. Social-attitude tests given before and after the experiment showed conclusively that democracy can be taught. These tests throw much light on the nature and extent of prejudice in young children. Contrary to current belief, a large percentage of these children between the ages of five and eight are already

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NOTE TO OUR READERS:

Simone de Beauvoir's new and provocative book THE SECOND SEX will be reviewed as the lead book for the above-mentioned issue.

imbued with negative attitudes toward other groups. Here is a fine example of research pointing toward constructive educational change in an area where change is sorely needed.

PICTURE. A STORY ABOUT HOLLYWOOD. By Lillian Ross. Rinehart. $3.50. This 250-page report gives a detailed account, atmospheric as well as factual, of the actual making of a movie. It begins on the day that Louella Parsons informed her readers that M-G-M would do "The Red Badge of Courage" and ends when Mr. Schenck seizes his opportunity to say "I told you so." Miss Ross follows John Huston, the director, from conference, to location, to party, reporting with dead-pan detachment what everybody said or did. Though she never raises her voice or confesses an opinion, the total effect is as sinister as it was doubtless intended to be. In one way or another every person who appears seems to be the victim of a group obsession and to live in an atmosphere of unresolved conflicts, where worship of the bitch goddess and Oriental self-abasement before the whims of the public accompany occasional apologetic references to art. According to Miss Ross, Dore Schary's office is adorned with a bronze plaque upon which is engraved Ruskin's dictum: "There is hardly anything in the world that some man cannot make a little worse and sell a little cheaper." But if she knows whose bull Mr. Schary believes is being gored she keeps the knowledge to herself.

CONTRIBUTORS

W. R. RODGERS, Irish poet, whose first volume of verse, "Awake, and Other Poems," was published in 1941, is a script-writer and producer for the British Broadcasting Corporation. In 1951 he was elected to the Irish Academy of Letters to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Bernard Shaw.

H. STUART HUGHES, associate professor of history at Stanford University, is the author of "An Essay for Our Times" and "Oswald Spengler: A Critical Estimate."

HAYDEN CARRUTH, formerly editor of *Poetry*, is on the staff of Intercultural Publications.

ROBERT E. GARIS is a member of the Department of English of Wellesley College.

RECORD NOTES

BY ROBERT E. GARIS

Beethoven: Concerto No. 5 for piano and orchestra ("Emperor"); Horowitz with Reiner and the RCA Victor Symphony Orchestra (Victor); slick and brassy.

Overtures: "Coriolan," "Egmont," and "Leonore" No. 3; Keilberth and the Berlin Philharmonic (Capitol); fair performances.

Sonatas for piano, Op. 14, No. 2; 54; 57; 78; 101; Backhaus (London); never great playing, but almost always beautifully sensitive in phrasing and tone, with only occasional fussy mannerisms; recordings considerably flawed by buzzes and cracks.

Sonatas for violin and piano Op. 12, No. 2 and Op. 30, No. 3; Airoff and Schneiderhan (Remington); very poor performances.

Sonata for violin and piano, Op. 47 ("Kreutzer"); Heifetz and Moiseiwitsch (Victor); poor performance; recording shrill, blurred, with rumble.

Symphony No 1; Schuricht and Vienna Philharmonic (London); excellent performance.

Symphony No. 2; Schuricht and Vienna Philharmonic (London), Walter and New York Philharmonic (Columbia); both excellent performances. (Walter's performance coupled with an excellent performance of Beethoven's Fourth Symphony.)

Berlioz: "Dance of the Sylphs," "Minuet of the Will o' the Wisps," and "Rakoczy March" from "The Damnation of Faust"; Van Beinum and the Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam (London); good performances; recording a bit thin and distant. (With Handel's "The Royal Fireworks" and Clarke's "Trumpet Voluntary.")

Brahms: Concerto No. 2 for piano and orchestra; Backhaus with Schuricht and the Vienna Philharmonic (London); excellent performance; recording reverberant.

"Liebeslieder" Waltzes and German Folk Songs; Roger Wagner Chorale and Heckman and Neff, pianists (Capitol); pleasant collegiate performances; recording gritty.

String Quartet in C Minor, Op. 51, No. 1; Vegh String Quartet (London); good performance.

Symphony No. 1; Kubelik and the Chicago Symphony (Mercury); fair performance.

Chopin: Sonatas for piano, Op. 35 and 58; Kilenyi (Remington); poor performances; piano sound cold.

Dvorak: Concerto for violoncello and orchestra; Nelsova with Krips and the London Symphony (London); fair performance.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

IN ALBAN BERG'S uncompleted opera "Lulu," of which Columbia has issued a performance recorded in Vienna, I hear the operation of the same mastery as in "Wozzeck"; but I do not hear in the vocal parts—notably the extravagantly florid part of Lulu—the expressive relation to the dramatic text that I heard in "Wozzeck." And this—in addition to the fact that "Wozzeck" is concerned with pitiful human beings who involve one with them emotionally, whereas "Lulu" is concerned with depraved human beings by whom one is repelled—may be why I find myself not moved by "Lulu" as I was by "Wozzeck" (though I can see that the work might affect me in the theater as it doesn't on the records). I am not in a position to estimate the effectiveness of the performance in which Herbert Häfner conducts the Vienna Symphony and a cast headed by Ilona Steingruber; but I can say that the man who sings Alwa has a wobbly voice that is as painfully inadequate in this music as it would be in Verdi.

In Urania's recording of Gluck's "Orfeo ed Euridice" (in Italian) Margarete Klose's contralto voice produces sumptuously beautiful low notes but tremulous high ones, and Rita Streich's soprano is unpleasantly thin and edged, but there is consistently good singing by Erna Berger. The chorus and orchestra are those of the Berlin Civic Opera; the conductor is Arthur Rother, whose pacing of the work I find occasionally ineffective.

A number of bass arias from Mozart's operas are sung excellently on a London record by Fernando Corena with fine orchestral accompaniments conducted by Erede and Maag and reproduced with London's veiled violins.

Duets from Verdi's "Don Carlo," "La Forza del Destino," and "Otello" and Delibes's "The Pearl Fishers" are sung very well on an RCA Victor record by Bjoerling and Merrill with good accompaniments conducted by Cellini.

The arias from Bizet's "Carmen" on a Columbia record are sung well by Tourel with excellent accompaniments by the orchestra under Morel's direction. Tourel also sings excerpts from Offenbach operettas.

Ferdinand Frantz's voice is harsh in the excerpts from Wagner's "Die Meistersinger" on one side of a Urania record. But on the other side are excellent performances of the Preludes to Acts 1 and 3 and the Dance of the Apprentices by the Saxon State Orchestra under Rudolf Kempe.

One of the second group of HMV LPs issued by Victor offers the final duet of Wagner's "Siegfried" sung by Flagstad and Svanholm with the Philharmonia Orchestra under George Sebastian, and the finale of "Die Götterdämmerung" sung by Flagstad with the same orchestra under Furtwängler. In the closing section of the duet and the "Götterdämmerung" music on the second side one hears the Flagstad voice of recent years—the lower notes with the unique lustrous beauty that is gone from the upper ones, which are a little tremulous and occasionally shrill; in the earlier portion of the duet on the first side the voice is excessively tremulous, shrill, and edged throughout its range. Svanholm quavers as usual.

A Victor Treasury series record offers the "Lohengrin" and "Parsifal" duets that Flagstad recorded with Melchior in 1940, in which one hears the liquid splendor of her voice almost to the top of its range at that time. Another such record offers, with Toscanini's 1946 "Siegfried-Idyll," the "Götterdämmerung" finale that he recorded with Traubel in 1941. This was her best period, when her voice had freed itself of its earlier tremolo and had not yet acquired its recent tremolo-ridden acidulous shrillness; and in the "Götterdämmerung" performance it rings out with clarity and power—but with nothing like Flagstad's splendor. And even in her recent "Götterdämmerung" performance Flagstad's is still the more beautiful singing of the two. Furtwängler's treatment of the "Götterdämmerung" music is relaxed and spacious, Toscanini's more tightly knit. The dubbed sound of the Toscanini performance is very good; that of the Furtwängler more spacious and live.

One thing to mention is that the Toscanini record is the only one of these records of opera excerpts that is provided with the necessary text and its translation—the envelopes of the others providing only the chatter about history and the mere summaries of the action that are of no use in listening.

Also, my review copy of the Flagstad "Götterdämmerung" record sounds as though the stylus were hitting a stretch of concrete at each revolution; and I mention this because such noisy defects have become so frequent—in addition to the noises from scratches made by grit in the envelopes.

When I was able to check London's "Swan Lake" with the score I found that it offered only part of Tchaikovsky's music—presumably the part used in the Sadler's Wells production, with an additional cut in the so-called "Black Swan" pas de deux. Urania's "Swan Lake" also offers only a part of the score (with the same "Black Swan" cut) that is less well selected, less well played by the orchestra of the Prague National Theater under Krombholc, and less well reproduced.

London has issued Tchaikovsky's wonderful score for "The Sleeping Beauty"—with cuts and a major rearrangement which lead me to suppose that what is offered is again what is used in the Sadler's Wells production, with again an additional cut in the final pas de deux. The Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra plays beautifully; Fistoulari's handling of the music is less impressive—with the coda of the pas de six in the Prologue, for example, much too slow, and Nos. 12 a and b in Act 2 much too fast. The recorded sound is excellent except for the London veiled violins.

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What can we do to maintain freedom in education?
Participants: Prof. Derk Bodde, Dr. Scott Buchanan, Prof. Robert S. Cohen, Prof. H. H. Wilson.

Forum II—*Freedom of the Arts*

Current limitation on the arts.
Cultural cost of censorship and blacklisting.
What can be done to restore freedom in the arts?
Participants: Matthew Josephson, Author, Merle Miller, Author, Ben Shahn, Artist.

Forum III—*The Political Use of Fear*

The psychological explanation
Current curbs on our freedom.
What we can do to hold to our constitutional rights.
Participants: Rev. Malcolm R. Evans, Carey McWilliams, Editor, Canon Robert D. Smith, I. F. Stone, Author, Dr. Lawrence J. Roose, Psychiatrist.

Forum IV—*Loyalty and the Fifth Amendment*

Loyalty tests in government service, unions, professions and private enterprise.
The Fifth Amendment as a protection for the innocent.
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Letters to the Editors

Eisenhower and Korea

Dear Sirs: The change of Administration in Washington affords an opportunity to review the situation in Korea. General Eisenhower cannot be oblivious of the fact that his campaign offer to go to Korea was the most significant factor in winning the election because it was a promise of peace.

To get a cease-fire the United States will have to recognize the Republic of China and withdraw opposition to its admission to the U. N. Eisenhower's background may make it possible for him to agree to a settlement along these lines. Having had some experience with European public opinion which heaps criticism upon statesmen who fail to follow the principles of *Realpolitik,* Eisenhower may be more prone to compromise than Truman, who hasn't had the benefit of his successor's education. Eisenhower must be conscious of the fact that only by negotiating with Peking can the frightful alternative of an expanded war be avoided. Even if the American people can stomach this, it is clear that our allies will not.

The task for those who for two years have petitioned earnestly for peace in Korea is to keep before Eisenhower his obligation to use every means to accomplish this end. Instead of calling for an immediate cease-fire or a five-power conference they should urge the new Administration to negotiate with Peking. They should also rally to Eisenhower's support and defend him from the distasteful word appeasement if he takes a tentative step in this direction. . . .

Eisenhower's remarks on his return from Korea about a threatening slaughter may not mean he plans to extend the Korean war. It may well have been meant to soften up the American public by warning it of the alternative to negotiation. Since Mr. Dulles is of a more flexible disposition than Mr. Acheson, as his variable opinions collected by Mr. Rovere in a recent issue of the *Reporter* shows, it may be hoped that he will try to do by diplomacy what his rivals have failed to bring about by force . . . .

Chicago ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

Was Orwell Shrewd . . . .

Dear Sirs: Of the many comments that might be made on Herbert L. Matthews's article, Homage to Orwell [*The Nation,* December 27], I should like to make two:

1. George Orwell's "Homage to Catalonia" advances the view that the Spanish Loyalist cause was fatally injured by the dominance of the Stalinist policies in the Loyalist government. Mr. Matthews undertakes in his article to correct this view by advancing the diametrically opposite view. Mr. Matthews's position is, I suppose, arguable; and certainly it is a very familiar position. But in 1939, when Orwell wrote "Homage to Catalonia," the position was just as familiar as it is today, far more widely held, and it was to correct it that Orwell wrote his book. He did not write it, I may add, as the politically naive person that Mr. Matthews implies he was and that Dr. Negrín says he was, but as one of the shrewdest, as well as one of the most honest, political observers of his time.

2. Mr. Matthews remarks that there is no evidence that I was aware, when I wrote my introduction to "Homage to Catalonia," that "Orwell became acquainted with some of the Spanish Republican exiles in London in the early years of World War II." Mr. Matthews is correct in his supposition—I had no knowledge of this fact. But I cannot see what bearing the fact has on the validity of Orwell's views. Nor am I in the least enlightened by the letter from Dr. Negrín which Mr. Matthews subjoins to his article. Dr. Negrín characterizes Orwell in terms which add up to: a decent and honest but stupid, mentally lazy, morally strict, individualistic, and all too candid Englishman. He implies that Orwell, as a member of the P. O. U. M. brigade, was under the influence of Nazis and of people "allergic" not only to Stalinism but even to ideas of unity and discipline, an influence which presumably accounts for the opinions expressed in his book. And Dr. Negrín tells us that Orwell questioned him about the policies of his government and gives it as his "impression" that "Orwell was satisfied with [his] explanations."

I take it that Dr. Negrín wishes to say that Orwell changed his mind about the conclusions of "Homage to Catalonia," and that Mr. Matthews, in publishing Dr. Negrín's letter, implies the same thing. Dr. Negrín and Mr. Matthews are agreed on, and make a great point of, Orwell's supreme honesty. Orwell died in 1950; Dr. Negrín says that he met Orwell in 1940. If Orwell changed his mind as the result of his conversations with Dr. Negrín, there was the opportunity of a full decade for him to repudiate his book or correct it. He did not do so. Either he did not change his mind or he was not a supremely honest man. But I believe he was a supremely honest man. And I believe that it is not becoming in anyone, least of all in men who disagree with him, to tell us what he really thought but did not choose to say.

New York LIONEL TRILLING

. . . Or Ill-informed?

Dear Sirs: Professor Trilling argues entirely *ad hominem,* the idea being that since Orwell was shrewd as well as honest he must have been right. I believe I proved that Orwell's judgment was based on inadequate knowledge and that his "facts" were sometimes wrong. Professor Trilling has no facts to disprove my thesis. He seeks to impale me on a false dilemma, since obviously Orwell was under no compulsion to write any more about Spain. Besides which, his acquaintance with the Spanish exiles in England was not confined to Dr. Negrín and did not end in 1940.

New York HERBERT L. MATTHEWS

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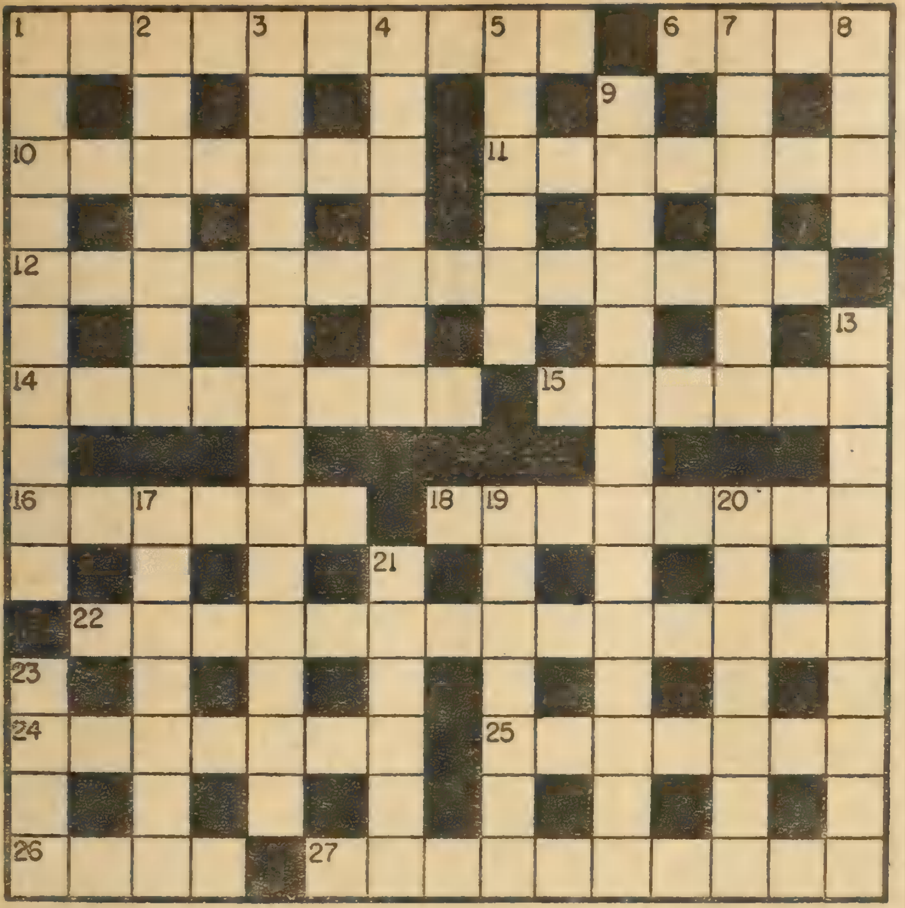

ACROSS

1 If I ever act it, you'd hardly recognize this as coming from an opera! (10)
6 See 19 down
10 The delusion of overlapping sound and time? (7)
11 Emerson said coal is a portable one. (7)
12 Common ground, perhaps. (6, 8)
14 Turn seed into this—the time spent evidently wasn't easy. (8)
15 Orion's quite logically directed to heaven! (6)
16 Get in a present form of 11's end. (7)
18 All creation sounds as though it should have but a single piece of poetry about it. (8)
22 Openings at the financial center suggest where gossips hang out. (7, 7)
24 Said to be one way to convert a den. (7)
25 Passing over in silence. (7)
26 Range animals found in the west. (4)
27 Sounds like underground people with the French underground. (One gets beat with them.) (10)

DOWN

1 One can't say such things weren't caught before. (10)
2 One who aspires to be slightly more than supple. (7)
3 Sounds like what's wrong with Wynken, Ben and Nod. (3, 7, 4)
4 A rough pelt around an animal is just to step on. (7)
5 Spoils his belongings, reputedly. (6)
7 These might get hot and break out into the rash. (7)
8 Appear to bring back the extremes of 27. (4)
9 What the safety is for? (4, 10)
13 Endorses how some think we're all born. (10)
17 A main support of the settler? (7)
19 and 6 You'll have to get the attention of the Navy speaker for this. (3, 4, 4)
20 You'll find him dour, with an element of silvery whiteness. (7)
21 You might get a bit attached to it, or draw back in resentment. (6)
23 It implies the end of a composition is good? (4)

* * *

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Maharajah in the White House—*Bruce Catton*

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BY MARK GAYN

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BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Private School No. 1

Indianapolis

ALLEN ZOLL'S dream school, or an approximation of it, went on trial recently before the Indiana superintendent of public instruction. Pupils of Private School No. 1 at Geneva in Adams County took turns at answering questions in hearings held to determine whether the instruction they received in their Amish school from an unlicensed teacher was equivalent to that offered by the public school in their community. Little Amish girls in prayer bonnets and Amish boys with page hair cuts spelled words, solved arithmetic problems, and read from a primer. But their testimony was in vain; the decision was based on the number of hours of instruction and the licensing question, and was adverse.

The school was founded last year by a group of Amish families who objected to the public-school practice of passing all pupils to the next higher grade instead of failing the slow learners. The Amish Mennonites do not send their children to school after they are sixteen or beyond the eighth grade if they can avoid it. Other Mennonites keep less to themselves and the young people go to school and college. The Amish succeed in remaining aloof from their neighbors largely because they deny their children schooling and "worldly" contacts beyond the eighth grade.

The curriculum of Private School No. 1 consists of the three R's, history, geography, Bible study, spelling, and a cappella singing in a vernacular which is neither high nor low German. There is no physical training involving gym suits and shower baths, no home economics, no farm, shop, or industrial training, no general science, art, instrumental music, or hygiene. Most of the books used are those approved for public schools, but in method as in curriculum there are no frills—no motion pictures, no field trips, no clubs or class plays.

The schoolhouse is an isolated frame building, a converted "summer kitchen," heated by a stove, without electricity or plumbing. No Washington Crossing the Delaware hangs on the walls; no flag is displayed. These people, like Jehovah's Witnesses, require no salutes. Control rests in a board which says it will try to meet state requirements rather than emigrate to southern Tennessee or elsewhere in search of religious freedom.

The state has nothing particular against the Geneva Amish. It has proceeded with the hearings under the pressure of a Citizens' Committee made up of a dozen or so business men. The committee is preoccupied, as citizens' committees often are, with patriotic symbolism. The lack of a flag in the schoolhouse makes its members uneasy. They are distressed by the Amish record on conscription. According to their spokesman, who puts out a weekly paper devoted to attacking the sect and distributed free, they want to liberate the Amish young from the ways of their benighted parents and secure for them freedom to study, to choose a vocation and to pursue it. Citing a Supreme Court decision against multiple marriages for Mormons, the spokesman contends that enforced ignorance is as inimical to the public welfare as polygamy.

The Citizens' Committee has succeeded in getting a similar committee organized in nearby Jay County. Fed by its propaganda, the resentment which crystallized in an attempt to burn down Private School No. 1 is spreading.

The quarrel of the Citizens' Committee with cultural dualism is probably due as much to economic grievances as to religious intolerance. The farm country around Geneva has seen an influx of Amish until the township now contains about four hundred of them. In spite of old-style equipment they prosper and being exceedingly thrifty always have ready cash for large purchases, chiefly livestock. They are not customers for cars, gas, tires, electrical appliances, household furnishings, or, to any great extent, for clothing and food. Consequently they are regarded in some quarters as a blight on the town. Their womenfolk are satisfied to live without electricty or other modern conveniences. Some people say it is better in the Amish country to be a horse than a woman.

The Citizens' Committee maintains that the Amish, for all their pious forms, are no more righteous than other people. Such judgments are of course no business of the state. But the state has to decide whether it will compel a religious minority to conform to educational standards repugnant to their beliefs.

ELIZABETH TOOHY

[*The author is a free-lance writer who contributes occasionally to* The Nation.]

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 176 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · JANUARY 31, 1953 NUMBER 5

The Shape of Things

Due Process and Political Offenders

The conviction of thirteen Communist Party leaders in New York and the Supreme Court's refusal to review the convictions in the Baltimore Smith act cases—Justices Black and Douglas dissenting—make it painfully clear that in the present climate of opinion fair trials and the right of appeal do not provide adequate safeguards against miscarriages of justice in political prosecutions. By all accounts Judge Edward J. Dimock gave the defendants in the New York case a fair trial. Under his instructions the jury apparently deliberated with care, painstakingly reviewing the evidence against each defendant. Yet the fact remains that those convicted were minor functionaries—"lesser Communists" the government called them—linked to the conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence by evidence that was hardly more impressive than that offered in the Baltimore case (see The Smith Act—Baltimore Version, by Frank J. Donner, *The Nation,* November 8, 1952).

Since it is now clear that even minor officials of the Communist Party can be uniformly if not automatically convicted under the Smith act, will the new Republican Administration proceed next against mere members, then against members of so-called "front" organizations, and finally against individual dissenters? And if it does, will the Supreme Court finally decide to call a halt to the chain-reaction process which it set in motion with its decision in the Dennis case?

De Gasperi's Life Insurance

After days of violent debate the Italian electoral-reform bill won the approval of the Chamber of Deputies. The government hopes it will pass in the Senate before the general election scheduled for next May or June. Not even the eloquence of Premier de Gasperi, however, could make it a popular measure. To kill it the trade unions staged a token general strike, bringing public transportation in Rome to a standstill, and in the Chamber opposing deputies exchanged insults and blows until the President had to suspend the session. In Bologna, Turin, Milan, Ravenna, and other cities many huge demonstrations were held against it in spite of hundreds of arrests.

Neither the government nor its press makes any attempt to conceal the purpose of the bill. Italy is the chief Communist stronghold in Western Europe. Together with the left Socialists the Communists will control an imposing number of votes in the coming elections. On the right fascism, like Nazism in Germany, is flourishing. De Gasperi fears that a double assault, from left and right, will bring down his regime. Apparently the new conceptions of representative democracy provide a large margin for maneuvering. In its electoral "reform" of two years ago France provided an excellent model which De Gasperi has faithfully copied. The trick is to change the electoral law in such a way as to give a bonus of additional seats to the party, or group of parties, which wins more than fifty per cent of the votes. This is the cheapest and surest form of political life insurance for the government coalition.

Militant Asian Socialism

British Socialists should have sent Aneurin Bevan rather than Clement Attlee to the recent conference of Asian Socialists at Rangoon, writes our London correspondent. In a conference debate on colonialism Mr. Attlee thought it necessary to express sharp disappointment with the emotional antagonism displayed by Asian delegates toward Western policy. He sat down amid stony silence.

The meeting demonstrated that the issue of colonialism has thrust Asian Socialists, who represent almost 10 per cent of the voting strength of non-Communist Asia, and the overwhelming bulk of European Socialists into different camps. On the question of Indo-China, for instance, all Asian Socialists are anti-Bao Dai; Western Socialists are, at least officially, pro-Bao Dai. Regarding Tunisia, the Asians found the French Socialists hesitant and apologetic. And to the Asians, the British Socialists seemed much too closely tied up with British economic interests.

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Nor is colonialism the only issue dividing the camps. Eager to revolutionize the economies of their countries, Asians are plumping for a radical "democratized Marxism" and rejecting the "left-wing liberalism" advocated by their Western colleagues. Asian Socialists, moreover, prefer neutralism to alliance with either side in the cold war. The campaign in Korea may have convinced the Kremlin that aggression does not pay, but it has frightened Asian Socialists. They see Korea and Indo-China being systematically devastated with everything short of atom bombs; they prefer, therefore, to handle their own Communists by themselves. Even exposed areas like Burma think it a lesser risk to stand alone.

Mr. Ferrer and Mr. Chaplin

The Fox West Coast theater chain has canceled a scheduled opening of Charles Chaplin's "Limelight" in response to a threat by the American Legion to picket the film. Since "Limelight" has been showing for three months in New York and other cities and is not in any sense a "political" film, the Legion's action appears to be aimed not at the film but at Charles Chaplin. It is an attempt to force Mr. Chaplin to say and do certain things that the Legion wants him to do and say.

A brief review of the related case of José Ferrer will clarify matters. On December 27 the Legion announced from Hollywood that it "disapproved" of Ferrer's film "Moulin Rouge." This was after the picture's West Coast première had been picketed by nine legionnaires, most of them members of the un-American Activities Committee of the Legion's 17th District. Mr. Ferrer then wired the Legion's National Commander that he would be glad to join in the veterans' "fight against communism." A few days later Mr. Ferrer issued a statement denouncing Paul Robeson for having accepted the Stalin peace prize. On January 2 Leonard Lyons printed this interesting item in his column: "As a result of José Ferrer's anti-Red statements, the American Legion opposes any picketing of 'Moulin Rouge,' and Victor Lasky has withdrawn his Ferrer article written for the Legion magazine." On January 16 Mr. Lyons announced that Ferrer had "ironed out all his problems with the American Legion at a St. Regis luncheon with three Legion officials."

Mr. Ferrer knuckled under and the Legion's pickets were removed; Mr. Chaplin did not and his film will be picketed. This is not censorship; it is political terrorism. It has, of course, a disastrous effect on American films. "Hollywood," said Mr. Chaplin from London, "has succumbed to thought control and the illegal methods of high-pressure groups, which means the end of the American motion-picture industry and its world influence. I am afraid Hollywood is going to need me long before I need Hollywood." We agree.

The President's Prayer

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S inaugural address was general in content and hortatory in manner; in effect, a kind of preachment to the nation and the world. It was more remarkable for what it failed to say than for what it said. Seldom has an inaugural address so completely ignored the domestic scene or said so little that was concrete about policy and program. Domestic problems, so the President explained, are "dwarfed by, and often even created by, this question that involves all humankind"—the question of peace. The inference is clear that he is satisfied with the state of the home front or, if not entirely satisfied, convinced that whatever problems exist in this area would be quickly solved if the larger issue could be settled. But this hardly squares with his recognition that we need "markets in the world for the surpluses of our farms and our factories" or with the contention that "whatever America hopes to bring to pass in the world must first come to pass in the heart of America." While emphasizing that freedom is the wave of the future, the President had nothing to say about the curtailment of civil liberties in this country. "Strength," "stamina," "faith," and "production" were words which kept bobbing up, "moral stamina" being curiously equated with "more energy and more productivity." The emphasis on production coupled with the failure to mention the possible need for more effective distribution and for measures to check inflation imply that President Eisenhower is pleased with the state of the nation.

More troubling is the evangelical certainty with which Mr. Eisenhower described the "forces of good and evil" now locked in mortal combat in the world. His attempt to picture this "time of tempest" as a struggle between moral absolutes provided little encouragement for those who believe the alternative to general war is a willingness to negotiate differences. It is unfortunate that the President either did not see or failed to heed some of the comments in George F. Kennan's remarkable address to the Pennsylvania State Bar Association on January 16. The author of the "containment" thesis conceded that where "great human differences" are involved, as in Russian-American relations, "it is usually safe to conclude that there has been fault on both sides." It is also tactful to voice this conclusion occasionally when addressing the other side. One can wish that General Eisenhower rather than Mr. Kennan had seen fit to quote John Quincy Adams: America "goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy."

The President made an eloquent plea for unity between America and its allies. But here, too, we wish that he had recognized with Mr. Kennan that the question of unity exists on two planes, international and domestic. "If we are to have the right kind of domestic unity," Mr. Kennan declared, "then there must be a marked change in the tone and temper of public life. . . . As much as twenty years ago some of us who were concerned with Soviet affairs at posts abroad began pointing up the evidences of Communist exploitation of our civil liberties, and urging vigorous action to keep it under control. . . . Today I must say, again looking at it from the standpoint of one who has been on the Moscow firing line, that my greatest worry has been just the opposite, namely, that through exaggerating the dimensions of this danger and failing to put it in proper perspective with the other problems before us, we may be creating weaknesses in our society greater than anything Communist penetration itself ever was likely to achieve." Nor is there any question but that the domestic aspect of this problem has important international bearings. How calculate the damage the McCarran-Walter act and similar measures have done to the cause of unity abroad?

IN RETROSPECT it may be thought that the most striking aspect of the President's address was his recognition that we have now reached a period in history where "science seems ready to confer upon us, as its final gift, the power to erase human life from this planet." For the atomic era really dawns with this Administration. Roosevelt may have fathered it and Truman was doubtless its midwife, but Eisenhower will be its nursemaid. Yet the President said nothing about the atomic revolution or the bid for control of atomic power that private industry will lay before the new Republican Administration, which is itself so largely dominated by big-business interests. It is this perspective which gives point to Joseph E. Evans's shrewd comment in the *Wall Street Journal* that "the overwhelming question of the industrial development of atomic energy" may provide the "bridge" between the domestic and international aspects of the Eisenhower era. Properly developed and applied, atomic energy could make possible a fantastic compression of historical processes of growth and change; on the other hand, as Mr. Evans suggests, atomic power could suddenly end the Eisenhower era with "a thermoculear bang."

However, the most interesting part of the President's inaugural performance was the "prayer" which preceded the address. The prayer was as clearly Mr. Eisenhower's own composition as the address was not. Unlike the latter, the prayer had a touch of humility about it. The President prayed for "the power to discern clearly right from wrong." He prayed also that cooperation might be "permitted"--McCarthy please note!—and might be the "mutal aim" of those who, under the concept of our Constitution, "hold to differing political beliefs." This "little prayer of my own," as the President characterized it, is, we hope, closer to his intentions and feelings than the address.

Why the Jews?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE spreading influence of Communist-inspired anti-Semitism has swelled the flood of refugees pouring into West Berlin and led to the arrest of Jews in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania. In the West reports multiply of defections from Communist ranks, not only by Jews but by thousands of other members who regard anti-Semitism as a basic betrayal of party tenets—a "deviation" more flagrant than any charged against the "wreckers" and "traitors" of recent purge trials. Whatever its purpose, the Russian attack on Jews has touched off emotions which may well undermine whatever forces in the West are still working for peace.

These are facts which the Kremlin must have discounted in advance. Soviet leaders could not have hoped that the outside world would believe the accusations of plotting and murder, under British-American direction, brought against nine distinguished doctors; still less that it would regard the attack on Jews and Zionists as merely new manifestations of the established practice of the purge. For the singling out of Jews, identified as such, has added a new dimension to the old pattern. Not only does Communist doctrine forbid such discrimination, but Russia's best claim to world approval has been its handling of the many national minorities in its vast area. Purges and repressions, however ruthless or unjustified, have been carried out for political reasons, and Soviet sympathizers have found excuses for them in the harsh dialectic of communism.

By the same logic, no distinctions are allowed within the camp of the faithful: Jew, Mongol, Great Russian all are equal—at least in theory. But the moment the word Jew is placed after the name of an accused man, the theory falls to pieces and with it a large part of the structure of Communist dogma. That this was in the mind of the Kremlin leaders is shown by their use of "Zionist" and "Joint" as tags of identification. But since no informed person believes that Zionists or representatives of the Joint Distribution Committee, as such, are degenerates, murderers, or spies, the labels only exposed the anti-Semitism behind the attacks. And there was no subterfuge in the comment on certain arrested men published last week in *Ukrainian Pravda* of Kiev: "The profound hatred of the people is aroused by all these Kahns and Yaroshetzkys, Greensteins, Kaplans, and Polyakovs."

There are other reasons why the evil effect of the new purge must have been foreseen in Moscow. Chief among them is the horror with which the left, in Europe and throughout the world, together with intelligent people of every political grouping, reacted to the Nazi extermination of the Jews of Europe. The genocide accomplished by Hitler's executioners in the human slaughterhouses of Germany and Eastern Europe has made anti-Semitism a synonym for the greatest crime of this terrible era of mass-murder. On this issue the nerves of the civilized world are raw. For Stalin to conjure up images of new Auschwitzes and new Dachaus would seem sheer recklessness; yet that is what the current anti-Semitism in Russia and its satellites has done.

What motives led Moscow to invite the shocked reaction already becoming evident? Why was the attack launched against the Jews?

No doubt Stalin wants to win the good-will of the Arab states and check any progress there may be toward an eastern Mediterranean pact under NATO. An attack on Jews as Zionists and on Zionists as agents of Western imperialism is well conceived to please the leaders of Arab states still hoping for ultimate victory over Israel.

No doubt he hopes to capitalize on the growing anti-Western feeling in Germany, marked by the recrudescence of Nazi activity on both sides of the line. The announced purge of "cosmopolitans" in the East German Communist hierarchy may foreshadow a closer tie between the party and the "reconstructed" Nazis.

ON ANOTHER page Mark Gayn analyzes the motives underlying the purge as a general method in dictatorships. Some of these motives apply today. There may have been rivalries and top-level plotting that led to Zhdanov's death—and now to the arrest of the nine doctors. That some such dark doings are being concealed behind trappings of "Zionist conspiracy" is possible, but outsiders can only guess.

In addition to these factors there is the mounting fear of war in the whole Soviet area—a fear which has its obvious counterpart, with comparable though milder results, in the United States. Security measures designed both to root out and to arouse fear of subversive elements are evidently on the increase. Moscow's top officials and its trusted agents in the satellite capitals may be embarked upon a purge of all who stand even a little apart from the regime, who have interests, relatives, secondary allegiances outside the Communist state. Girding for war, fearful of spies acting under the orders of Washington—spies financed, perhaps, by that famous $100,000,000 voted for counter-revolutionary operations in Eastern Europe—intent upon establishing an impregnable bloc of states ruled by hard-core Communists, the Kremlin may well be using anti-Semitism for its historic purpose. The Jews, or selected Jews, become scapegoats, symbolizing those genuine "cosmopolitan" qualities which in normal times and democratic countries are recognized as the finest ingredient of patriotism.

We have no desire, at this infinitely dangerous moment, to fan existing hatreds or sharpen heartbreaking anxieties. Many are using the occasion to do both who, by their records, have never defended either the Jews or the cause of peace. Yet we view the possible consequences of the current purge with terrible misgivings. What is to happen to the 3,000,000 or more Jews of Eastern Europe? We may guess that the Russians do not intend to set off a chain-reaction of pogroms or to institute a mass purge of Jews. We may hope that Communist discipline will be applied to curb excesses in case official acts against Jews reanimate the traditional mass anti-Semitism of Eastern Europe. But we cannot be *sure* that the ruling Communist groups intend to put on the brakes or could do so if they tried—once the infection spreads. We cannot be sure; and we recall all too vividly the refusal of all but a handful in the West to credit the first reports of anti-Semitic outrages under Hitler. The civilized skepticism of the outside world was largely responsible for the slaughter of millions of European Jews. Dare we rest on our doubts today?

On the contrary, it is essential that just those groups and persons who have urged, and still urge, a negotiated settlement with Russia must take the lead in pointing out the dangers implicit in these first open acts of anti-Semitism. Only a protest joined in by leaders of liberal thought everywhere stands a chance of bringing home to the Russian leaders the international price they will have to pay if they pursue their present course.

We Can Still Negotiate on Germany

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

A READER has written me: "You talk of negotiating with Russia; but Mr. Vishinsky rejected the Indian proposal on Korea. Do you really think there is any subject left on which we could still negotiate?" I think the answer to this question is still—Germany. I have said this often in the last three years and have found support in many indubitably anti-Communist and authoritative quarters. In *World Politics,* published by Princeton University (Volume V, Number 2, January, 1953), for instance, this suggestion is proposed and discussed by S. Bernard, a Belgian, strongly pro-Western, who served under Paul-Henri Spaak in the Belgian Ministry of the Interior. At the moment he is at work on a report on the Schuman Plan for the Institut des Relations Internationales in Brussels, which will be published in book form in Paris early in 1953.

M. Bernard is a right-wing Socialist. His point of view differs fundamentally from mine, inasmuch as he believes that the present superiority of the West in atomic power should be used *now* to place before Russia the alternative of negotiating or risking a full-scale war. But this difference apart, his argument supports a basic position I regard as unassailable.

"Since the end of the war," he writes, "the balance of forces between the East and the West has definitely shifted in favor of the Communists. It is for this reason that security for the West cannot be found in the reciprocal balance of the two huge military establishments. Experience has shown that Europe as at present constituted is incapable of a military effort great enough to withstand the initial shock of a massive invasion." M. Bernard sees a definite peril in expecting that a parity of strength between the two blocs will eventually be reached, first, because "time is working on the side of the Soviet Union" and, second, because, as one year after another goes by in an unavailing and economically exhausting arms race, the West might be tempted to force a showdown at the worst possible moment for itself. Since, as he sees it, the West now has atomic superiority over Russia, he believes that Russia should be approached—in a most direct way: "Do you want negotiations or do you want war?"

But M. Bernard lays down two basic conditions for the West, if it is to follow the course he proposes. First, the Western leaders must cease to "draw the wrong conclusions from their analysis of the present state of affairs." They must "moderate their demands" and "take the real situation into account." "Politics," he adds, "is the art of the possible, and there is no possibility that we can wrest from the Russians what they have taken." Without mentioning Mr. Dulles by name, he repeatedly pronounces himself against the policy of "liberation" from without. The second condition is that the West should attach its proposal of negotiation to an issue which would be tempting to the enemy. M. Bernard believes Germany is that issue.

"It is impossible," he says, "to formulate a program for the settlement of the cold war without taking a clear-cut position on the German problem, no matter whether the reunification or the definitive division of the country is favored. For several reasons German reunification constitutes necessarily a condition of an amicable settlement of the cold war. Whether the cold war comes to an end will depend on whether Germany can be reunited with the consent of all interested powers and on a basis which is without peril for all."

M. Bernard recalls that the late German Socialist leader, Kurt Schumacher, shortly before his death declared to a group of American reporters: "The partition of Germany is the trump card of Soviet foreign policy." Schumacher used this enigmatic phrase to indicate that the incompatibility of German unification with Germany's integration in the West offered the Russians an opportunity for political and psychological pressure that the Western powers had no possibility of counteracting. Or, as M. Bernard puts it: "Russia in theory could at any time rupture the military and economic ties binding West Germany to the Western coalition by offering to restore the eastern provinces to West Germany and by leaving the German Communist Party to its own devices."

In M. Bernard's opinion the achievement of German unity remains the prerequisite of a general settlement of the East-West conflict. Russia will never give up East Germany of its own free will, nor will the West give up West Germany. "On the other hand, it goes against all sense of reality to base world policy on the permanent partition of a great nation." But this very antagonism of interests in itself suggests a solution—the political neutralization of Germany. If the rearmament of Germany and its integration in the European army and NATO are Moscow's biggest worry, then Russia should be willing to pay the price of neutralization for Western abandonment of German rearmament. A top-level negotiation on Germany would offer the additional advantage of opening a way for the balancing and disposing of the other issues of the cold war. This, in turn, would make possible a start toward genuine disarmament, for all attempts at arms limitation are doomed as long as the German problem remains unsolved.

M. Bernard enumerates what are, in his view, the indispensable conditions of an acceptable peace treaty with Germany. They include the establishment of a democratic form of government in Germany, admission of German exports to the markets of East and West, and the reduction of German armaments to a level fixed in a general disarmament agreement. But, he insists, "it is urgent that this be realized before it is too late."

A Decade of Party Decay

BY MARK GAYN

To interpret current dramatic developments in Communist Europe, The Nation *has chosen Mark Gayn, who over the years has built up a remarkable reputation for independent and accurate journalism. Few Americans can match his first-hand knowledge of the Communist world, including both Russia and China. He has made a number of extended visits to the Soviet satellite countries and is the author of four books on the Orient.*

This article is the first of two on the Red purges; the second will appear next week.

Paris

THERE is an air of grotesque unreality about the purges now sweeping the Red world. The courtroom tales of cloak-and-dagger intrigue have never been more lurid, the propaganda more strident, the confessions more abject. Never have so many countries been affected. And there is every sign that the peak of terror is not yet; when it comes, it may overshadow the Yezhov purges of the thirties. The terrible Yezhov, after all, confined his attention to the Soviet Union.

The new purges have other novel features. In Hungary "pacifism," occasionally coupled with "apathy," has been added to the list of deadly sins. In Moscow the "Zionist doctors" are charged with a plot to kill off the Red high command, thus blunting the Red Army's effectiveness. A Prague journal notes that the exposure of the Slansky conspiracy liquidated those elements which might have weakened Czechoslovakia in the next war. Slansky's codefendant Sling, in an outburst of frankness that must have been carefully rehearsed, declared: "I'd like to say that our conspiratorial center . . . in case of war would have supported American aggression and would have worked for the defeat of the Czechoslovak people's democracy."

This is probably one of the keys to the new purges. For some reason—perhaps not unconnected with the election of General Eisenhower—Soviet Russia is tightening up its defenses, and the purges are as much a part of the process today as they were in the thirties, when Stalin awaited the Nazi attack. But for the first time there is overwhelming evidence that the Russians and their satellites are including Jews, *per se,* among their victims.

The use of anti-Semitism for political ends is of course rare in Communist history. Not in the bloodiest days of the twenties and thirties, when Stalin was eliminating the Trotsky-Zinoviev-Kamenev-Radek group, was the word "Jew" ever used. Even today satellite spokesmen deny any anti-Semitic intent—"we're against Zionism, not against Jews." But if there is no attack on the Jews as a race, there is very strong emphasis on the Jewish origin of the wrongdoers. In the Czech trials defendant Sling noted the traitorous appointment of "five Jews" as regional party secretaries, defendant Svab named "the Jewish bourgeois nationalists Frejka, Goldmann, Loebl, etc." as agents of the "American spy" Noel Field, and defendant Fischl accused "Jewish religious communities" of cheating the state. This exchange between the presiding judge and ex-Communist Fischl was typical:

Judge: Explain why you had such a hostile attitude toward the people's democracy of Czechoslovakia.

Fischl: Your Honor, I couldn't possibly have another attitude but a hostile one.

Judge: Why?

Fischl: I am a Jewish bourgeois nationalist.

Of course there is other evidence of officially sanctioned anti-Semitism. The world press has carried the story of the "Zionist doctors" in the Kremlin and reported the fear sweeping Jewish communities in most satellite countries. It is less widely known that there has been a round-up of "Jewish nationalists and Zionist agents" in Poland, that a "documentary" movie with a curious anti-Semitic slant has just been produced in Slovakia, that a big anti-Semitic courtroom drama is about to be staged in Rumania. Recent anti-Semitic statements in the satellite press bear a striking resemblance to Nazi exhortations and are bound to have an electrifying effect on the latent anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe and Russia.

ANOTHER significant feature of the new purges is that they involve the party in Russia as well as in the satellite states. Moscow has thus far disclosed formally only the arrest of the nine doctors and a thorough purge in the Leningrad area. But a study of the Soviet press since last September, when the regional and republican party congresses indulged in an orgy of denunciation, reveals that the Russian Communist Party is going through its biggest shake-up since the mid-thirties. The congresses exposed not only scandalous corruption and nepotism but a dangerous rash of "nationalist"—meaning anti-Russian—deviations, all the way from the restless Baltic republics to Stalin's own Georgia and the Moslem republics of Central Asia. It would be naive to assume that all these large-scale deviations, and even occasional conspiracies, went unpunished. In some curious way all the purges form a pattern which binds Russia and its satellites together in a common and mysterious fear, and connects the Russian campaign against, say, Kazakh nationalists with the Czech drive against the Jews. Can it be that the Red world is preparing itself for the coming global crisis by horsewhipping its non-conformist or laggard minorities?

There is one more point to make. The widely publicized cases, such as Slansky, Dertinger, and the nine doctors, tend to obscure the broader drama of which they are only minor episodes. For every Slansky put on public trial, a thousand other Communists are tried *in camera,* often without even their families being informed, and tens of thousands are thrown out of the party and their jobs and, perhaps, imprisoned.

Figures help to place the headlined events in a proper perspective. In Hungary roughly 200,000 Communists were purged from the party in 1949, and another 100,000 in 1950. In Czechoslovakia between 1949 and 1951 the purges shaved the party rolls by more than 600,000. Only the other day *Rude Pravo* in Prague rejoiced that Slansky had been arrested a year ago and his associates as much as two years ago. The time elapsed, it explained, "has enabled us to make a thorough cleansing of the party and state apparatus." It is safe to estimate that in a "normal" year half a million Communists are purged in the European "people's democracies." The result is a vast uneasiness that sometimes borders on hysteria. Some parties find it necessary to issue reassuring statements. Boss Istvan Kovacs in Hungary called the purges "a very serious and intricate task, which cannot be accomplished in a day. While performing it, we must not become panicky, or allow panic to arise. . . . Excessive haste and rashness will only create confusion."

But the assurances are futile. Everyone knows that expulsion from the party usually also means demotion or dismissal from his job, penalties for his family, or even internment. Thus the instinct of self-preservation takes over, and the purges are accompanied by savage and imaginative competition in back-stabbing.

What I have been trying to suggest here is that if the purges generate anxiety, they are also a product of anxiety. Party literature is filled with outspoken doubts that most members would remain loyal to the Soviet Union in case of war. At party headquarters few things are watched more carefully than the graphs of the party's "social composition." All members except the workers and, to a lesser degree, the poor peasants are suspected as fair-weather friends who have joined the party for the fat benefits thus obtainable. In a crisis they are expected to desert in droves. There is also a deep fear of native nationalism, which is probably the only force that could solidify opposition to Russia in Eastern Europe.

ABOVE all, the purges are a symptom of the rot eating into all the Communist parties in power. When the party is underground or when it is a party of protest, it attracts few opportunists. A sizable part of its membership may consist of men of faith, ready to sacrifice themselves for the cause. But as soon as the party seizes power, it becomes a vast bureaucracy. Instead of voicing protest, it penalizes it. Instead of faith, it demands conformity and discipline. Inevitably it becomes subject to the corruption of spirit and morals bred by power.

Abundant support for these generalizations is supplied from Communist sources. My favorite bit of evidence comes from Vulko Chervenkov, who became the boss of the Bulgarian Communist Party via nineteen years (1925-44) in Russia and marriage to George Dimitrov's daughter. In a brutally frank speech before his Central Committee some time ago Chervenkov suggested that the party leaders had winked at the anti-Soviet acts of the liquidated Traicho Kostov because some of them had themselves served the Bulgarian fascist police as stool pigeons. Now, Chervenkov said, he intended first to screen the leaders and then move down the party hierarchy until he caught all the agents provocateurs.

He accused his fellow-leaders of being pocket-sized czars in their spheres of activity and of creating an atmosphere of "irresponsibility, impunity, and megalomania." The party leadership still has "chatterboxes, dreamers, and people with excessive ambition who pretend that they know everything and can do anything." As an example, Chervenkov offered the party's chief economic planner, who had apparently made the mistake of opposing him in intra-party squabbles. This man, he said, had devised a magnificent Five-Year Plan without bothering to determine statistically the needs or the possible achievements; he had appropriated billions without finding out whether there was any money in the till and had ignored fabulous thievery of materials.

"Did we punish him?" demanded Chervenkov. "Did we beat him for it? No. We spared him!" And his listeners, he added, were no better than the luckless planner. They stagnated in good nature, in mutual forgiveness, abided by the petty-bourgeois rule of "live and let live." He himself, he stressed, intended to screen out all who wavered in their loyalty to Moscow. "Nationalism," he cried, "must be sternly uprooted as a hostile fascist ideology."

TESTIMONY on the infection in the lower party echelons is furnished by Hungary's Matyas Rakosi, a far subtler operator than Chervenkov. Local leadership, he reported to his Central Committee, has been taken over "mainly by elderly comrades who participated in the Communist movement prior to liberation." They feel they are entitled to all the plushy jobs in the state, the party, and the economy. Many see their jobs merely as stepping stones toward something more profitable. Newcomers, and especially women and younger men, are frozen out. The local leaders do not bother to hold party meetings, give no accounting of their work, and run their critics out of the party. On the excuse that the Communist state is a dictatorship of the proletariat they "use force instead of persuasion," with the result that even the poor peasants are antagonized by the repressive steps taken against the rich kulaks. These symptoms, Rakosi noted, are spreading, and "more than once taking the form of corruption."

But in the rank and file as in the leaders, nationalism is the deadliest sin. "For twenty-five years the Horthy regime endeavored, not without success, to inoculate our working class with chauvinism, anti-Semitism, and race pride. . . . The virus of nationalism has penetrated the working class. A significant part of our intelligentsia is steeped in race prejudice; it kotows to every demonstration from the West and deprecates Soviet achievements. The attempt to hide the successes . . . of the Soviet Union is another form of nationalism."

Anyone who has lived in the people's democracies will reproach Rakosi and Chervenkov only for their restraint. Out of my own experience with Communists I could cite dozens of instances of thievery, kickbacks by officials to their bosses, bribery, nepotism, perversion, and vice that show remarkable kinship in techniques to the gangster rule of New York's water front.

Perhaps the most significant thing about the inner rot which Chervenkov and Rakosi declaimed against is that it does not differ from the type of deep decay exposed by the Soviet press last fall. Corruption, nepotism, Russification of the non-Russian republics (and resistance to it), official high-handedness, and total lack of democracy —all these are common features of Communist life, along with the purges that seek vainly to arrest the spread of the gangrene. It should be noted that ideological conflict is seldom at the root of a purge—almost never in the satellite countries. Ideological debate was extinguished together with the last Russian dissenters in the mid-thirties. If anyone voices a dissenting opinion in Russia today, he either vanishes, as did Voznesensky, or is subjected to Stalin's Olympian scorn, as were some obscure theoreticians last fall. In the satellite countries philosophical disagreement is simply impossible. Any argument within a satellite Politburo is solely over administrative detail. And to a degree not even imagined by the West, these debates—and the major purges—are colored by personal vendettas. Few Czechs have been unaware of the feud between Slansky and Gottwald, few Bulgarians have not known of the merciless struggle for power between Chervenkov and Kostov, and few East Germans are not convinced that sooner or later Ulbricht will do away with his two Politburo colleagues, Dahlem and Rau, around whom he has already begun to spin a murderous web.

Personal hatreds add to the savagery of the purges. I was in Hungary at the time of Rajk's arrest, and I am not likely to forget the mass-meetings which demanded "Rope for Rajk," or the telephone operators on the interurban lines who chirped sweetly, "Death to Rajk! What number do you wish?" Today, judging by the monitored radio reports before me, the same kind of hysteria prevails in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and Rumania. The Communists may see advantage in this course. I am convinced that history will prove them wrong.

Maharajah in the White House

BY BRUCE CATTON

Washington

NO INAUGURAL parade ever had a real elephant before, which is just another way of saying that no one before ever went to such great lengths to make a gaudy show out of it. The elephant's part, of course, was finished when the parade ended, but the spirit of showmanship which dug up the beast in the first place is just getting started. You are going to see a great deal more of it.

In addition to the elephant, a hint about the course things may take was dropped at the Grand Inaugural Concert at Constitution Hall on the Sunday evening before the big event. A leading item on the program was to have been Aaron Copland's "A Lincoln Portrait," for speaker and orchestra. At the last minute, however, this number was quietly expunged because Representative Fred E. Busbey of Illinois lodged a protest, on the ground that Copland had been accused of associating with Communist-front groups. The chairman of the arrangements committee said that the number was dropped as soon as the protest was made, "because we didn't want to do anything to bring criticism."

So the Copland number was not heard, and if this was in the end something less than a fatal blow to the evil designs of the men in the Kremlin, it at least saved the assembled Republicans from being compelled to listen to Lincoln's brooding words: "Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this Administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves."

At the White House end of Pennsylvania Avenue the era of the big build-up is beginning. There will be an elephant in every parade from now on. The super-salesmanship which was so effective during the campaign, which packaged and sold the General as expertly and tenderly as if he had been something made by Lever Brothers, is going to continue.

The end in view, of course, is to make permanent the picture of a great, wise, and fatherly man. "I Like Ike" was a statement of fact rather than a campaign slogan. If the liking can be fixed in the consciousness of the nation by a carefully contrived program, it ought to be very hard for the Democrats to win the next election.

White House press-relations officers are now talking about putting the President, perhaps with some members of his Cabinet, on television once a month or so. Thus the father image is to be projected into millions of American homes; the script could, and beyond doubt would, be prepared under the direction of the canniest professionals in the field. Almost the single reassuring note is the assertion last week by James C. Hagerty, White House press secretary, that the tradition of Presidential press conferences will be continued, and that the newsmen will still be free to ad lib their questions as they face the President on such occasions. Apparently this represents a victory for Mr. Hagerty, who is an old-time newspaperman himself.

While the executive branch of the new Administration will rely heavily on the big build-up, in Congress the emphasis will be on investigation. Reds in government will be investigated, of course. So will Reds in schools and colleges, and Reds in labor unions, and Reds in general; it is not unlikely that in a couple of years people will be looking back on 1951 and 1952 as years in which the witch hunts were fairly restrained.

But ordinary wrongdoers will also be investigated. Practically anybody who did anything in government during the past twenty years is a fair target, since underneath all this investigating more and more one purpose runs. If enough can be hung on the Democrats, future elections ought to take care of themselves for quite a while. Congress may not be able to do very much about budget balancing and tax reduction in the near future, but if it can give enough Democrats a black eye it will have accomplished its mission. The build-up and the tear-down can work wonders if properly combined.

As all this gets under way, it must be noted that the dominant note sounded thus far by the new Administration is one of sheer arrogance. The perfect example, of course, is that furnished by Charles E. Wilson of General Motors, whose like has not been seen around here for a long, long time. With Mr. Wilson it was not solely what he said, although that was hair-raising enough in all conscience; it was also the way he said it. Somehow he conveyed the impression that it would be a kind of impiety for mere Senators to press annoying questions on the head of General Motors. What was good for the corporation was good for the country; so what earthly difference could it make if the Secretary of Defense did hang on to his holdings in the corporation? The divine right of corporations has not been so unblushingly pre-

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BRUCE CATTON, journalist, historian, and former government official, is the author of "The War Lords of Washington." This is the first of his dispatches on the new Washington scene.

sented here since Theodore Roosevelt tangled with the coal-and-iron barons half a century ago.

But the arrogance runs clear across the board. It is behind the proposal for a televised, soap-opera-style Cabinet conference. It is implicit in the selection process which has turned the President's Cabinet into a millionaires' club. (In a glowing profile in *Life,* Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey is quoted as commenting on Hemingway's "The Old Man and the Sea": "Why would anyone be interested in some old man who was a failure and never amounted to anything anyway?")

Yet there is a faint sense of uneasiness beneath this arrogance. It is arrogance on a tight rope, so to speak. For if the new Eisenhower Administration is sitting pretty right now, so is Senator Robert A. Taft. And Senator Taft is sitting up on Capitol Hill, to which the Eisenhower Administration must go for all of its legislation, and which Senator Taft pretty completely dominates.

His dominance can perhaps be broken. Plenty of Republican members rode in on Eisenhower's coat tails and can be reminded of it. But still, Taft does dominate up there. Also, it is twenty years since any Republican in Congress felt impelled to cooperate with the executive branch or indeed to do anything except make trouble for it. Republicans in Congress have developed a conditioned reflex about their relations with the White House. That reflex can probably be changed, but it will take some political skill and tenacity.

It may be that the real question as the new Administration gets started is simply: "Who won the election, after all?"

POINT FOUR—AFTER FOUR YEARS

The Land-poor Farmer

BY W. ARTHUR LEWIS

Manchester, England

MOST of the people in the world are farmers. In the United States, it is true, less than 15 per cent of the people are engaged in agriculture, but in Asia and Africa the percentage is between 60 and 70. Most farmers are extremely poor and show all the usual symptoms of poverty—high disease and death rates, illiteracy and superstition, poor housing. This poverty is unnecessary; to end it is one of the major tasks of the second half of the twentieth century. It is unnecessary because the means to end it lie at hand. Asia and Africa and large parts of Latin America remain poor mainly because the information about how to increase production which has been accumulating for two centuries in the Western world has not yet been applied to their problems.

In Mediterranean countries where rice is grown the yield is 4,000 to 5,000 pounds per acre. But in most of Asia a yield of 1,500 pounds per acre is considered good. Agricultural experts assert that it would be possible to double the yield per acre in many of the underdeveloped countries by adopting relatively simple practices. Better seed could increase the yield by 10 to 15 per cent—the governments, of course, would have to establish more seed farms together with systems for distributing the seed. More general adoption of crop rotation would also help. Pests eat much of the crop before and after harvesting; greater use of insecticides and better storage facilities would add 15 to 20 per cent to the amount left for human consumers. Fertilizers would add another 20 per cent or so; most of the farmers in underdeveloped countries have not yet learned to use artificial manures. Above all, control of water is important. Wells, drainage channels, irrigation canals, dams, and storage systems raise the yield of the land tremendously.

Thus a major item in any program to aid the world's farmers must be agricultural education—informing the farmer of the new techniques. The governments of underdeveloped countries are only beginning to tackle this problem seriously. A large number of agents must be trained in agriculture and also in the inculcation of modern methods. It is an expensive undertaking.

Another major need is capital—for irrigation and drainage works, for roads, for processing, storage, and marketing facilities, for establishing seed farms and research institutes, and, on the farm itself, for better equipment, better livestock, more fertilizer. Some part of the capital needed by agriculture can be provided by the farmers themselves, and one of the objects of rural credit societies is to encourage farmers to save and to invest their savings in improving their farms. But farmers can-

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W. ARTHUR LEWIS, professor of political economy at the University of Manchester, is the author of a number of books on economic problems. He was also one of the five economists who prepared the U. N.'s Report on Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries. The concluding article of this series on economic aid for underdeveloped countries will appear next week.

not save much however hard they try, and so most of the capital required must come from other sources.

This suggests one of the fallacies in current discussions of economic aid for underdeveloped areas. There are those who say that "backward countries would get all the capital they needed if they would clear the channels for private foreign investment." But however effective private foreign capital may be in starting new manufacturing industries in underdeveloped countries, the role it can play in the agriculture of Asia or Africa is obviously very small. The initiative in bringing new techniques and new capital to the hundreds of millions of small farmers in the world must be taken mainly by their governments. If the Western world wants to help it must help those governments by providing trained personnel and sufficient material resources. The governments translate their difficulties into money. If they could only get more money, they could work wonders in the villages.

IF THE first reason why farmers are poor is that yields are low, the second is that each farmer has too little land. For every person engaged in agriculture in the United States there are about thirty acres of land under cultivation; for every person so engaged in India there are about three acres. Increasing the amount of land per farmer lightens the farmers' poverty. One way to do this is to increase the total area under cultivation. Sometimes more land can be made suitable for cultivation by draining swamps, providing irrigation, getting rid of the tsetse fly, cutting off forests, building roads, and so on. The cost of this work is often heavy, and it falls upon impoverished governments, most of which are engaged in such programs to the limit of their resources. Sometimes it is a matter of improving the farmer's equipment. A family with a hoe can cultivate only two or three acres; one with a plow and beasts can manage ten to fifteen acres; one with a tractor can handle fifty acres and upward. If the farmers are to cultivate more land, a prerequisite is a considerable investment in equipment.

The availability of land varies widely from country to country. There is plenty of arable land not yet cultivated in Burma and Tanganyika; there is extremely little in India or China. If the cultivable area cannot be enlarged, the way to increase the ratio of land to farmer is to reduce the number of farmers—that is to say, provide additional employment off the land, which means chiefly in manufacturing. In India at least 20 per cent of the population now engaged in agriculture is surplus to its requirements, in the sense that, given the existing equipment and techniques, the necessary work could still be done if this 20 per cent were to leave the land. These people are really unemployed. Put to work in industry, they would add substantially to the nation's wealth, as well as improve the living standard of those left behind on the land.

Industrialization and agricultural improvement always go together. Improved methods give farmers more money and so provide a market for industry; at the same time the workers released from the land serve as a labor supply for industry. Industrialization, in turn, provides a market for farm produce and employment for surplus labor. To increase agricultural yields and to provide more employment in industry are the twin goals of economic development.

But industrialization is as costly as agricultural improvement. There is the same problem of education—of training the mechanics, the builders, the foremen, the accountants, and all the other hundreds of skills without which an industrial community cannot function. And there is the problem of capital. The private investor can build the factory itself, but the government must provide communications, electric power, water supply, and the whole expensive range of public utilities required for the operation of industry.

However you approach the problem of economic development, you run up against the fact that most governments of underdeveloped countries are too poor to do their part of the job. The governments are too poor because the peoples are too poor. A man cannot lift himself by his own bootstraps, and neither can a country. If you are too poor to save, perhaps you can borrow. But everyone knows that it is the rich who find it easy to borrow, not the poor. Similarly, the flow of international lending is toward rich underdeveloped countries like Canada and Australia rather than toward poor ones like India and Nigeria.

In recognition of the low borrowing capacity of poor countries, two institutions have been set up to enable the governments of these countries to borrow cheaply—the United States government's Export-Import Bank and the United Nations' International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Both banks are well patronized and do a useful job which is much appreciated, but they do not fill the whole need. They finance only "self-liquidating" projects, while much of the money required for development has to go into projects that are not

self-liquidating. A self-liquidating project is one producing a commodity or service that can be sold at a price high enough to pay for interest and amortization of capital. Such an enterprise automatically provides the borrower with the wherewithal to pay the loan. Thus money can be borrowed for the construction of a railway, or irrigation works, or a telephone system, but not for agricultural education or an anti-malaria campaign.

SELF-LIQUIDATING and non-self-liquidating projects, however, must often be developed side by side. If there is no money for undertakings in the second category, those in the first may prove abortive. One of the major handicaps to developing backward countries, whether by private or public, domestic or foreign investment, is the inadequacy of the public services. Because education, for example, is inadequate, there is a shortage of people to devise and carry out development plans. Yet most governments are too poor to support an adequate educational program, and they cannot borrow for the purpose because education is "non-self-liquidating."

To meet this difficulty the U. N. Report on Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries proposed the establishment of a United Nations fund to make grants-in-aid to the governments of underdeveloped countries for non-self-liquidating projects. Money from this fund, the report specified, should be available only for research and education, public health, farm credit, and rural public works. Initially, while plans were being made and educational programs launched, only small sums would be allotted, but the report recommended that eventually the fund should disburse three billion dollars a year.

The proposal has the support of all underdeveloped countries. Its main opponent in the United Nations has been the United States, whose delegates have said that while the United States is not averse to appropriating sums for economic aid, as is shown by its current programs, Congress would prefer to make any substantial contribution to underdeveloped countries through United States agencies and not through an international fund. The colonial powers also have their own agencies for helping their possessions.

Nevertheless, a case can be made for having a U. N. fund side by side with any national agencies that may exist. In the first place, the United States and the colonial powers are not the only possible contributors. Countries like Sweden, Canada, and Australia may wish to and should take part in this great international effort. Secondly, the underdeveloped countries prefer to receive grants from the U. N. rather than from national agencies. Their governments are anxious to preserve their independence and are fearful of the strings that might be attached to grants-in-aid from powerful countries like the United States or Great Britain. They have expressed this preference in the U. N. debates, both by their words and by voting consistently in favor of creating a U. N. fund. If the United States will agree to channel some part of its aid program through the U. N., the U. N. fund will come into existence, since most of the other developed countries will follow its lead. If the United States holds out, there will be no U. N. fund.

A LETTER TO PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

You Challenged Jim Crow

BY MARGARET JUST BUTCHER

Washington

DURING your recent campaign, Mr. President, you were perhaps understandably cautious about committing yourself on various specific civil-rights issues. After all, you were trying to hold together many diverse elements in your support. But the caution you exercised in other directions served all the more to emphasize one concrete commitment you did allow yourself to make—your pledge to do all in your power to end segregation in the District of Columbia.

Indeed, so strongly—and so repeatedly—did you express yourself on that subject that Senator Wayne Morse sponsored in the Senate a "District of Columbia Civil Rights Bill" designed specifically to end racial segregation here. Introducing the bill, the Senator said: "The President-elect has given his solemn word time and again that his Administration would stamp out segregation in the District."

Now I know there have been disquieting reports that you have changed your mind on this issue since the election returns were tallied. I prefer not to believe these reports. I prefer to believe that you see Washington, as many of us do, as a show window of our great country and hold that as such it should represent the best in American life and American democracy.

It will not be easy for you to redeem your pledge. The prejudiced will work against you. Few of the reins

MARGARET JUST BUTCHER is associate professor of English at Howard University in Washington.

of the District's government lie directly in your hands. But as a long-time resident here, a university teacher who has been closely identified with civic affairs, I can assure you that there is much you *can* do, and quickly, to resolve Washington's top social problem.

IN THE first place, it is your duty to appoint the three District of Columbia commissioners who by virtue of Reorganization Plan Number 5 have direct control over a number of boards, commissions, and agencies that exert tremendous influence on the life of the District. You can see to it that the appointments go to men or women whose prime concern will be to insure equal opportunity and privilege to all whose welfare comes under their jurisdiction. You can instruct them specifically that you wish them to take an unequivocal position on all matters relating to civil rights.

The District commissioners, for example, have direct control of Washington's welfare institutions and agencies. You could instruct them to eliminate segregation in the training schools for juvenile delinquents and order the separation of the youngsters, not on a basis of color, but according to age, sex, and degree of delinquency. The commissioners could issue a direct order for the elimination of segregation in the Fire Department. They could investigate promotion procedures in the District Police Department, where at present no Negro, in any precinct, holds rank above that of a private except for a single corporal assigned exclusively to boys' club work.

Using their power to issue licenses to restaurants, the commissioners could require non-discrimination pledges from the proprietors. If, as a recent Appeals Court decision may have indicated, such action were declared illegal, you could still ask Congress for a law expressly ordering the revocation of the license of any restaurant which denied service for the reason of race or color.

Your commissioners could be instructed to see that their own appointments to various District boards and commissions were in line with your anti-Jim Crow policy. Representatives of minority groups or persons with established reputations as fighters for minority rights should serve on such agencies as the Cosmetology Board, the Barbers' Board, the Dental Board, the Accounting Board—to name but a few. The fact that a Negro has served as chairman of the Parole Board should suggest to you that qualified local Negro citizens are available for appointment and can serve without arousing disturbance in the community.

In the light of your avowed stand against segregation in the District, Mr. President, your commissioners could be expected to see that no discrimination was practiced in hiring. If they failed, it would still be possible for you to draft an F. E. P. C. act for the District and to submit it to Congress for approval. Thus Negro doctors could be appointed for staff service in public hospitals—the recent admission of Negroes to the local medical society indicates a wholesome change of attitude in the medical profession. While neither you nor the commissioners can interfere directly with the hiring practices of such public utilities as the telephone company or the Capital Transit Company, the District Public Utilities Commission might investigate the effects of discrimination in hiring on rates and service. The transit company, for instance, goes to great expense to hire operators from as far south as the Carolinas, while refusing jobs to local Negroes. Surely such policies are reflected in our constantly increasing transit fares.

THE District Board of Education is independent both of your control and of the commissioners'. Moreover, the issue of school segregation is now before the Supreme Court. Even so, it should be possible for you to encourage, directly and indirectly, inter-group gatherings designed to prepare the community for the possible collapse of Jim Crowism in the District school system. While it is wrong to argue a moral case on the basis of expediency, I cannot forbear to remark that Washington is the center of America's "Sell Democracy to the World" program, and that what happens in our District schools happens, so to speak, in a fish bowl in which all the world can look. Thus we hope that the Supreme Court will remember this city's vulnerability to world censure when it renders its decision.

I hope, Mr. President, that your Administration will make every effort to hold the notable gains made in Washington under the last Administration. Secretary of the Interior McKay, for instance, could do no better than to look for guidance in civil-rights matters to his distinguished predecessors, Mr. Ickes, Mr. Krug, and Mr. Chapman. The fact that this department can administer a national-parks system without racial restriction suggests that non-segregation can work well in the District.

Recently a distinguished Washingtonian, presumably a candidate for public office, remarked: "I am for gradual elimination of segregation." What does he mean, I wonder? Ten years? Ten generations? Ten millennia? Or ten playgrounds, say, at a time? I hope, Mr. President, that you will not succumb to the lure of that magic word "gradualism." We should be better off, I think, risking a single violent reaction by removing Jim Crow simultaneously from all playgrounds than risking a whole series of disturbances by transforming playgrounds one at a time.

A prime necessity today is first-class citizenship rights for America's minorities. I hope, with the hope traditional to American optimism, that in your new and challenging role you can translate to living reality the principles to which all true Americans subscribe.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Rise of a Labor Leader

SIDNEY HILLMAN, STATESMAN OF AMERICAN LABOR. By Matthew Josephson. Doubleday and Company. $5.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON'S book about Sidney Hillman is probably as complete in its coverage of the details of Hillman's life as any biography could be. Certainly a most interesting life was led by this Lithuanian-born boy who utilized his great native intelligence, his basically sound education, and his practical mind to become an important labor leader in the United States and in his later years played a part in some of the political crises which accompanied the great depression of the '30's and the Second World War.

Mr. Josephson's book is very thorough; large parts of it appear to be based on notes kept either by Hillman or by those close to him during his years of political activity and his struggle for trade-union leadership. It gives detailed information on how the problems must have appeared to Hillman and those working with him at the time. In reading this book many will find themselves wishing that Hillman could have lived to write his own memoirs from a detached post-activity point of view; his long-term evaluation of the situation would then have emerged.

For the reader concerned with the rise of the new type of labor union in the United States this book is invaluable. The account of Hillman's first years and of the beginnings of the new clothing workers' unions is realistic and well documented and offers a convincing picture of the attitude of the general public, of industry, and of the working people themselves toward the union movement in the early 1900's.

Perhaps the most appealing section of the book is that headed Boyhood and Youth, a period which most of Hillman's later acquaintances knew nothing about. The picture of the Jewish community in Lithuania and Russia, of the struggles of some young idealists to escape from oppression, gives the reader an understanding of the basic drives which were to carry not only Hillman but others into the larger labor movement of the United States. One realizes from the beginning that Hillman's life in the labor movement was one of constant warfare. The abortive labor movement in Russia, Hillman's flight under the assault of reactionaries, the early conflicts in Chicago, when his efforts to found a union outside the domination of the old A. F. of L. garment workers' unions led to the death or injury of several participants—all were marked by violence and intrigue. The author uses the phrase "contained excitement" in several places to describe what others also recognized as an element in Hillman's courageous energy.

Although the warfare of the early days appeared to subside as the new unions gained strength and public recognition of their usefulness, Hillman was constantly involved in struggle, first with the Reds or extreme radicals within the union and later with the racketeers who crept into the union and made alliances with gangs on the outside. This was real warfare with guns and street fighting, shocking to the general public and only now described from the point of view of the Amalgamated unions and Hillman himself. Basically, the fight was to prevent the non-union shops from infringing on the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated and its contracts with employers. The affiliation of some union members with racketeers was perhaps the hardest blow ever dealt Hillman.

The whole era in which Hillman worked to get public support and understanding for the labor unions is one of great interest. His almost intuitive understanding of publicity and of the way to obtain the attention and cooperation of elements of society not connected with industrial problems is well described here. Hillman won the approval of intellectual groups throughout the country by his development of services for union members which proved to be a binding force for union loyalty as well as a method of improving their standard of living.

The setting up of banks in New York and other centers of the garment industry—not just saving accounts but real banks which took commercial accounts and lent money on good security—the entrance of unions into the field of building and operating housing projects for their members, the development of educational and other welfare programs with union funds, all these brought benefits to the Amalgamated unions. The author credits Hillman with the introduction of these ideas. The action of the union in lending money to a depressed employer so that he might stay in business and give employment to union members was, of course, one of the brilliant uses of the union's banking facilities. The author stresses the fact that the Amalgamated banks did not go under in the great depression and that they paid every cent to their depositors in the bank holiday.

The second half of the book, dealing with Hillman in his Washington or political period, will arouse more controversy among trade unionists who did not agree with Hillman. The abortive effort to affiliate the Amalgamated with the A. F. of L., the formation of the C. I. O., the conflicts that developed in the C. I. O., and the battle between the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. are sketched but not so completely developed as Hillman's earlier life and union activities. Hillman's entrance into the federal government and involvement in administrative matters explain the meager documentation of this section. Undoubtedly he had no time for the notes and analytical comments which made the first half of the book so illuminating.

Mr. Josephson has discharged his task well and the book will be widely read. It will be of great value to students of the labor movement and will be interesting to persons who are concerned only with an understanding of history. One could wish there had been more material available on the very last phase of Hillman's life and his reasons for taking part in the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Hillman's ideas with regard to this and the degree of his understanding of the great hazards of association with Russian "trade unionists," with Sailliant of the French Confederation of Labor, which was thought to be even then under Communist domination, and with other more or less unknown European leaders have never been fully analyzed. One hopes that this final activity will some day be made clear to Hillman's interested colleagues. FRANCES PERKINS

MacLeish's Poetry

COLLECTED POEMS, 1917-1952. By Archibald MacLeish. Houghton Mifflin Company. $4.

READING for the first time the collected poems of any poet—the span of his achievement, with all the false starts and wrong directions—is often an awakening and rather humbling experience, and I think it is especially so in the case of Mr. MacLeish's "Collected Poems." There is, in the first place, the volume, compact, thick, fat with poetry—a real accomplishment in itself, to write so much. For poets who last long enough to publish their collected poems are real professionals, writers who have stuck to their desks over the years, and like all professionals they are not ashamed to offer their work in impressive quantities. Yet they have, too, the professional's critical sense; they pare their volumes clean of surplusage. Mr. MacLeish has done these things admirably. His book contains 407 pages of poetry and not a verse that shouldn't be there.

Which is not to say that all the poetry in this book is good. One can scarcely ask Mr. MacLeish to erase great chunks of himself. That is for us, the readers, the remorseless surgeons, to do. And we have hacked away at him pretty successfully during the last ten or fifteen years, amputating poems—major pieces at that!—with unembarrassed abandon. Mr. MacLeish made this easy for us by failing in his attempt to write affirmatively public poems, patriotic poems, poems inspired by liberal enthusiasm. He succeeded, it is true, much better than many other poets who, during the depression years, were trying to do the same thing, but still he failed. It is easy for us to cut away these poems, for if they are good sense, they are not good poetry. They seem to be almost propaganda, frothy and bombastic, with a forced folkishness and a loss of control. I mean such poems as "America Was Promises," "Colloquy for the States," some of the radio dramas and shorter encomia. Mr. MacLeish himself has left many poems from this period out of his book, but he has left enough in to give the full flavor of the time.

It has been easy also to criticize other of Mr. MacLeish's long works. "The Pot of Earth," "The Hamlet of A. MacLeish," "Actfive"—these and others seem to have been hung on a structure outside themselves, usually a well-known work of literature. They contain within themselves no narrative or dramatic content, and though they are often brilliantly written, one's interest flags from such continuous reference to a source outside the poem. In "Conquistador," which remains excellent reading, he broke away from a reliance on previous structures and composed a self-contained narrative without literary references beyond itself. But one still feels that there are tricks and unnecessary devices: the ellipses, the broken phrases, the curious punctuation.

I said that reading these collected poems is a humbling experience, and it is true. For all those amputations, for all our rusty scalpels and contrary diagnoses, the patient lives. We are left with little to say. Perhaps there wasn't anything wrong with him in the first place.

Mr. MacLeish's short lyrics are his best poems. "You, Andrew Marvell" is famous, but the other lyrics on time and death, with the recurrent image of our turning planet, seem to me, many of them, just as fine, including such poems as "Bahamas" and "The Old Man to the Lizard" that are contained in the section of the most recent works. The love poems, and there are many of them, written during every phase of the poet's career and in every aspect of feeling, are all excellent; they are composed with a restraint and an exactness of language that make them songlike, Elizabethan. Among the latest poems are several that challenge with vigor, bitterness, and yet with good taste the cheapness and stupidity of public life today in the United States. And there is one, a reply to T. S. Eliot, which makes the replies we have had from younger poets look like childish tantrums by comparison.

Finally, at the end of the book is Mr. MacLeish's latest long work, a verse drama for radio entitled "The Trojan Horse." It is his best work of the kind. It has been broadcast by the B. B. C. but not, so far as I know, in this country.

The Bollingen Prize in Poetry, which has become in a few years very obviously the highest honor an American poet can obtain, has just been awarded to Mr. MacLeish. Thereby he joins more or less officially the company of which his "Collected Poems" show him to have been a member all along.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

The Communist Infection

REPORT ON THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST. By Morris L. Ernst and David Loth. Henry Holt and Company. $3.

MORRIS ERNST and David Loth believe in combating communism with the techniques of freedom. They have faith in the democratic process—in the common sense of the people and in the triumph of reason. They seem altogether unafraid that Americans generally, given a choice, will choose the gospel according to Marx and Lenin

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was at once
misunderstood and worshipped . . .
an extraordinary man
who had been called
everything from an idealist
to a demon."—*Saturday Review*

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in preference to the gospel according to Jefferson, that they will prefer totalitarianism to self-government. These are old-fashioned ideas, but it is heartening to find them reasserted in a time when, as the authors observe, the fight against communism "has been a fight based on fear and unfamiliarity, very much like the fear and ignorance which governed medieval reactions to the dreaded plague."

Messrs. Ernst and Loth undertook to find out how people became infected with communism, and how most of those infected were cured, by questioning some three hundred former party members. They discovered, among other things, that the party is made up overwhelmingly of native, white young people with comfortable, middle-class backgrounds and better-than-average education who joined, usually, for idealistic reasons. The average duration of party membership is no more than two or three years—about a quarter of this time being spent in trying to get out. The ratio of ex-Communists to present party members is estimated at twenty to one.

From the data they gathered, the authors obtained some pretty shrewd insights and formed a number of sound but rather superficial generalizations. Their book suffers a good deal from their obligation to conceal the identity of the ex-Communists whose cases they present to illustrate their points. The individuals are designated Edna E. or Paul J. or Daniel H. and they never come alive; like so many of the cases in psychoanalytic texts they seem mere puppets manipulated for the authors' purposes. They are difficult to distinguish from one another, and they afford altogether inadequate support for the sweeping inferences sometimes based upon them. Many of the points made by the authors seem entirely valid to this reviewer, but it cannot be said that they are proved by the case material.

One point which the case material does seem to demonstrate incontrovertibly is that Communists and anti-Communists combine to make an exodus from the party extremely difficult. McCarthyism, it appears, is a Communist technique; anyone who "deserts" the party is likely not only to be ostracized by his former associates but anonymously denounced by them as well. And given the reluctance of the outside world to employ former Communists at any occupation other than informer and professional witness, withdrawal from the party has exceedingly painful consequences.

Messrs. Ernst and Loth think that the duration of party membership could be appreciably shortened "if we could create safely a climate in which it would be as painless to give up the party card as it is to drop a magazine subscription." To this end, they urge repeal of the McCarran Internal Security Act, abandonment of efforts to outlaw or drive the Communist Party underground, compulsory disclosure of the financial backing of the Communists and all other groups striving to mold public opinion, the addition of "a few clergymen, psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists, and teachers" to Congressional committee staffs if Congressional investigations of communism must continue at all, the cessation of job discrimination against former Communists save in sensitive positions, a program designed to promote the rehabilitation and redemption of Communists.

The rank-and-file Communist revealed by the Ernst-Loth study is not a spy or saboteur; he is not even very sinister. Generally speaking, he is a deluded idealist or neurotic, seeking submission and dedication, capable of devotion to socially more useful and humanitarian causes. This study offers an important introduction to understanding the American Communist. And such understanding is essential not alone in dealing with the Communist problem but in maintaining the patterns of American democracy.

ALAN BARTH

"C'est la Vie"

THE LITTLE MADELEINE: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A YOUNG FRENCH GIRL. By Mrs. Robert Henrey. E. P. Dutton and Company. $4.

THIS is the story of my girlhood. No fact has been altered. Each character bears his, or her, own name." I take Mrs. Henrey's word for it that this record is true. But the authentic is frequently dull and not invariably convincing. "The Little Madeleine" offers the higher kind of realism: it deepens our sense of life. Now I know Madeleine so well that I could not define her. I know Milou, her father, muscular, hard-drinking, choleric, affectionate; Mathilde, her mother, no patient Griselda, with fairy fingers creating masterpieces of lingerie in the most squalid of the Parisian slums; I know their relatives, their friends, their neighbors, their casual acquaintances by the score, every one of them individual and unforgettable; I know the noises and the smells, the modest joys, the heartbreaking struggles, the sorrows, the tragedies, of Montmartre and Clichy, of La Grand' Combe in the South, and Marais, and Blois; and a French convent in England, the queer cosmopolitan world of Soho, the dinginess of the Seven Dials.

Realism worthy of the name—the slice of life, the humble truth—is miraculously rare. Céline, who describes

Coming with the February 21 issue of . . .

THE *Nation*

A NEW BOOK SECTION

designed to keep our readers abreast of all important new books *as they appear.* Each week a well-known critic, chosen as an authority in his field, will deal with what we consider the major book—or books—of the week in a full-length review. Other important new books will be dealt with in thumb-nail reviews which will yet be complete enough to answer the question: Do I want to read this book?

Featuring the first appearance of the new section, Simone de Beauvoir's new and provocative "The Second Sex" will be reviewed by C. Wright Mills, author of "White Collar" and other books.

the same milieu, is surrealistic, nightmarish. Zola brings into "L'Assommoir" heavy scientific and social theories and a conscious epic breadth of treatment. Octave Mirbeau, in "Le Journal d'une femme de chambre," chooses to horrify or to titillate. Marguerite Audoux, in "Marie-Claire," filters ugliness away. France, in "Crainquebille," cannot overcome his irony and pity. Flaubert never ceases to be a conscious artist and a satirist. Only Maupassant at his very best, Katherine Mansfield, Colette, attain the same purity. And even with them we cannot help thinking: "What fine observers! What masters of style!" No such words of praise come to our minds in this case; they would be irrelevant. Author, story, language are absolutely one. As with Montaigne, we were expecting a book, and find a human being.

The outskirts of *la Ville-Lumière,* some forty years ago, were strangely dark. Books, drama, monuments, museums, politics are never mentioned. Religion—oddly enough, the Gals were vaguely Protestant—hardly counts at all. A Franciscan is an aristocrat: espousing poverty raises him above worldly cares; the grinding destitution of the slums, on the contrary, has no place for spiritual luxuries. Madeleine's parents are not degraded or brutish; they might even be called *good.* Milou is but a rough laborer; Mathilde is more refined. Yet her code is rudimentary: do not get into debt, and do not be seen on the streets without a hat.

There is no righteous indignation against the rich. The best customers of a *lingère* are *cocottes;* they are daughters of the people who were lucky and clever; if successful, they deserve admiration. *"Elles font marcher le commerce"*: they are good for the luxury trade. A *grande cocotte,* Yvonne, is Madeleine's heroine, because she possesses a marvelous collection of delicate underwear. Yet there is no trace of cynicism in the book, no salaciousness, no pornography. It is not maidenly, but it is healthily girlish; aware of the slime but unsullied. It is profoundly *moral* in the classical sense, moral as La Rochefoucauld, La Bruyère, La Fontaine were moral. It is not in the least disenchanted or morose. Mathilde and Madeleine would shrug their shoulders at "Ecclésiaste," that weary old bachelor. They preserve their indomitable zest, their unconquerable hope. Finally, Madeleine gets a job as a manicurist at the Savoy in London; and heaven opens.

This world of Madeleine's, I knew it at close range, and indeed from within; detached enough, however, to feel from early childhood the holy wrath from which she is so blissfully free. I believed then as I do now in the fundamental Christian doctrine that wealth is a presumption of guilt. So I became an educator and a reformer. Morally, I chose the better part; or was chosen: I could not otherwise. Artistically, how gladly I would give my twenty serious volumes for this one warm and luminous book!

ALBERT GUERARD

Films

MANNY FARBER

THOUGH "The Member of the Wedding," Carson McCullers's prize-winning play about the last days of childhood, betrays its stage origin on the screen, it has been made into a somewhat amusing, and moving, sometimes improbable picture. Stanley Kramer has a trick way of opening his productions with a pastoral scene followed by a sustained shot of the star walking toward the camera: this one starts at a fishing wharf, follows Julie Harris home, and anchors itself in an ugly Southern kitchen where a small social circle—a tomboyish girl, her seven-year-old cousin, and the family cook—is viewed battling loneliness in a way that sometimes harks back to Saroyan or Tarkington types of humor. One of the funnier scenes has to do with a three-handed bridge game; they sit around the table with much concentrated clumsiness and dreamy domestic relaxation, with two of the players moaning about the "rotten hands" until it develops that the solemn little boy cut up the picture cards because they were so "cute." Eventually, melodramatic things begin to happen—the boy dies, the cook's nephew is sent to the pen, the girl runs away from home—and then, for no reason at all, the movie ends.

An interesting feature of the film is that it makes use of a television-type

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MUSIC
in the
NATION

by B. H. Haggin

This book gathers together some of the finest modern music commentary in America of the past twenty years and ranges over everything in our musical life: symphony orchestras and conductors; operas and singers; concert performers and managers; recording and broadcasting; old music, new music, jazz; books and other critics' writings.

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shot—the very close close-up of an active breathless face against a blacked-out background such as turns up in Gillette's prize-fight programs. With intimate, revealing image-maneuvers like this, the movie attempts both to break its bondage to the play and to penetrate a visual sphere new to movies. It starts drifting in a strange sea made up simply of motion and anatomy on a super-realistic level; you are practically on top of the human figure when, trapped in the most intense motion and feeling, it is cut off from the surrounding things that make life seem ordinary and fairly secure. And you are devoured by a rather plain twelve-year-old girl, her bound-in misery, her perspiring intensity, her boniness and impulsive hair cut.

This is a good example of a "director's picture," crammed with vivid details none of which falls quietly into place. The main character, the gawky girl, is an unspectacular sort who suffers from every stigma known to childhood, and Director Zinnemann allows Julie Harris to play the role in the manner of a cannibal chewing up a rare hunk of beef. Along with her flexible voice, which blends Baby Snooks with a sour, muted violin, she has an elegantly active pair of hands which clutch, pluck, drum, and posture in a rhythm that is peculiarly out of key with the rest of the acting, talk, and atmosphere. While Miss Harris eats a bit of stew like Marlon Brando playing an eccentric Bennington College student, Zinnemann brings out a small, select group of weird people. Among them are a smooth Harlem-type dresser who doesn't feel conspicuous carrying an unboxed silver trumpet through a small town and a silly child who minces about the room like the most professional Mae West impersonator.

When the more normal characters encounter abnormal behavior (the girl's determination to go along on her brother's honeymoon), they provocatively shift into the unreasonable—that is, the father brutally yanks the girl out of the car and throws her on the sidewalk, where she is stared at unmercifully by queasy neighbors. It is as though Zinnemann, along with a lot of his sensitive colleagues—Kazan, Wilder, *et al.*—tried to show only the oddest members of the human race.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE soloists in the performance of Handel's "Israel in Egypt" issued by the Bach Guild are not as good as they should be; but their arias and duets are fewer and less important than the superb choral sections, which are sung well by the combined Berlin Chamber Choirs with good playing by the Berlin Symphony under Helmut Koch's direction. We are informed that some passages are omitted that were not originally composed for the work, and others omitted "in accordance with usual practice"; and I would question the omission of what Tovey describes as "a great burst of slow eight-part harmony" to the words *And Israel saw that great work* . . . The original English text and the German of the performance are supplied.

The Bach Guild offers Schütz's St. Matthew Passion with the same combined choral groups and for the most part better soloists, including the tenor Max Meili as the Evangelist, conducted again by Koch. I have found the long stretches of recitative with brief choral episodes uninteresting; but the Symphoniae Sacrae Nos. 9 and 10 sung by Meili with strings and organ on the fourth side are more engaging.

Of the Bach Cantatas Nos. 122 "Das neugeborne Kindlein" and 133 "Ich freue mich in dir" on another Bach Guild record I find the second moderately engaging, the first not. The soloists and Vienna Kammerchor and State Opera Orchestra under Michael Gielen's direction are excellent.

Bach's Ascension Oratorio, the Cantata No. 11 "Lobet Gott in seinen Reichen," of which there is a performance in English with beautiful singing by Kathleen Ferrier on a London record, is now to be had in German on a Lyrichord record. Again it is only the choral passages, and especially the closing chorale fantasy, that I find impressive. The soloists, except for the tenor whose singing lacks force, the Swabian Choral Singers, and the Stuttgart Bach Orchestra under Hans Grischkat's direction are very good.

The Motets for Christmas and other

festivities by Victoria, Palestrina, Byrd, Weelkes, and others on a Lyrichord record are lovely; but the shrillness and tremulousness of the sopranos of the Welch Chorale get to be fatiguing.

EMS has issued a group of lovely canzonets by Farnaby, sung well by the Oriana Singers under Charles M. Hobbs's direction, and several charming Farnaby pieces for virginals, played very beautifully by Blanche Winogron.

London offers a number of Schubert songs, ranging from the well known and beautiful "Nacht und Träume," "Der Jüngling an der Quelle," and "Der Jüngling und der Tod" to the less familiar and less interesting "Der Schiffer" and "Ganymed," sung well by Gerard Souzay with good accompaniments by Jacqueline Bonneau.

And London gives us Mahler's "Das Lied von der Erde" performed with impressive mastery by Bruno Walter with Kathleen Ferrier, Julius Patzak, and the Vienna Philharmonic. Hearing the work again after a considerable interval I have been struck as before by the way Mahler's mind is always working, and always with freshness and individuality, and how by this constant activity it holds interest even when it is excessively long-winded, as in the closing song of the work.

The activity is most evident and fascinating in the sparing and fastidious use of the enormous orchestra; and the first thing to mention about the performance is the remarkably beautiful playing of the Vienna Philharmonic, which is reproduced with a clarity in quiet and space, a fidelity to the original sound—including this time the sound of violins—that make this, for me, London's highest recording achievement to date. The slight distortion of Ferrier's beautiful voice in the last climax is negligible; but Patzak's struggle with an old voice is a major defect in the three songs in which he sings. The orchestra is not as superbly reproduced in the 1936 Columbia performance; but Kullman's singing is better, and Thorborg's has, in addition to its beauty, an expressive intensity that is lacking in Ferrier's.

On the fourth side of the London records Ferrier sings three of Mahler's Rückert songs with the orchestra—"Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen," "Ich atmet' einen Lindenduft," and "Um Mitternacht."

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

A Concerned Reader

Dear Sirs: Your announcement of forthcoming changes in *The Nation,* including the departure of Margaret Marshall as book editor, raised certain doubts in some of your readers' minds, and the reference to these changes in the January 19 issue of *Time*—however distorted it may prove to be—converted these doubts into suspicions. Please do not consider this letter as a "protest" but as an expression of fear which I sincerely hope will prove unwarranted.

For some time I have been disturbed by the tone and attitude of a number of your political writers; I shall try to illustrate by an example which seems typical (let me make clear that I do not wish to quarrel with one particular writer). The January 17 issue contains a piece on the Point 4 program by Paul A. Baran, who uses a few legitimate and important criticisms of Point 4 as the basis for a vitriolic attack on the whole program, conducted in a tone of hostility clearly excessive for the facts presented. His article carries, from the outset, the assumption of an entente between writer and reader that Point 4 is just another corrupt capitalistic plot whose sole intention is to exploit colonial peoples for the benefit of Western reactionaries, while it is being presented in a benevolent guise to deceive unsuspecting progressives. (Reread just the opening two sentences, for example, and note the powerful and uncalled-for loading against Truman.) The crudity of this sour and "alienated" point of view has been matched too often, I think, by other of *The Nation's* political articles.

As long as more rational liberal criticism of American policies appears in *The Nation* the magazine will be worth supporting. And *all* the points of view the magazine presents will get consideration from readers like myself. But the best writing and thinking now appear to be concentrated in the "Books and the Arts" section. Without the book columns—and drama and music—of the present *Nation* I doubt if I should continue my subscription.

And the over-all appearance and effect of *The Nation,* should the book section be cut down or changed, may be sufficiently altered, it seems to me, so that many people who do not now go along with *Time's* view of *The Nation's* editorial policies, and who do buy the magazine primarily for the news and editorial features, may decide the new *Nation* is less valuable, narrower in viewpoint, than the old. . . .

A new format that cuts printing costs and enhances the physical appearance of the magazine—particularly your unfortunate covers—seems like a good idea, but "economies in space and personnel" that cut down the present book section seem foolish from *any* viewpoint. Time for a change? If Miss Marshall, "an able and discerning critic," as you say, "has been responsible for the integrity and high standards maintained by the book section," what better way to carry out "the firm intention of the editors to preserve those standards" than by retaining Miss Marshall? Please reconsider.

Cambridge, Mass. PAUL BERTRAM

[Time's *story was a distortion. Its editors asked for and received from us a detailed statement on the changes* The Nation *was planning. They ignored it except for the word "economy," which they put in quotes, and played up the untrue implication that Miss Marshall was dropped because of political differences. The single motive behind the staff reductions was a need with which we could no longer temporize, to cut costs: politics had nothing to do with the case, as we hope to prove week by week. Beginning February 21 the book section will appear in a new form but will be fully as authoritative and independent as it has been throughout its honorable history. We suggest that the author of the above letter and other anxious readers withhold judgment until the evidence is in.*

We consider Mr. Bertram's criticism of Professor Baran's article a bit "loaded" —as he does the article itself. We expect, however, to print a full discussion of this controversial piece in a later issue.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Where the Democrats Erred

Dear Sirs: The really blunt fact for the man who voted for the Democratic Party in 1932 and 1952 to face is not that the party had been in power for twenty years, but that he is twenty years older, and the things that caused him to vote as he did then do not apply in the same way now. It is well, of course, not to forget 1932, but there were many Democratic strategists who could think of nothing else. This was one of the major reasons why the Democrats didn't win the last election. It seems to me that among the other important reasons are these:

First, the Republicans took the initiative on the issues. "Korea, communism, and corruption" was the simplified spelling for the confusion that dominated the thinking of most voters. That the issues were inaccurately defined, or at best oversimplified, was not important to the majority of voters. It was enough that the Republicans had set forth on a "crusade" to clear up the confusion.

The Democrats were forced to fight the campaign on the stage set by the Republicans. No other stage was possible, since the Republicans had chosen the most comprehensive setting and the most powerful psychological symbols. In this setting, basic principles (which have been the Democrats' *tour de force* for twenty years) were lost. Adlai Stevenson did an incredibly astute job of "talking sense" to the American people, but on a stage of overwhelming nonsense. Had the Democrats taken the initiative themselves and defined the issues more properly, had Stevenson earlier in the campaign dealt forthrightly and aggressively with the real issues behind Korea, communism, and inflation, he might have won.

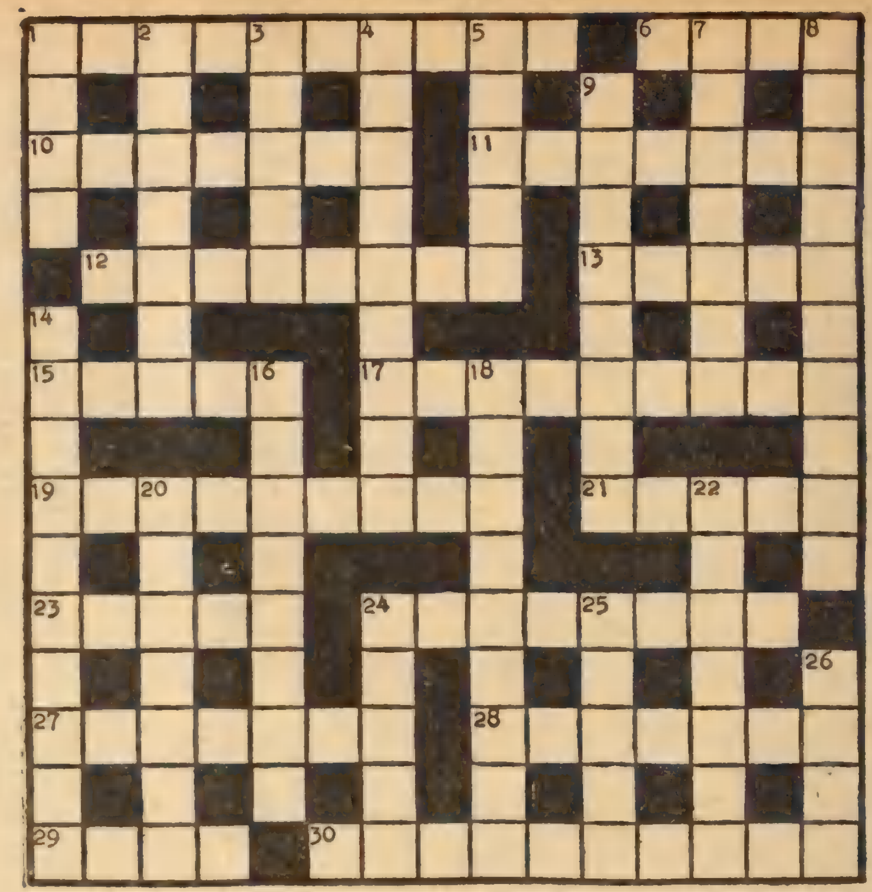
Second, the real issues were far more complex than the majority of American voters were willing to admit. Behind Korea there are innumerable problems of principle, strategy, and tactics, of organization, of diplomacy. Behind communism there is the whole problem of world revolution and progress, freedom and coercion, the responsibility of the United States to the peoples of the Asiatic and free Western worlds. Behind corruption there are the problems not merely of private and public morality, but the morality of competitive economic and political patterns and practices. The average man senses all this but is not ready to admit it. He grasps at any straw in the wind that promises to reduce this complexity to simple terms. Eisenhower's promise to go to Korea offered the voter a dramatic and simple way out of a complex situation.

The Democrats in the person of Stevenson offered wisdom, courage, and faith to combat these problems while the Republicans offered chiefly expediency.

Third, the Republican definition of the issues capitalized on the average voter's fears and prejudices. Expediency

Crossword Puzzle No. 501

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 If the first hyphen were a comma, it could be dramatic action on the side. (4-2-4)
6 Look especially at each end! (4)
10 and 23 But don't afterwards, if you want to get home safe. (5, 2, 5)
11 The G.I.'s hard at work on K.P., perhaps. (7)
12 Shields that give way? (8)
13 Does this water-lover come back to soak? The other way around, rather! (5)
15 What to do with a dog, if small? (5)
17 Calls to account Miss Browning's introductory remark? (9)
19 Represented as being sent very fast. (9)
21 This is more than a round stopper, as an interjection! (5)
23 See 10 across.
24 The expense of plain cotton fabric in Australia? (8)
27 11, in a sense, might be less dirty. (7)
28 An inclination to be an angel in disguise. (7)
29 Sort of weight put on around the middle? (4)
30 False name, or sort of man who looks good in blue? (10)

DOWN

1 See 7 down.
2 To quail, usually before part of those who count. (7)
3 Separate this up, and eat this fast. (5)
4 The way one might call contractions a body of language. (9)
5 This could be the height of sedan construction. (5)
7 and 1 down The sounds of the devil's footsteps? (7, 4)
8 The sort of girl Gladys found in Scandinavian mythology. (10)
9 Sounding agreeable, like an insect on an animal? It's the other way around! (8)
14 Supplements what some people lose in the operation. (10)
16 The chief of South African migrators? (8)
18 Forms both ends of the vertical, but it's just plain lousy! (9)
20 Connected with the charges at kindergarten, perhaps. (7)
22 Bill commonly associated with Dodgson's father. (7)
24 Fixes the rent, perhaps, or confounds the imprecated. (5)
25 The gentleman referred to in 22 feared his might have been injured. (5)
26 Ishmael's mother has no aspiration for culture! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 500

ACROSS:—1 RECITATIVE; 10 CHIMERA; 11 CLIMATE; 12 PUBLIC PROPERTY; 14 UNRESTED; 15 ORISON; 16 EATING; [illegible] UNIVERSE; 22 TELLERS WINDOWS; 24 INTONED; 25 ELIDING; 26 EWES; 27 METRONOMES.

DOWN:—1 RECAPTURED; 2 CLIMBER; 3 THE MISSING LINK; 4 TRAMPLE; 5 VICTOR; 7 HEARTHS; 8 SEEM; 9 FIRE PREVENTION; 13 UNDERSIGNS; 17 TRESTLE; 19 and 6 NOW HEAR THIS; 20 RHODIUM; 21 BRIDLE; 23 FINE.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

in 1952 was a live alternative, since the last four years have made the American voter more fearful and prejudiced. Complexity makes for ambiguity, and ambiguity makes for fear. Not to know exactly where one is going or what is to happen creates prejudice against "things as they are." In 1948 the majority of American people were not ready for a change because it was relatively clear where Truman was going, and the majority was content to go with him. In 1952 the Korean war had intercepted the line of direction, and a relatively unknown candidate was the Democratic standard bearer. The disclosures of "scandal" and treason in high places, the rise of McCarthyism which placed almost every public official under suspicion, and the increasing economic tensions represented in the repeated wage-price conflict removed from the voter the props of confidence and stability he had long felt and associated with Democratic leadership.

The Republicans did not need to ask in 1952 as they had asked in 1948, "Had enough?" They had only to exploit the sense of confusion and uneasiness, the prejudice against all that had apparently brought on this state of bewilderment and unrest, and the fear lest it become worse. In promising simply to end the Korean war, to rout the Communist menace, and to clean house the Republicans answered the need and fears of 32,000,000 Americans.

The Democratic Party was not unaware of the existence of these fears and prejudices. But it mistook them to be the same as those current prior to 1932. It was a great mistake of the party to reprint news photos of Hoover breadlines and street-corner apple peddlers and to attack the Republicans for their failure two decades ago. Although the basic Republican philosophy may not have changed, the world and the United States have. The fears and prejudices of that time are not those of 1952. In this respect the Democratic Party revealed its own sense of confusion and betrayed its own principles of creative politics. It should have done far better in exorcising the demons of fear and prejudice, and it could have if it had exorcised itself of the "twenty years ago" nostalgia.

Knowing the basic Republican forces to be anti-social, it is easy to assume that the people were defeated. Yet that remains to be seen. Perhaps the destiny of America will be made more manifest by the enthronement of the very powers that represent a refusal to understand that destiny. This may prove to be liberalism's great opportunity to reanalyze the course of liberalism and revise its patterns—which in many cases have become antiquated and ineffective.

FRED ZIMMERMAN, Pastor,
St. John's Evangelical
and Reformed Church

Powhatan Point, Ohio

CONTRIBUTORS

FRANCES PERKINS, formerly Secretary of Labor, is a member of the United States Civil Service Commission.

HAYDEN CARRUTH, formerly editor of *Poetry*, is on the staff of Intercultural Publications.

ALAN BARTH, editorial writer on the Washington *Post*, is the author of "The Loyalty of Free Men."

ALBERT GUERARD, professor emeritus of comparative and general literature at Stanford University, is the author of "The France of Tomorrow" and other books.

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Tenants Must Be Loyal

San Francisco

A VERY hot political issue that got its first public airing in San Francisco has been dropped back into the lap of Congress by the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

On July 5, 1952, Congress passed the Gwinn amendment to the Independent Offices Appropriation Act for 1953, which provides that no member of any organization designated as subversive by the Attorney General shall occupy federally aided housing. Enforcement of the loyalty clause, the amendment stipulates, is to be by local authorities.

In mid-July John Taylor Egan, Commissioner of the Public Housing Administration, dutifully advised all his agency's field offices of the amendment and instructed them to write compliance clauses into all new yearly contracts under which local public-housing authorities receive federal funds. Local housing authorities signing new contracts or amending old ones with the Federal Public Housing Administration promised to review the "subversive"-membership status of all adult residents of the housing covered by the contracts.

Two months after passage of the amendment local housing authorities were still awaiting clarification of means of enforcement to come from Washington. Then on September 13 San Francisco newspapers reported that John Melville, Federal Public Housing Administrator for the San Francisco Bay Area, had announced that some 150,000 adults living in 40,000 units in the Bay Area would be required to sign affidavits that they did not belong to "subversive" organizations.

Affidavits would be distributed about November 1, by which time Mr. Melville hoped that the Attorney General would have supplied a suitable "subversive" list that could be duplicated and mailed to tenants. The Attorney General has now indicated that the list compiled for the federal employees' loyalty program will be used.

Strangely enough the only official announcement that affidavits were to be required came from the San Francisco office of the Public Housing Administration. Some time after it was issued, there were reports that Melville had learned of the plan for implementing the Gwinn amendment at the local level through informal talks with Washington; apparently these sources then decided to clam up and gave the information to no other local offices. But individual citizens in the Bay Area were acutely concerned, and the Northern California office of the American Civil Liberties Union promised legal aid in testing the amendment in the courts. The A. C. L. U. felt confident that a clear-cut verdict of unconstitutionality could be won in a test case brought by a tenant of impeccable anti-Communist record. But such a case would have to wait for some overt move to enforce the amendment by a local authority.

Since September the Housing and Home Finance Agency has been quietly exploring the legal obstacles to enforcement of the Gwinn amendment. The Attorney General has indicated that since the task of prosecuting violations would devolve on him he should pass on the mechanism set up for implementation. Also to be considered is the statement made by Senator Maybank on the floor of the Senate prior to passage of the bill to the effect that the conference report clearly indicated the view of all the conferees that the "principle embodied in [the Gwinn Amendment] should be made applicable and applied uniformly to *all* housing assisted by the federal government by loan, grant, insurance, guaranty, or otherwise."

After consultation with the Attorney General and the various agencies implicated Raymond M. Foley, administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, announced on November 28 that in his opinion the Gwinn amendment could be applied only to federally assisted low-rent public housing until further legislation was enacted by Congress and recommended that Congress repeal the amendment unless it chose to enact the necessary legislation.

Since Congress would not meet until January, the Housing and Home Finance Agency strongly urged all local hous[illegible] authorities, whether or not they signed new or revised yearly contributions contracts containing the compliance pledge, to implement the Gwinn amendment by requiring the affidavit now okayed by the Attorney General. Housing agencies in other cities, among them Newark and New York, have adopted this policy.

JUDITH SEGARD

Judith Segard is a San Francisco writer.

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AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

Fait Accompli in U. N.

A foretaste of how the new Administration plans to operate in the United Nations was offered by Ambassador Lodge, whose first act as chief delegate was to order a loyalty check on all Americans employed there. Since the General Assembly is scheduled to discuss staff relations when it reconvenes on February 24, the question arises: Why this hasty move? The answer can only be: to present the session with a *fait accompli.*

It was evident at the close of the first half of the sixth session that a large number of delegations were disturbed by the general smear of staff members, by the secret agreement between Trygve Lie and the State Department on American nationals employed at the U.N., and by Mr. Lie's immediate acceptance of the controversial recommendations made by the panel of jurists he had set up to advise him.

The screening process accepted by Mr. Lie is already in operation. Mr. Lie will no doubt take refuge in his right under the Charter to make all decisions in administrative matters. But one wonders how he will explain his acquiescence in the unilateral assumption by the United States of the right to pass on the qualifications for employment of its nationals, when this right was explicitly denied to all countries by the commission which drew up the Charter.

Half of the 4,000 employees of the United Nations are not Americans. Will the United States demand that they be screened too? If so, by whom and on what basis? Will loyalty to their own governments be the test? Or to the United Nations? Or to the United States? And if other governments refuse to screen their nationals, or if the screening is inadequate, what then?

Inauspicious Beginning

Obviously Americans disloyal to their country, or spies and other foreign agents operating in the United States, have no place in the international organization. But we see no reason why decent employment procedures could not have been worked out in agreement with the U.N. delegations, especially since the United Nations has no secret information of any intrinsic value. That there is no essential insecurity involved is indicated by the fact that "full field investigation" by the F. B. I. of 345 Americans in key posts could take as long as a year.

The screening operation now called for by Mr. Lodge, which conforms to ex-President Truman's executive order and goes even beyond the jurists' recommendations by making "reasonable doubt" as to loyalty and suitability the test of employment, will do more harm to the prestige of the United States than any delay which might be occasioned by orderly procedures. Is the screening operation by United States officials of United States nationals on *United Nations* territory, with no advance notice to staff and less than forty-eight hours in which to fill out complicated questionnaires, an example of the new conform-or-else policy? It is certainly not an auspicious beginning for the new Administration's relationship to the United Nations.

What, No Honeymoon?

Even those observers who viewed the marriage between Mr. Eisenhower and the Republican right-wing as a shotgun affair, expected that harmony would reign during the honeymoon. Yet before the confetti has been swept up, the newly-weds have started squabbling about who is to wear the pants. According to the *Wall Street Journal* of January 30, Congress, dominated by die-hard members of the G. O. P., "clamors to run the Washington show. . . . If Ike fights back, there could be a nasty row. G. O. P. Congressional leaders won't give ground easily. One reason: There's not an 'original Eisenhower man' among them."

Within a week of the inauguration moves were made on "The Hill" threatening the attainment of two of the President's pledged objectives—reorganization of the machinery of government and a balanced budget. Despite warnings from Budget Director Dodge both the House and Senate committees on Government Operations voted to permit the vetoing of any reorganization plan by a simple majority of those present in either House instead of by a majority of the full membership as is the case now. Although this change will clearly hinder the achievement of greater efficiency and economy, there are some indications that the President will submit to the weakening of his authority in this sphere.

Meanwhile Representative Daniel A. Reed, the primitive New York Republican who presides over the House Ways and Means Committee, has introduced a tax bill

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changing the expiration date of the income-tax increase voted in 1951 from December 31 next to June 30. He intends to put this plan before his committee on February 16 and take a vote on it immediately without giving the Treasury a chance to present its views. Speaker Martin and Majority Leader Halleck are said to have mildly deprecated this unseemly haste, which will certainly add to the President's budget-balancing difficulties, but Mr. Reed's claim that his bill will pass both Houses appears to be well-founded.

Democracy's Achilles Heel

Evidence of widespread enthusiasm for the world approach to world-wide social problems outlined by Stringfellow Barr on page 120 of this issue can be found in almost any day's news. The guides who last year conducted 385,000 persons through the U. N. headquarters give convincing accounts of the interest and enthusiasm shown by these visitors. And last week when Andrew W. Cordier, executive assistant to the Secretary General, described the work of the U. N. to a thousand high-school pupils from the five boroughs of New York—all members of Junior UNESCO clubs—his remarks were received with loud applause and shouts of "Bravo!"

Unfortunately this interest and enthusiasm remain unorganized. A comment by Max Ascoli in *The Reporter* of February 3 is directly relevant: ". . . the Achilles heel of democracy is the international party politics of the free nations. All traditions and interests are represented by the existing parties except one: the longing for supranational unity. This longing, no matter how widespread, is too new to have become politically organized." Most of the existing parties came into being in a period when a national approach to social problems was logical if inadequate. Today this approach is obsolete. Everywhere the problem is the same: to realign existing political forces so that progressive domestic policies will find their logical extension in foreign policy. A world community requires political parties whose outlook is essentially world-wide.

Franco and Morocco

Events in Spain under Franco frequently combine the tragic and the absurd. Tragedy has been provided of late by a new wave or repression, with mass arrests in Barcelona and new evidence of hunger in spite of the good harvest and the early prospect of American dollars. Comedy is to be found in the rapidity with which the regime changes positions and theories. Everybody will recall the enthusiasm for Islam expressed by the most Catholic and Apostolic government on earth on the eve of Foreign Minister Artajo's recent crusade to the Middle East. Every Falangist was ready to sacrifice his faith to win the favor of the Arab League, and Spanish Morocco was suddenly depicted as a model of freedom—to the envy of the people of Spain proper. This fiction was played up to show how different was the tyrannical behavior of France in North Africa.

Now overnight the pro-Arab policy has been dropped. Aware that the unrest in French Morocco would certainly spread into Spanish Morocco, Franco has made an about-face, even hinting that he will send troops to the assistance of France if a serious situation develops in French Morocco. Apparently he is ready to send Spaniards to fight anywhere—possibly to avert the chance that they might fight against him inside Spain. He is even promoting the departure of "volunteers" for Korea, among whom are members of the former Blue Division, which fought for Hitler on the eastern front. Falangist propaganda is convinced that Spanish "volunteers" in Korea will make the regime popular in the United States, or at least sweeten somewhat the bitter flavor left by recent American dealings with the fascist dictatorship.

National Book Awards

As principal speaker at the presentation ceremonies of the National Book Award for 1953 Justice William O. Douglas rather blanketed the rest of the proceedings in the press. In a moving plea for understanding of Asia's right to an independent world policy, the Justice made the interesting point that the Asian nations were isolationist, "in the sense that America from 1890 onward was isolationist," rather than neutral.

But the occasion itself was noteworthy for other reasons. The awards of gold medals to Bernard DeVoto for "The Course of Empire," and to Archibald MacLeish for "Collected Poems, 1917-1952" were so right as to be almost beyond comment. They demanded of the judges nothing more than recognition of unchallenged merit. The fiction award to Ralph Ellison for "Invisible Man" was another matter. Highly controversial in substance, point of view, and manner of writing, this first novel must have presented real difficulties. For it is neither conventionally well made nor emotionally well balanced. As Irving Howe wrote in his review in *The Nation*:

> Though immensely gifted, Ellison is not a finished craftsman. The tempo of his book is too feverish, and at times almost hysterical. Too often he tries to overwhelm the reader, and usually he does; but when he should be doing something other than overwhelm, when he should be persuading or suggesting or simply telling, he forces and tears.

But Howe also concluded that "it is one of the few remarkable first novels we have had in some years." The fiction judges went even further, saying: "Mr. Ellison has had the courage to take many literary risks, and he has succeeded with them."

New Drama Critic

The Nation is happy to announce that Harold Clurman, long connected with the American theater both as director and critic, will join the staff as Drama Critic. Mr. Clurman's first review will appear in our issue of February 21—by which time we trust that the new play, "The Emperor's Clothes," which he is directing will have established itself for a long and prosperous run on Broadway.

Formosa Blunder

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER and Secretary Dulles, during the campaign and lately from their high offices, have been talking a lot about getting tough with the Communists. They proclaimed their "liberation" policy, then had to tone it down. They left our friends abroad nervous and failed completely to satisfy the fire-eaters at home.

Now the President, apparently feeling himself under compulsion to translate words into action, has decided to "take the wraps off" Chiang Kai-shek. In his State of the Union message he formally announced a new directive, replacing ex-President Truman's order of June 27, 1950, commanding the United States Seventh Fleet to prevent the Chinese Nationalists from attacking the China mainland and blocking any mainland assault on Formosa. Eisenhower's ruling maintains our navy's protection of Formosa while giving the go-ahead to Chiang's troops for raiding the China coast.

Freeing Chiang's soldiers to cross the Formosan Straits may partly appease the China Lobby and its fellow-travelers in Congress. Its military consequences will be zero for a long time ahead. In fact, we have long since torn up Mr. Truman's neutralization order. The Chinese Nationalists control a few dozen little islands between Formosa and the mainland, and their troops have been engaging in pinprick raids along the Communist shores. Neither Washington nor the Seventh Fleet have intervened against that violation of the Truman directive. Fully aware that we were intently looking the other way, Chiang Kai-shek would surely have enlarged these hit-and-run sallies had he felt capable of doing so. He knows that his army is incapable of attacking in force across the straits. His troops lack landing craft and weapons, even assuming that they are politically dependable.

President Eisenhower's removal of the legal—though fictitious—ban on Nationalist armed action against Communist China amounts to little more than shouting "boo!" at Mao Tse-tung. But it has political implications disquieting to America's allies, as press reaction from Western Europe and the United Nations amply demonstrates. The British and others who have recognized the

Mao regime are anxious to avoid deeper involvement with Chiang Kai-shek. France fears possible adverse repercussions on its own war in Indo-China. There is a tendency on the part of all our partners in the Korean adventure to resent this new example of unilateral policy-making. And India, Burma, and Indonesia, whose support in Asia is of high importance to us, have voiced strong and unofficial disapproval.

This is merely the first of several moves which the Eisenhower Administration is contemplating in East Asia. Another possible measure is the imposition of a naval blockade against China's entire coast. That too could cause only minor damage to Communist China, for the armaments which Peking imports arrive by rail and air across Siberia. A naval cordon could not stop these deliveries; it could serve only to immobilize an immense number of our warships while antagonizing many of our Asian friends. For instance, it would presumably intercept the rice which, in exchange for rubber, Ceylon is getting from China. What all such steps will do, in addition, is to postpone into an indefinite future the hope of a negotiated settlement of the Korean war and of the other Asian conflicts.

MR. DULLES'S speech last week—his first as Secretary of State—can be said in retrospect to have set the stage for such new maneuvers. Despite the haphazard "off-the-cuff" style of delivery, it was without doubt a carefully prepared address, and its meaning came through hard and threatening.

What he said in essence was that the new Administration was going to try for a closer alliance with Europe but that if Britain, France, and Germany could not get together the United States would reconsider its relationship to the Continent. In stressing the need for "effective unity" he implied that Britain should join the new European army, a suggestion Mr. Churchill must surely have turned down in his talks with Mr. Dulles this week. He more than implied that ratification of the German arms treaty would be regarded as a test of the good faith of both France and Germany. He made it plain that the Administration planned new steps to end the war in Korea, and in Indo-China too. He told "those suffering under Communist slavery" that they could "count on us." These statements were freely interpreted abroad to mean a new offensive in Korea and a liberation policy for Eastern Europe, perhaps for Asia as well. To Europeans all this adds up to a new and more aggressive foreign policy, with general war rather than peace as its probable result.

Eisenhower's directive to the Seventh Fleet has tended to confirm these fears. If to the military expert the deneutralizing of Formosa is only a blank cartridge fired to arouse pleasing echoes in Congress, the sound is proving far less pleasing to our friends overseas.

Lattimore the Scholar

CRUEL as the ordeal of Owen Lattimore has been for the victim it has not been without rich incidental rewards for the rest of us. Of these none will be remembered longer than the statements which Dr. George Boas and Dr. Harvey Wheeler have assembled in "Lattimore the Scholar."*

As Gerald W. Johnson points out in his foreword, there has been a remarkable inconsistency in the public attack on Owen Lattimore. On the one hand he has been assailed as the "chief architect" of our Asian policy and on the other as a clever journalist whose opinions carry little weight. This inconsistency, Mr. Johnson notes, has been forced upon his critics by the record, which shows that, far from planning our Asian policy, Lattimore steadfastly opposed the successive steps that led to disaster. Once this became apparent—in the summer of 1951—his critics promptly shifted to the charge that he was not, in fact never had been, a scholar.

To lend weight to the attack, they pointed out that although Lattimore is director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University, he is not a Ph. D. and, aside from two terms at the Harvard Graduate School, received no formal collegiate training. From this starting point the accusations ranged far and wide, with gossip columnists, radio commentators, pamphleteers, and here and there a disgruntled academician joining in. No mention was made of the fact that Far Eastern studies are a comparatively new field of research in American colleges and universities and that a number of the most distinguished older men in the field had little opportunity for formal preparation, including Lattimore's father, who, though he had never been to college, was a full professor at Dartmouth for twenty years. Forgotten, too, were the twelve years Lattimore spent on Central Asian studies in China, Sinkiang, Mongolia, and Manchuria, using source material in many languages. Nor did his critics mention the recognition his work has won from learned societies, including the medal of the Royal Geographical Society.

To meet this new assault, in which the professional hatchet men continued what McCarthy had begun, George Boas, as an individual and not in his capacity as professor of the history of philosophy at Johns Hopkins, wrote to a group of American and European scholars whose attainments certified their competence to assess Lattimore's work as a scholar. He made it clear that their replies would be printed. These replies now appear in full in "Lattimore the Scholar"; not so much as an "and" has been omitted and the date of each letter has been indicated. To insure that no portion of the document could be quoted out of context, it was copyrighted. Included are the foreword by Johnson, an introduction by Boas, and an epilogue by Harvey Wheeler.

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*Edited by George Boas and Harvey Wheeler, with a preface by Gerald W. Johnson. Copies can be obtained by writing Harvey Wheeler, Waverly Box 108, Baltimore 18, Maryland. Contributions toward the cost of publication should be mailed to George Boas, Baldwin, Maryland. Proceeds will be turned over to the Lattimore Defense Fund.

The replies are of extraordinary interest. Contributors include Mortimer Graves, administrative secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, Quincy Wright (Chicago), H. A. R. Gibb (Oxford), Arnold J. Toynbee, Carrington Goodrich (Columbia), Knight Biggerstaff (Cornell), Derk Bodde (Pennsylvania), Woodbridge Bingham (California), H. H. Fisher (Stanford), George B. Cressey (Syracuse), John K. Fairbank (Harvard), Nathaniel Peffer (Columbia), C. Martin Wilbur (Columbia), Harold Vinacke (Cincinnati), Earl H. Pritchard (Chicago), and many others. While the contributors do not share all of Lattimore's views, they are in general agreement that he has made important contributions to Far Eastern studies.

A few quotations—used with special permission of the publishers—will indicate the character of the replies: ". . . the leading scholar in America on the history and problems of the vast and important area on the frontier of China and the Soviet Union" (Quincy Wright); "I know of no greater master of the history and institutions of the Central Asian nomads, and his field work on their relations with their agricultural and urban Chinese neighbors, is, as far as I can judge, unique" (Arnold J. Toynbee); "He is undoubtedly America's leading authority on Mongolia and the other little-known areas which make up what is known as 'inner Asia' " (Derk Bodde).

Moreover, the warm tributes paid to Lattimore's character eloquently refute the comment of one professor-columnist who has written that Lattimore's character is "detestable," or that of a newspaper columnist that Lattimore is one of the "silliest" men he has ever known. "Personally I haven't read a single charge leveled against O. L. by the McCarthys and the Budenzes," writes Carrington Goodrich, "that didn't seem either deceitful or malicious. We are cruelly testing a man whose worth and ability and character have been tested again and again and not been found wanting."

Even more significant, perhaps, than these personal tributes is the recognition of Lattimore's worth to his country. "I am deeply convinced," writes C. Martin Wilbur, "both as a scholar and as an American citizen concerned with America's role in world affairs, that Mr. Lattimore's unique and comprehensive knowledge of these areas [Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang] is an important national asset which must be preserved. . . . If defamers had succeeded in restricting or ending his scholarly work and publication in the past, that would have been a calamitous loss to the world of scholarship. This must not be allowed to happen now."

The wide relevance of the evidence to be found in the replies is cogently stated by George Boas:

> The question may be raised of the relationship between Mr. Lattimore's scholarship and the serious charges which Senator McCarthy first made against him and that of perjury now made. It is possible that a competent scholar be also a spy. But the point in this case is that Mr. Lattimore's supposed communistic sympathies prejudiced his scholarly work. If this had been so, then surely some of the authorities in his subject and in allied fields might have suspected it a year ago. It may not be possible for anyone to be entirely objective, but the correspondence which follows does not even intimate that Mr. Lattimore was not as objective as reputable scholars usually are. It will be observed that some of the writers point out that they have not always agreed with everything which Mr. Lattimore has written, but none has said that he was following the Communist line or writing Russian propaganda. As for the charge of perjury, it is doubtful, though not beyond the bounds of possibility, that a man who is truthful in his scholarly work, who weighs evidence, who accepts the heavy responsibility which scholarship entails, would be deliberately mendacious in other fields. Since the charge of perjury was made presumably to weaken his reputation as a sinologue and by inference to suggest that any advice he may have given on Asian affairs was the advice of a liar, it is worth while publishing evidence that in his most serious work his colleagues found no evidence of wilful deceit. If they had seen any, they could be counted upon to indicate it. To believe otherwise, is not to know the world of scholars. None of these men and women was forced to answer my letter.

There is no precedent—surely no exact one—in our history for the attack on Lattimore. In our time it has been the totalitarian regimes, not the democracies, that have sought to punish scholars and scientists for the policy mistakes which the dictators could not admit without endangering the structure of power on which their regimes were based.

But if the attack on Lattimore is without precedent, the response of his colleagues holds high promise of redeeming American men of learning from the humiliation which was the fate of their counterparts in Nazi Germany and, currently, in Soviet Russia. With Harvey Wheeler, they recognize that the writings of Lattimore "should be criticized with unflinching vigor. . . . But if creative scholarship is to be encouraged . . . then the right of men to be honestly and courageously wrong as well as infinitesimally accurate must be protected and enhanced with every degree of moral fiber we have at our command. . . . What is at issue is the virtually imperative necessity that his work be evaluated on its own merits rather than being discredited and suppressed because some of his conclusions find emotional rejection at the hands of men who seem able to get momentary personal relief only by screaming at the things which appear to threaten them."

And Mr. Wheeler adds: "If there is one impression imparted to the reader of the letters in this collection, it is the sense of drawing in, with each one, a fresh 'breath from the common wind' of our free heritage."

Rendezvous in Santiago

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

IN HIS first major speech since his appointment as Secretary of State, made on January 27, Mr. Dulles declared that South America would receive a good deal of attention from the new Administration. This is what he actually said: "Sometimes we are inclined to take South America for granted. But the reality is that there are strong Communist movements in Latin America and fascist influences in some quarters which are working away, largely underground so far, and they are trying to destroy the traditional friendship between the peoples of the American republics." The reference to fascism must have been put in to give an impression of impartiality, for it is no secret that the man chiefly responsible for the spread of fascism in the Latin American republics is Francisco Franco. And since Franco is Washington's newest ally, Mr. Dulles's concern over fascism in South America can hardly be taken seriously. On the other hand, Mr. Dulles's concern over the advance of communism is certainly genuine.

In previous articles I have discussed the awakening of the peoples of Latin America as one of the most important features of the present era of rebellion in the colonial and semi-colonial parts of the world. Examining this phenomenon a little more closely, one can see that it presents two different and often opposing aspects. The social setup of Latin America closely resembles that of the Middle East: a ruling class, cynical, corrupt, and very rich, using popular discontent both as a means of obtaining power and for blackmailing foreign interests and governments into granting loans and other aid, and a population oppressed, hungry, and largely illiterate. With the exception of a few countries and allowing for differences of degree, this has been the social picture prevailing in Latin America for centuries.

But World War II has dramatically introduced another factor. Following the revolt of Asia and parallel with the awakening of Africa, the relation between oppressors and oppressed in Latin America is changing. The feudal oligarchy finds it more difficult every day to hold down the impatient masses, to keep wages and working conditions at their incredibly low levels, assuring high profits for the privileged minority and its foreign associates, and to prevent the development of a revolutionary situation. The days when these countries were ruled patriarchally by the old Spanish families are gone for ever. The oligarchs have found it necessary to change their methods and to instal a new type of ruler. The "modern" way of controlling the masses is through a civilian or military demagogue who gains their adherence by fooling them with attractive slogans of "nationalism," "anti-imperialism," and "social justice."

But it is one thing to teach the people to shout "Down with the Yankees" and quite another to overcome the economic difficulties of these countries. For that slogans are not enough, and the double game of mobilizing the masses and of putting on the brakes when they seem to be moving too fast has perils of its own. In the Argentine even the workers who used to be Perón's willing followers have more than once reminded him in recent months of his unfulfilled promises. In Brazil, Getulio Vargas sees those who voted for him in the belief that he would "get tough" with Washington gradually dropping away. Ibañez was elected President of Chile partly by the votes of the left; but the left is already demanding a series of economic reforms that the government is reluctant to grant.

This popular pressure forces the ruling demagogues to shift their position rapidly. One day they appeal to the masses against "the greedy and tyrannical Yankee land." The next day they ask for American support to check the impetuous advance of their people. Information recently received from Latin America seems to indicate that an operation of the second type is now in the making. The Presidents of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile have been in constant touch during the last few weeks, preparing for a meeting which is supposed to take place soon in Santiago, Chile. Its purpose will be to reconstruct the old ABC alliance, but with totally different motives. Nothing is yet known about the agenda, but the following hypothesis is based on the views of informed political observers in the three countries immediately concerned.

The three governments are facing the same political and economic problems—inflation, a fall in the prices of raw materials after the short-lived boom of the Korean war, and the narrowing of the world market for these materials through import restrictions imposed by European countries, especially France, England, and Italy. None of the three Presidents is in a position to find a solution for these problems. Really effective remedies would involve nothing less than a radical reconstruction of the economies of their respective countries—a redistribution of land, planned production, and a realistic trade policy. But this would mean a real revolution, and none of the three wants that, for all their revolutionary gestures and posturings.

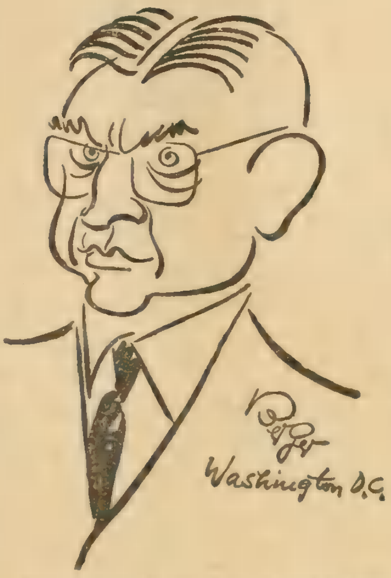
Another solution, of an emergency character, is the one that has kept in power a number of European governments in the last few years—financial aid from America. Here is an opportunity for Secretary Dulles. Contrary to what most people believe, Latin America has received little dollar aid since the end of the war. The Latin American leaders expect from the new Administration a more "comprehending" attitude. The Santiago meeting, if it takes place, is intended to make possible cooperation on a new basis, with the three countries soft-pedaling their anti-imperialist propaganda and the United States greatly increasing its financial aid. A revived ABC alliance could expect to attract first Bolivia and then the other republics, with the exception of Uruguay, Mexico, and Guatemala, where a realignment of this sort is for the present at least exceedingly unlikely.

100-Billion-Dollar Grab

BY BRUCE CATTON

Washington

THEY are coming in hungry, and they are not hungry for peanuts. The vast public-utility, oil, mining, and lumber interests that supported the Republican campaign are getting ready to move in on America's natural resources, and what they want is all the country has got. The new Administration is prepared to make things easy for them, and the program is beginning to be clear. It adds up to what is probably the greatest raid on the national wealth ever contemplated.


Washington D.C.

Secretary of the Interior McKay

First, of course, will come the off-shore-oil grab. Barring a completely unlikely change of mind in the White House, this is as good as done. No one can hope for anything more than a brief rear-guard action against it. Next will come the grab for public power. Here the general idea is to go on building big power plants with public funds but to make sure that they are run for the benefit of the power companies rather than for the people. The third step, which is still in the formative stage, is in some ways the most appalling. It is proposed that the tremendously valuable public domain be handed over to the states for parceling out to such private interests as can make the most lucrative use of them.

Altogether, the program represents an attempt to get back not only to the days of Herbert Hoover but all the way back to the era before Teddy Roosevelt. It is spelled out quite clearly in the record of the Senate hearings on the confirmation of Douglas McKay as Secretary of the Interior. The Department of the Interior is the official custodian of America's publicly owned wealth. When the hungry special interests moved in after the election of Harding, this department was one of the first things they looked at. It is even more attractive to them today, for on top of everything else it now contains, in the Bureau of Reclamation, the largest single generator and transmitter of electricity in the world. In other words, the stakes are immense. The attitude of the Secretary of the Interior is vitally important.

Bear in mind that everyone who attacks the public-power program attacks it by indirection. The first target is the famous preference clause, which simply provides that the co-ops of the Rural Electrification Administration, cities, public-utility districts, and other public bodies get first rights to the purchase of power from federal dams. If the preference clause can be knocked out, if the federal government can be kept from building its own transmission lines, and if—these things having been done—the utility companies are then allowed to make long-term contracts with the agencies that sell federal electric power, the public-power program is done for, and the government's power facilities exist solely for the benefit of the private companies.

When he appeared before the Senate Interior Committee, Secretary McKay declared that he believes in the preference clause—"if the people want it." But he also said that "private enterprise has a right to pursue their business," that public power should not be given an advantage, and that the power companies ought not to be throttled. He thought that long-term contracts ought to be made with the power companies and that at the present time, in the Pacific Northwest, public power was getting most of the breaks.

Senator Jackson of Washington, a staunch public-power man, pressed the new Secretary: Isn't it sound policy to have power from government dams sold first to public bodies? "Not necessarily," replied McKay. "It is a sound public policy that all citizens be treated alike. . . . If that preference [clause] is in there, you are un-

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BRUCE CATTON is writing a series of articles on the Washington scene.

fair to some of the people of the states, because they might want to buy from a publicly owned place and they can't."

There is nothing mystifying about any of this if you understand the jargon. You never attack the preference clause openly; you simply say that everybody ought to get equal treatment and that private utilities ought to be free of handicaps. You agree that the government ought to build the great multi-purpose dams, but you object, as McKay did before the Senate committee, to "the part of the federal government in imposing themselves in authority," because you feel that the people of the state ought to have control over their own resources.

Interpreted in that way, McKay's words made his position clear. No attack in Congress on the preference clause is likely to meet a very strong counter-attack from the new Secretary of the Interior. Similarly, if a Congress pledged to stop "wasteful expenditures" refuses to vote money for government transmission lines—and any appropriations granted in the next two years will have to get the okay of a House committee dominated by tight-fisted Representative Taber of New York—McKay is not the man to make an effective protest.

Long-term contracts for government power executed with private power companies in the absence of a preference clause and also in the absence of government transmission lines would, as Senator Jackson pointed out, "simply dedicate the federal dams to the utilities." And as the retiring Commissioner of Reclamation, Michael Straus, remarked, in practice such contracts would tend to become perpetual. Each one would become an inalienable right, with money invested, territory developed, markets arranged; to try to change or cancel one would be to raise a storm of protest about loss to customers, economic upheaval, and so on. All this is the more disturbing since Congress is definitely to be asked to change the preference clause and a determined fight will be made to keep the government from building any more transmission lines. In the face of these attacks it is hard to imagine a winning fight for public power being put up by a Secretary of the Interior who talks as McKay talked before the Senate committee.

AN EVEN more serious question than that of power was raised by a remark dropped during the McKay hearings by Senator Hugh Butler of Nebraska, chairman of the Interior Committee. McKay had just said that he was "on the side of Louisiana and Texas" in the off-shore-oil wrangle, when Butler interjected: "I would like to say here that when the tidelands question is settled—and I hope it will be rather definitely before too far in this session—there are plans for the introduction of a bill that will make the same theory applicable to public lands now held by the federal government within the state." This was not a complete surprise, since both the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce have been suggesting such a step ever since the election, but it was the first indication that legislation is actually being prepared. It is worth while to take a brief look at what such a step would mean.

No one has accurately estimated the total value of what is left of the public domain—the land, the oil and minerals under the land, the timber, the forage, and all the rest—but the best guesses made by people who are in a good position to know what they are talking about run higher than $30 billion. Some estimates run a good deal higher. Commissioner Straus recalls that not long ago the Bureau of Reclamation retained a man to make a detailed analysis of the worth of the public's possessions. The man threw up the job when his estimates got above $100 billion, saying that after appraisals got that high they became meaningless.

Anyway, this is what remains of our heritage as Americans. It is not exactly a white elephant. Even now the government earns more than $60,000,000 a year from oil and mineral royalties on properties administered by the Bureau of Land Management—only a part of the whole. But the success of the off-shore-oil grab has set a precedent, and here is the next target. Now you can see also what was really behind that often-repeated Republican complaint that the Interior Department under Ickes, Krug, and Chapman became an unconscionable "empire" operated by power-hungry bureaucrats. If the empire can be made to fall, the pickings are going to be very, very lush.

Secretary McKay told the Senators that as yet he had no opinion on the proposal that the public domain ought to be turned over to the states. In response to a number of questions, however, he did give a fair measure of the breadth of his views on the matter. Declaring that he had always been "one of the states'-rights governors," he said, "I don't expect to change my philosophy of government because I go to work for the federal government." He added that "people at the local levels are better able to decide what is better for them than somebody in Washington," and that he personally was not interested in trying to build an empire in the department he now heads. When Senator Daniel of Texas told him that he was delighted to see a good states'-rights man running the Interior Department, McKay replied, "I hope I don't disappoint you."

During the recent political campaign Adlai Stevenson remarked that while he had a high regard for the Republican Presidential nominee he was a good deal disturbed by the one-eyed characters with knives in their teeth who seemed to be swarming over the bulwarks behind him. Well, here they come, after off-shore oil, public power, and the whole public domain. It will take a very stout fight to repel them.

The Purges: Villains and Scapegoats

BY MARK GAYN

Paris

WHAT is the secret of the current Communist purges? Why does Moscow sacrifice its ablest foreign operatives, who have served it so faithfully for decades? Why is it willing to arouse the doubt and anxiety that purges produce in the satellite states? Why does it launch an anti-Semitic drive that will both alienate millions and supply the West with an effective propaganda weapon?

The Communist movement has developed from its "romantic" or "idealistic" stage to its bureaucratic stage. Moscow no longer requires pure faith from its followers. I could name a dozen ex-Nazis, ex-Fascists, and war criminals who have joined one of the East European parties and are now holding key posts in the "people's democracies." Moscow measures the usefulness of a party member today by his loyalty to the Soviet Union and his effectiveness in boosting production. By this yardstick a war criminal released from prison and given a high post in the Hungarian army may be a good Communist, while Rajk and Slansky, who between them had given nearly seventy years to the cause, were traitors.

As viewed from within the Red world, the purges fall into four categories. In the first are those that seek to remove the inner rot I described last week. A Communist government, of course, is a tremendous dispenser of patronage. Matyas Rakosi has put the number of card-holding workers and peasants placed in key posts in Hungary at more than 100,000. In Poland and Czechoslovakia the figure is twice as large. If countless thousands of officials and managers are eliminated, competent replacements are hard to find. I knew a bank president who could barely sign his name and a worker assigned to keep an eye on textbook writers in the Ministry of Education who had not gone beyond primary school.

But a modern state and economy cannot be run on loyalty alone. Thus incompetent officials must be purged. In Hungary two years ago the party discovered that everybody in a certain industry—workers, foremen, managers—was involved in a wholesale wage fraud. Workers and management falsified their reports to show higher production, and of course claimed bonuses. When the figures were added up, the total exceeded the industry's known output. In addition to fraudulent wage claims, there have been health-insurance frauds and frauds in the delivery of grain to the state. The cheating is universal, and the Communists take advantage of it like everybody else.

The standard cure for this inner rot is the surgery of a purge that goes on around the calendar and hits hundreds of thousands of Communists a year. Probably 90 per cent of all purges are of this type. And yet they do not and cannot cure anything. As long as the worker is underpaid and overworked, as long as government functions are performed by a double-decker bureaucracy (party apparatus superimposed on the state), as long as every party boss wields unlimited power, and as long as there is a premium on denunciation, the inner rot must continue.

THE second type of purge aims at erasing every sign of disloyalty, actual or potential. Since intra-party conspiracy is extremely difficult and rare, purges of this kind are directed largely against nationalism, which Moscow regards as the greatest danger to its primacy. By Communist definition, nationalism takes various forms—doubt of Moscow's good intentions, excessive devotion to one's homeland (as in Tito's horrible example), or even faith in the unbreakable unity of the Jewish people—but it is always a dangerous infection, to be burned out mercilessly.

Nationalist deviations have been very much in the Communist mind in the past six months. In several of the Soviet republics, for instance, the party and the secret police have uncovered plots by native writers to glorify ancient fighters for independence or to depict czarist Russia as an aggressor ("this distorts the fact that Russia has always sided with native peoples in their courageous battle against foreign imperialism"). In the satellite countries any half-heartedness in extolling the Soviet Union or in pushing the Russification of the "people's democracies" is promptly branded as a nationalist deviation. And of course Zionism and its Socialist foe, the Jewish Bund, have always been targets of Soviet fire. As Walter Kolarz notes in his well-documented book "Russia and Her Colonies," published recently in the United States by Praeger, Stalin's first long ideological article, Marxism and the National Question, written back in 1913, was largely an attack on the Jewish Bund. Kolarz recalls that even in 1941, when Stalin was wooing Jewish groups abroad, he did not halt his "special little war" on the Bund but executed

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MARK GAYN, author of several books on the Far East, has lived in Europe for the last four years, spending considerable time in the satellite states. This is his second and concluding article on the Communist purges.

two of its outstanding leaders, Erlich and Alter. The creation of Israel, by inspiring nationalist feeling among Russia's Jews, immediately provoked a series of anti-Zionist and sometimes even openly anti-Jewish steps, such as the closing of a Jewish publishing house, the newspaper *Aynikeit*, and the Jewish Theater,

Moscow will not tolerate "divided loyalty." A Kazakh who dreams too much of the ancient glory of his people, a Jew inspired by the re-creation of his ancient state, a Traicho Kostov who tries to get the highest price for Bulgarian tobacco—each is a traitor to the "peace camp" and to the "homeland of socialism." The penalties for such treason are severe. If a thieving factory manager gets seven years in prison, a "bourgeois nationalist" is lucky to escape with his life.

Nationalist deviations provide the most spectacular trials in the satellite countries. Moscow is not content with eliminating persons of doubtful loyalty; it must also make the lesson clear to all. "Bourgeois nationalism" must be shown to be a Western conspiracy, and those guilty of it must be presented as professional spies, saboteurs, and sometimes murderers. Since the men thus blackened have often been top-ranking leaders, it is necessary to explain how this deception could have been carried on for decades. So the explanation is produced. "The enemy," declares Bulgaria's Chervenkov, "cannot always be identified by his bad work. On the contrary, the enemy usually tries to work 'well' and to rise to some responsible post. He works with a long-term objective. He disguises himself, drapes himself in loyalty, votes, does not quarrel, and awaits the decisive moment of difficulty to betray and injure us."

There is every sign that a new set of highly publicized dramatic trials in this category will be staged in the next six months. And Zionism is certain to be one of the villains in the coming war on "bourgeois nationalism." The trial of the "Zionist doctors" in Moscow will have all the trappings of a major propaganda effort. Ana Pauker is yet to be tried in Bucharest, and Zionism will surely sit in the dock with her. Zoltan Vas, for sixteen years a prison comrade of Rakosi himself, may be involved in a "Zionist" trial in Hungary. Many reporters in the West suggest that Moscow's anti-Jewish moves are intended to please the Arab world or the ex-Nazis in Germany. These also may be dividends of which Moscow is not unaware.

THE third type of purge meets the Communist Party's need for scapegoats. Since the party is the absolute master of any country in which it is in power, it must logically be blamed for all failures of judgment and performance from food shortages to wholesale frauds. Thus it searches constantly for villains. Wall Street and Tito are the invariable first choice, joined more recently by the Zionists and "right-wing Social Democrats." In Hungary the last-named have been blamed for the restlessness of the underpaid workers and the failure of the vital coal-mining plan.

But villains and scapegoats must not be vague or remote. They are needed right on the scene, in trembling flesh. In Rumania, where food is in tragically short supply, Foreign Minister Ana Pauker is blamed. In Czechoslovakia, Slansky was held responsible for every economic failure. At a mass-meeting at the Roztoky penicillin plant a microbiologist explained why production had dropped: "One example of Slansky's sabotage here was the building of a boiler house with second-hand material, so that steam capacity would not be sufficient." Almost in the same tone of voice President Gottwald blamed Slansky for the failure of the entire Five-Year Plan. In Hungary, where the scarcities and strains are as great as in any "people's democracy," the responsibility is now being pinned on the Planning Office of the veteran Communist, and Jew, Zoltan Vas.

Trials of this type provide a means not only of dramatizing villainy but of whipping up production. They are always accompanied by an intense campaign "to show the traitors what honest workers can do." It is a proved fact that production soars immediately after each trial, only to dip again when the fear of denunciation and arrest dies down.

The purges which began last summer have still another purpose. Stalin may assure the faithful in his latest theoretical work that the capitalist warmongers are about to start fighting one another. (This is not a new doctrine. General Derevyanko, the Soviet ambassador to Tokyo, told me back in 1946 that the United States and Great Britain were the great rivals in Japan and that the Soviet Union was merely acting as a peacemaker between them.) But Stalin's published views to the contrary, deep concern exists in the Communist world. It is clearly revealed in Moscow's startling discovery, after thirty-six triumphant years, that there is a strain of disloyalty in what *Pravda* customarily calls "the advanced Soviet man" and that purges must be resumed on a large scale. It is seen in the new intensive drive against minority groups afflicted with "bourgeois nationalism." A hint of it is provided by the rumblings in Eastern Europe of a surprising campaign against "pacifism."

As indicated in my first article, the publicized trials are only a part of a great mass purge. And this purge in turn is only a part of a vast plan whose outlines remain vague but which obviously reflects some fundamental—and unpublicized—decisions reached by the

Politburo in Moscow in August or early September, before the party congress in October. The timing may be important. It is interesting to speculate on whether the Moscow decisions were not affected profoundly by the nomination of General Eisenhower. The Communists in Europe made no secret of their preference for Senator Taft for President, less because they counted on his affection than because they expected him to be cool toward continued American involvement in Europe. The views of Eisenhower and Dulles on intensifying the cold war or extending it to Asia must have been studied in Moscow with considerable concern.

In 1947 Moscow created the Cominform as its answer to what it genuinely considered a threat of hostile Western moves in Eastern Europe. If the new purges mark a milestone in Soviet thinking, then they are merely the first of a series of moves. At the moment there is no indication whether Moscow will next appear with an olive branch or a bayonet. It is, I believe, wrong to underestimate Soviet eagerness for some settlement, as expressed in Stalin's replies to James Reston's questions, and it would be folly to reject this overture offhand—as President Eisenhower most certainly did not. But it would be extremely dangerous to underestimate the range of action, pacific or aggressive, open to the Soviet bloc.

My own guess is that Moscow will vigorously press peace moves, partly because they promise to widen the existing gap between Western Europe and Washington, partly because the Communists believe that American morale is low and the Korean war thoroughly unpopular, and partly because they are convinced that a peace move is far more likely to send the American economy into a tailspin than intensified rearmament. Almost exactly six years ago Mao Tse-tung told me that the great American depression was just around the corner. This conviction persists in Moscow as in Peking. Moscow may want to help the depression along by bold peace moves, but no such action on the world scene will halt the trials and purges. Both are part of the Communist system.

Justice in Jersey City

BY WILLIAM MURRAY

"THERE is no question of honesty in Jersey City politics. Either you are in or you are out, and those who are out are only interested in getting back in, where the gravy is thicker." This was the first thing Robert W. Greene, then a young reporter on the *Jersey Journal*, learned in 1949, when he began investigating the local water-front rackets for his newspaper. He also learned that it is dangerous to be honest in Jersey City. A man could go to jail.

When Greene first came to Jersey City from Massachusetts he was astounded by the corruption which seeped down from City Hall and infected all of Hudson County. He discovered that about half the reporters on the *Journal* and the *Observer*, then published separately, were on the city pay roll in one capacity or another. It was not hard to link the corruption along the water front to the benevolent patronage of the city administration.

For nearly three years Greene hammered away in his column at the mobsters and crooked politicians. In 1949 John V. Kenny had been elected mayor on a reform ticket and the Hague regime finally pried out of City Hall. But the voters soon learned that it was only a case of the outs again replacing the ins. The faces changed but the system did not.

Greene discovered that it was easy to get information about the current rackets from the disgruntled members of the old Hague administration, who were naturally annoyed at having been left out of the stealing. One of the angriest was a thug named Frank ("Biffo") De Lorenzo, described by Greene as "a middle-grade moron whose stupidity was matched only by his greed." De Lorenzo and two cronies, Anthony ("Slim") Lucy and Vincent ("Cockeye") Brown, had been profitably engaged in running Local 1247 of the International Longshoremen's Association and were furious when they found themselves muscled out. Greene had reason to hope that "Biffo" could be persuaded to talk, especially about Mayor Kenny's friendships with big-time racketeers like Charles Yanowski.

In September, 1951, Greene became an investigator for the New York Anti-Crime Commission, a private organization which had been delving into water-front crime since March of that year. Meanwhile Mayor Kenny and his administration were in trouble. The public had been jolted out of its apathy by the increasing violence along the water front. Under Hague things had been quieter and more efficient. During one of the strikes which have afflicted the Jersey water front during the past three years Hague commented to a shipping-company official, "Kenny likes his cabbage. He's trying to get in four years what it took me thirty-two to get." Hague had known how to control the mobs. Under Kenny gangsters were dropping hand grenades into

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WILLIAM MURRAY, known to Nation *readers for his dispatches from Italy, recently returned to this country.*

meetings all over town, and the disturbances were seriously inconveniencing the citizenry. Questions began to be asked about Mayor Kenny's past relations with Yanowski, one of the more aggressive gangsters infesting New Jersey. Unfortunately Yanowski himself was unavailable. On July 16, 1948, his corpse had been found on an empty lot in the town of Clifton. The gangster had been stabbed twelve times with a pointed instrument, probably an ice pick.

In the summer of 1951 the Kenny administration appointed a grand jury to investigate the situation. It was headed by Charles F. Davis, who was campaign treasurer for Kenny in 1949 and whose brother Alfred is Hudson County elections commissioner and a district leader in Kenny's political organization. This unprejudiced jury spent eighteen months fiddling while Jersey City burned.

Meanwhile Greene had persuaded the unhappy "Biffo" to talk about Mayor Kenny and Yanowski, but the mobster wanted $5,000 in cash and three $100 suits as payment. Greene explained to him that as an investigator he could not make such an agreement, but "Biffo" knew that some of the other disgruntled hoodlums who had been squeezed out of the new order would be willing to pay in order to get Kenny. At one point "Biffo" held out for $100 a week for the rest of his life and five suits.

While Greene waited impatiently for these macabre negotiations to end, somebody in the Kenny administration apparently got wind of the project. Somehow "Biffo" was persuaded to frame Greene through a tapped telephone conversation as bribing the gangster to testify against the Mayor. On December 5 the Kenny-Davis grand jury indicted Greene for "being an evil-disposed person wickedly devising and intending unjustly to deprive one John V. Kenny of his good name" and also "injure him in the practice of his trade and business." The indictment does not specify just what "trade and business" Mayor Kenny is in. It was the only indictment of any consequence which the grand jury returned; earlier it had indicted three men for stealing coffee beans and the unpopular Mr. "Biffo" De Lorenzo, the chief witness against Greene, for perjury.

A few weeks ago "Biffo" died of a "heart attack." He was embalmed and buried with remarkable speed. A witness claims that he was tucked safely underground two hours after his death. His convenient demise means that Greene will not be able to tell what he knows in court, since the case rested solely on "Biffo's" testimony. And it will enable Mayor Kenny to claim, as he is already doing, that Greene is a tool of the Hague organization. This will undoubtedly be Kenny's line during the election campaign next May. He hopes, too, that it will enable him to discredit all the evidence Greene has supplied the New York State Crime Commission now investigating the water front. Of course if Kenny loses the election there is always Hague. Perhaps in Jersey City no one is clean.

POINT 4—AFTER FOUR YEARS

World Action on a World Task

BY STRINGFELLOW BARR

THE first three articles of this series have told a story. I believe it is the most important political story that can be told for Americans of our generation. Most Americans have never heard it, even though it is of life-and-death importance that they should hear it.

Paul A. Baran reported on what has happened to "Point Four" and the billions we Americans have spent —almost all of it bilaterally, not through the United Nations—on the assumption that our money was helping our neighbors to help themselves. Peter Weiss told the really melancholy, and I think one should add disgraceful, story of how Washington has systematically blocked all efforts to do this job through the United Nations, while protesting to the American people that the U. N. is the cornerstone of our foreign policy. W. Arthur Lewis, as a member of the U. N. committee set up to study the problems of world-wide misery, quietly presented the committee's reasons for recommending the joint international action which Washington has consistently rejected.

I think the issue can be briefly summarized. The Charter of the United Nations, which our government signed, calls for political and military cooperation in the Security Council and for economic cooperation in the Economic and Social Council. We insisted on the former and have to all intents and purposes refused the latter. We have tried to persuade the other members of the U. N. to give us more than token support in Korea, though in very few cases have we succeeded. On the economic front we are going it alone. And going it alone has inevitably made economic aid take second place to

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STRINGFELLOW BARR, author of the recently published "Citizens of the World" and other books, is president of the Foundation for World Government. This article concludes a series on economic aid for underdeveloped countries.

the cold war, to rearmament, and to stockpiling. It has just as inevitably caused us to hope that somehow private investment could rehabilitate the world's vast slum areas. This has opened a chasm between us Americans and the slum dwellers, has made them look like cannon fodder to us, and has made us look like the builders of the newest empire to them. It has made us insist stridently that communism is the world's most urgent problem; and that is a proposition which the hungry, diseased, despised inhabitants who form the bulk of "the free world" will not buy.

Mr. Weiss made it clear where the log jam is, although the average American, a good neighbor and filled with good-will, has never heard of it. It lies in the persistent clamor of the "underdeveloped countries" for an International Development Authority, capable of attacking frontally what our neighbors are convinced is really the world's most urgent problem, a problem which neither private enterprise nor even the United States Treasury can conceivably solve.

THERE is a formidable world revolution in progress, quite independent of communism. It is a revolution against unnecessary misery; and by refusing to join our neighbors in attacking it we are steadily forcing them into the Communists' arms. By refusing to join we are forcing our neighbors to smile at our defense of the free world against the Communist monster and to diagnose us as one great power looking for allies to help it smash another great power. Last year six "friendly" non-Communist governments embarrassingly refused to let us assist them. In Western Europe we scarcely turn our backs to elect a President before our NATO allies begin scaling down rearmament. Going it alone economically looks more and more like going it alone militarily if and when the storm breaks. This is not a picture of a successful foreign policy.

Perhaps our foreign policy is not successful because it does not appeal to foreigners—a very grave criticism of any foreign policy. Maybe, to get one that did we should have to make it with them instead of for them. Maybe "leadership" involves, not laying it on the line, or getting tough, or threatening to cut off people's allowances, but listening—listening to the people one proposes to lead. But if we started listening, it is already certain what we should hear: "Let's get together and jointly attack our common problem, the problem of a sick world economy." That would restate the Point Four problem as primarily a U. N. problem. Instead of issuing orders and then picking up the check, we would pay dues in proportion to our national wealth, which means our dues would be the biggest. Most certainly, having paid our dues, we would have to risk being outvoted. And our recent policy has been to make no large contributions to an agency we do not control. I believe the American people, if they knew the facts, would insist on no such unreasonable and undemocratic policy. I believe they could persuade the Congress to stop insisting on it.

But how? I can conceive of no way except the hard way which we American liberals have now for several years been dodging. The fact is, we just hate homework. We prefer action; and for action—provided you are not too choosy about long-term results—slogans suffice. But the problem this series has dealt with will not, I suspect, be solved by slogans; nor even, I fear, by "putting pressure on Congress." The point is, there are too many things the Congress can do that look like what ought to be done but are not. For instance, I judge that the average American cannot distinguish between sending a team of technicians into a country and finding the capital to do the things the technicians are bound in common professional honesty to advise. Some of them cost a lot of money, and some of them, though happily not all, are not self-liquidating—at least, not from the point of view of a bank, certainly not the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Again, I judge that the average American cannot distinguish between bilateral aid from Washington, or perhaps Washington working "through" the U. N., and an international agency responsible to the U. N. though financed by national contributions. But the underdeveloped countries can make that distinction—and do.

I make these judgments because I have made the experiment personally of discussing the problem with my fellow-citizens from lecture platforms, in articles, in pamphlet form, and most recently in book form. On the one hand, the response has overwhelmed me by its volume and its note of excitement. On the other, I have been alarmed by the frequency with which I met the premature cry: "Let's go!" Would that we could! Unhappily, there is much to be thought through before we go—if we expect to get any place.

In brief, I simply do not believe that what we liberals are short on is energy. I think we are short on ideas. The problem we are discussing is indeed political, but it will not be solved by politics. It will have to be solved by statesmanship—which, it is true, includes political maneuver, when the time is ripe for maneuver. Living in the atomic age, we have been trying to solve our political problems at jet speeds. But the world revolution that has posed our problem will not be solved without a revolution in our thinking. And that revolution has not taken place.

We American liberals have become increasingly concerned about the steady erosion of civil rights, particularly freedom of speech, by the cold war. But we run the constant risk of demanding freedom of speech in order that we may speak freely—about freedom of speech. We should be speaking freely—come hell, high water, smear, or prison—about mankind's most desperate problem. We should be demanding a solution more relevant to history than either "the American way" or the Russian way. We should be seeking the world way.

We could do it by every device we know—lecture, study group, reading list, article, and book. I know by experience that this is a subject that cannot be censored out. It interests Americans too much. But we could also "learn by doing"—a good old American habit. For example, recently a group of young American men and women of college age organized the International Development Placement Association, to help their contemporaries to find useful work in underdeveloped countries, work in native villages at local wages. They have opened an office in New York; they have started collecting the necessary funds from people with money who see the point; they have screened applicants; they have begun to send out their first workers, to Africa and Asia.

It is clear that with the best of luck this will only dent a massive problem. But as these young people come back home, more and more Americans are going to size up the real problem and relate themselves to it humanly. And there are literally scores of other spontaneous efforts all over the United States to get moving on the problem that Washington has muffed. "Action" of this kind, and not premature lobbying by lonely, heartsick liberals, is what can eventually force Washington out of its phony "realism" and put it in touch with people again. It is constructive action in which the simplest citizen can play a role. It is legal action, but it is popular and does not try to lean on a government in Washington which at the moment is not morally strong enough to be leaned on. Meanwhile, there is no use asking Washington to get the point so long as we liberals don't know the score ourselves.

The Doomed Valley

BY EDGAR PERRY

Albuquerque, New Mexico

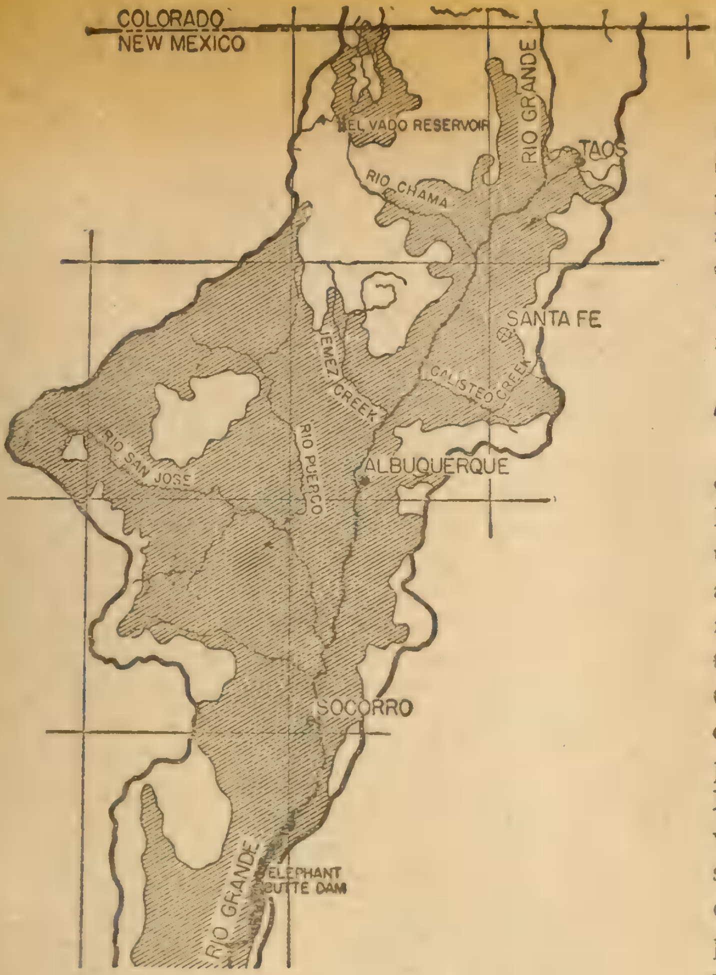
IF YOU build a dam in the arid Southwest to store water, it will be considered a laudable enterprise but not particularly newsworthy. Citizens of the region had constructed irrigation systems long before the coming of the Spanish conquistadors. But if the dam is to store mud, that is something else. And the chief purpose of a $63,000,000 reclamation project in progress in the Rio Grande Valley in New Mexico is to control the tide of silt inexorably rolling down over this, the oldest agricultural valley in the United States. Considered by itself, the project might still fall short of newsworthiness, since it will affect less than 100,000 acres of farm land and only some 200,000 people, rural and urban. But the thing that is happening here is happening throughout the West, from the foothills of the Rockies to the Pacific and from the Mexican border to Canada. In nearly 40 per cent of the land area of the country the same forces are at work that have already made the Rio Grande a "doomed valley."

This particular project is designed to "save" what is generally spoken of as the middle Rio Grande Valley, a relatively short and very narrow section beginning several miles above Albuquerque, where the river emerges from a lava gorge, and extending to the Elephant Butte Reservoir, a distance of some 140 miles by road. White settlement of the region began when the Spanish explorer Oñate planted a colony at the confluence of the Rio Grande and the Rio Chama in 1598. The land was fertile, irrigation water was abundant, and the climate was warm and healthful. The valley filled with people. After the United States subdued the hostile Indians, new settlers spread out into the foothills and grazed their stock on the abundant range.

Then sometime in the past century it was noticed that a peculiar thing was happening to the farm land along the river. Water started creeping up to the surface from below. Gradually the lower spots became marshes, unfit for cultivation. Adobe houses, which owe their solidity to the dry climate, got their feet wet in the rising water table and melted away. The trouble was that silt was piling up in the river bed, raising it above the level of the surrounding valley. As more and more silt came down the river's tributaries and was stranded in the slower-flowing main stream, the amount of tillable land steadily decreased. By 1924 it had shrunk to 40,000 acres, less than a third of what it had been. At the same time the river took to overflowing in spring, making it necessary to build dykes. In 1920 a great flood broke through the dykes, inundated 35,000 acres of valley land, and stood in the streets of Albuquerque.

The situation became so acute that in 1927 the middle

EDGAR PERRY served with the National Forest Service for many years and is a frequent contributor to the Journal of Forestry *and other publications.*



Middle Section of the Rio Grande Watershed
Shaded portion shows critical erosion areas

valley's residents were moved to bond themselves to the tune of $10,000,000 to build a system of dykes and drainage ditches. The tillable acreage was restored to 93,000 acres, but the remedy was strictly palliative. It did not touch the source of the trouble.

Where does the mud come from that threatens to ruin this pleasant, fertile valley? And what started the tide? There is no doubt about its origin; it is the soil that long lay undisturbed on the 24,000 square miles of the river's drainage area, and in the opinion of the various conservation agencies at any rate, the cause of the movement is clear. They figure that it can hardly be mere coincidence that the soil began coming down as the watershed was occupied by the white man with his grazing animals, his ax, plow, and torch.

The deep gullies, the familiar arroyos of the Southwest, winding for miles up tributary valleys which within the memory of people still living were grassy swales, are of course largely the result of the overcutting of timber, overgrazing, and fire. The soil conservationists have plenty of evidence to prove that when slopes are covered with vegetation, water from rain and snow sinks into the soil, emerging later in the stream channels in the form of springs. When the hills have been denuded, the water runs off the surface, carrying the soil with it and cutting gullies when it becomes concentrated in the stream channels.

At present the bed of the Rio Grande where the river runs through the city of Albuquerque is several feet higher than the downtown streets and is rising every year. As the bed rises, the dykes become less adequate, and every spring the citizens shiver in apprehension until the flood season is past. At the same time the expensive drainage system installed to carry off the water is being nullified, and the tillable land is again shrinking.

THE accumulation of mud in the middle valley has caused serious damage far beyond that short stretch of the river. In 1915 the great Elephant Butte Dam at the lower end of the middle valley began to store water for use in southern New Mexico, Texas, and old Mexico. It also stored the silt carried down by the river, which was not bad as long as the silt went out into the lake and settled to the bottom. But within a few years a delta began to build up at the head of the lake. In the late summer of 1929 an unseasonal flood broke over the banks at that point and completely obliterated the village of San Marcial. Today the mud lies twenty feet deep where the village once stood, and the surrounding swamp covers sixty square miles. It is overgrown with salt cedar and other worthless vegetation which thirstily drinks up the precious water and transpires it into the atmosphere, where it is lost forever. Other swamp areas have been formed at various points along the river, and it is estimated by the engineers that together they waste 238,000 acre feet of water annually, enough to irrigate 50,000 acres of crop land.

This situation has got the middle valley into very bad odor with people below Elephant Butte Dam, all the way to the Gulf of Mexico. Under a compact between the states using Rio Grande water and a treaty with Mexico the middle valley is allotted a proportion of the river's water sufficient for its needs and must let the rest flow into the reservoir. The loss due to the silt beds is charged against the valley's allotment, and in consequence the valley has run into debt to its neighbors downstream. The debt has now reached such a size that the valley is asked to quit using water entirely until it is reduced, an obviously impossible requirement. The state of Texas has recently filed suit in federal court to have the matter adjudicated. One item of the new reclamation program is to dredge a channel through the delta at the head of the reservoir, called by the engineers the San Marcial plug, and allow the water, together with its burden of silt, to pass on into the lake. The silt will eventually fill up the lake, but it will be out of the way for the time being.

This silting up of reservoirs is a very serious problem. The McMillan Reservoir on the Pecos River, a tributary of the Rio Grande, is for all practical purposes full of mud after only thirty-four years of use. To replace it, Alamogordo Reservoir has been built farther up the Pecos, but it too is silting up at a rate that will make it useless in about forty-five years. The silt traps being constructed in the new middle Rio Grande project are expected to fill in about fifty years. Moreover, dams which have been rendered useless cannot always be replaced. Not only is the cost great, but acceptable reservoir sites are scarce, and most of the good ones have already been taken.

In its three-volume report on the nation's water situation published in 1950, the President's Water Resources Policy Commission recommended engineering works to save the Rio Grande Valley for the time being but recognized that only more far-seeing practices by the residents of the watershed would prevent its ultimate ruin. The United States Bureau of Reclamation and the Army Engineers, after making independent surveys, arrived at the same conclusion.

The one thing that limits all economic development in the West is water. Millions of acres of fertile land lie idle because there is no water for irrigation. Cities grow to the limit of their water supply. Lack of water forbids extensive industrial development, though the region has abundant raw materials. So nothing can be allowed to interfere with the most efficient possible use of every drop of water that falls.

"Watershed management" is a term on everyone's tongue, but there is a great diversity of opinion as to what it means. One school of thought insists on complete elimination of livestock grazing, timber cutting, and most other human activities on watersheds; another, called the "tin roof" school, holds that the quicker the water gets down to the reservoirs where it can be watched, the better—never mind about denudation. In between are the moderates, backed by the scientists of the agricultural colleges and the Department of Agriculture, who see timber and grass as crops which if properly managed can be grown and harvested perpetually without damage to the watersheds.

The conservative-use idea is proving a little hard to sell in some quarters—witness the current struggle between the United States Forest Service and the big stockmen. The Forest Service is trying to reduce the number of animals on the forest ranges to what they consider the safe, year-in-year-out carrying capacity of the forage. The stockmen, many of whom feel they have acquired some degree of freehold in the forest ranges through long use, are putting up a stiff resistance, arguing that there is not sufficient evidence that livestock are responsible for the widespread erosion.

The West is waking up to the menace of the mud, however, and the conservation agencies are confident that it will soon go all out for watershed protection. Too much is at stake for it to do otherwise. The Rio Grande Valley offers a perfect example of what happens when corrective measures are too long delayed. It is an expensive example, but it will be worth the cost if it drives home the lesson.

Proposals for Peace—VI

BY LEON JOUHAUX

THE struggle for peace is the oldest tradition of the working class. Since the formation of the International Workingmen's Association in 1864, the first international, the workers' movement has always placed action for peace among its foremost objectives. As early as 1914, acting on the initiative of the A. F. of L., we began to formulate the social purpose of a just peace. At the international workers' conferences at Leeds, at London, and at Berne was born Part XIII of the Treaty of Peace, the point of departure for the great work of the International Labor Office. In spite of all the dissensions of the working class, so much desired formerly by the Red International and at present by those who take their orders from Russia, the workers are the primary force for peace.

Now, after the Second World War, we find that the voice of the working class and, in general, that of the world's peoples is being less and less heeded by governments. We seem to forget the truth, evident though it may be, that social progress and economic cooperation are the real foundations of peace. Let us establish prosperity effectively in the non-Soviet world, let us apply and broaden the great principles of individual liberty, and we shall soon see that communism will lose its attraction for the masses and that the prospect for peace will improve.

Likewise will disappear that mood of resignation which seeks a solution in neutralism and in the passivity of the mere onlooker, a mood that spells inaction in the presence of danger and—suicide.

But we must act quickly, for the situation is constantly growing more serious. That is why we have created "La Democratie Combattante," a world-wide movement for peace, social progress, and the rights of man. Our aim is to give confidence to the masses and to re-create popular enthusiasm for the U. N.

Ours is a vast movement which will be able to opposed effectively the mendacious demagogy of the Communist "Partisans of Peace" and give to millions of citizens a rallying point. In the last analysis it is not so much a new program that we need as a "will to action" and an organization to bring together the scattered people of good-will. The battle cannot be won unless the various peoples of the world work together; peace can be preserved only by the peoples.

[Léon Jouhaux, French trade-union leader, is president of the Force Ouvrière and vice-chairman of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.]

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

POEMS - - - BY CHARLES G. BELL

Songs for a New America

1. We rise by the water; all things begin in the sea,
The formless mother, but of such melting beauty,
She draws at the land's heart forever. We
Are climbing in air; look, the bay and city
Wheel beneath us. That girl holding the lamp,
Timid in style, is a foreign freedom.
But here and higher we have put our stamp
All over the rock island of Manhattan.
Here is our Liberty, a daring thing
Of abstract line without face or feature,
Catching the dawn at the tip of the banking wing,
This beauty no man planned, clean beyond nature,
A crystal of explosive energy—
And this is our land, tall over the shifting sea.

2. We are crossing the Susquehanna. Right about here,
In a farmhouse by the woods I know a man
Who lives as his fathers did. As far as he can
He keeps away from the city. He dips the clear
Water from his own spring. There is virgin timber—
Oaks and enormous hemlocks—in his ravine;
And he has planted all his hills with pine.
He gathers maple sap in the snows of winter,
Makes beautiful furniture, and carves and weaves,
And fashions with wrought iron at his forge.
He is a Quaker, as honest as his streams.
He has no radio, and when new roads
Appear in the forest, and drab frames
Spread from the city, he returns to his hearth and grieves.

3. For myself, I think we have gone past
Nature—as past the ridges and cut-over woods
Of the dwarfed Alleghenies, where the roads
Are winding as they climb, and the mired rivers
Bend down to the plain through hills they sever.
Out in the central valleys in an hour,
We have run through a hundred years and more
Of the opening of the West. Here by the Lakes
The midland cities stand, and one that takes
Our breath with boldness as we bank and lower—
Brute and butcher, yet you of the wind's towers,
Chicago, is this curse of earth and air
And water, this rearward ugliness the cost
Of every embodied dream and act of power?

4. Over miles of tenements we are settling wings
Through the gray air. I do not even descend.
Against the danger of the forward vision
Familiar voices call and roads beckon.
And what love draws us on? Quiet in the plane
I close my eyes until we resume the lane
Where flight commences. Wait. And again we feel
That great acceleration like a hand
Pressing us into our seats. The gaunt earth reels,
With a last bound drops behind, and we are things
Of the air. Brief separation. Yet we must dream
It could protract itself, be in our command
So easily to break from the old stem
And leave this shadowed limb of the sad land.

5. The diminishing city vaguely splotched with sun
Withdraws under the mist; we roar head on
Into a luminous bank of cloud, a thin
Shell of brightness. Then we break out above
Over the clear expanse rippled with tints
Of rose and blue and the melting purple, as in
A rainbow, colors in light, and fresh and new.
Over this blindingness the map as we move
Marks where the centers lie, the dynamic engines,
Hearts that are traffic in the noontime canyons.
Here, imperceptibly heaving in the winds,
With the quiet breathing of a peaceful thing,
Under its mottled cover—all one great pearl
Of rounding beauty—sleeps the terrible world.

6. Past the Mississippi the clouds are breaking,
Making way. The first rifts are like shadows
Of such deep blue you think them darker cloud.
Then in the glimpses golden lands are shaping,
Stubble and corn, the patterned fields of yellow,
Along the winding streams by the fall-flecked woods,
Tender through the last mist and dissolving scud:—
This earth again. Welcome stranger. It was good
Almost being parted from you. You are one
We have loved too deeply, too much counted on,
Lovers so young, each has betrayed the other.
Now the clouds are gone. Incredibly wide you discover
Your goods beneath us. And always love will burn
Through the sweetness of parting, this sweet return.

7. The great brown Missouri and the shallow Platte—
Following the last, a dry stream in a prairie,
We go up over fields of harvested wheat.
Brown fingers of rock erosion are reaching back
Into the ruled tables. Frightening the very
Expanse and marginal slipping into waste.
A damned-up lake is a blue promise in the vast.
These men live under the weathering rocks
Where the flat mudstone tilts and breaks

To the old outcrop of the Laramie peaks.
They are always gambling on the cold and heat,
Cycles of the sun and rain, and all their hope,
Under the giant sky, is rooted between
The dust and dust, in a little moment of green.

8. Over the broken teeth of the Wasatch range
We reach the dead center—that sudden dropping away
To the salt basin of an exhausted sea
Shimmering in the heat. This mineral plain
Is not of our spoilage. Nature left it drained
Before we entered. Now the whole cycle has changed.
From that irriguous ground and granite temple
A new leader rallies his wavering people:
"We are men singled out by destiny
To a high calling. What an age is ours.
It is the coming of our fathers' dream,
This hope and trial of which the weak complain."
Here caught in the rush of mind the desert flowers.
We build as we destroy, consummately.

9. Much of this country is more of the moon than earth.
For the pioneers it was days and weeks, trekking
The salt-flats, range on range of heart-breaking
Desert. Strange they went on. But they made a path
Upward, there where the last rocky spur
Juts to the high Sierra—pine and fir
And the orange clumps of aspen as they verge
On the bluest round of a lake, its water stirred
By mountain winds, the cold Tahoe. Then the shelving
Valleys plunging in the sky's flame down
To the Sacramento. The naked hills are scored
As with rivers of fire; they shine like burnished bronze.
Here in the valley where the wild light is poured,
In goblets of wheat and vine we drink the god sun.

10. The fog comes rolling in from the long Pacific;
The redwoods tower in the mist where we go down;
Their needles drip into the columned gloom;
The white-skinned eucalyptus are swaying and weeping.
Over the warm hills and bay the fog dissolving
Lets rainbow light play through. Long sunset rays
Touch the mirrored shores glimpsed through the haze
Golden as dream, a melting hieroglyphic
Of all our temporal lands. So cloud and rain
Close the curtain, as banking we descend—
Cycles of rise and fall—where crashing waves,
As slow as heavy, gather weight and pound
The splintered granite of the coast range:—O land,
O cities; and down to the salt sea again.

The Problem of Hope

THE ZONE OF INDIFFERENCE. By Robert Strausz-Hupé. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.75.

PERHAPS I did not pay attention, but it seems to me that Robert Strausz-Hupé's "The Zone of Indifference," published last October, received shockingly little notice. It is one of the wisest and best-informed discussions of the issue between Europe and America that I have encountered.

Mr. Strausz-Hupé is profoundly influenced by Spengler. In fact, he is a good example of that moderately rare person for whom Spengler means not parallel charts of decay but an insight into what makes a culture coherent. Fully aware of how much Spengler's scholarship has been discredited, Mr. Strausz-Hupé insists that the critics have thrown out the baby with the bath—the baby being the concept of culture. From this historical perspective he focuses on the present contrast, and tension, between America (which has survived by grace) and Europe (a generation ago the center of world power, now the debated ground) with a rich comprehension of both their characters, of their distinct and yet common heritage.

If Western European culture is to endure, it must remain whole; it can remain whole only so long as the dialogue between the two segments continues. If the time ever comes when they can no longer speak to each other, or when America reduces Europe to silence and obsequiousness, the culture is ended. For Americans to keep up their part requires, much more than arms and tanks, a realization of what has happened to Europe, what Mr. Strausz-Hupé calls "the alienation of the Social Mind"—the slackening of cooperative drives, the disillusionment of the masses with "traditional society," the basically *moral* failure of a culture which, though it had the immense resources of the Greek, Roman, and Judaic tradition behind it, lost itself in the sands of bureaucracy (he is especially pungent—and terrifying—on the subject of bureaucracy).

But then comes, as he sees it, the appalling fact that the America which now sustains the tottering structure is itself being transformed into a bureaucracy. Just as this country has triumphantly demonstrated the feasibility of a great middle class and effectively refuted every premise of Marxist theory, it too elects to follow the curve of European rigidity, and settles into a hierarchy of military and political gradations. At a moment when America might, indeed, have provided a regenerating vision of the future, it offers only a dismal reminder of Europe's past.

As for solutions, there are, he argues, two alternatives. America may take over Europe, administer it, and finally reduce it to provinces, as Rome did Greece. The horror is that this is a perfectly feasible program. The other possibility is "the reintegration of the Western community," which would require a subordination of political and military strategy to moral considerations, call for a reconciliation of the peoples of Europe to the traditional society, and impose upon America a live-and-let-live philosophy. Otherwise, if America supposes that Europe will take up arms and fight to the death in defense of a hollow concept of "Western culture," America is launched upon a disastrous adventure.

In many quarters of this country European "neutralism" is regarded as a self-evident sin against the Holy Ghost. Every report, especially of recent months, shows that it is not thus to be conjured away. From the evidence of this book no one can accuse Mr. Strausz-Hupé of underestimating the danger to Western culture of a Russian onslaught, but there is a more pressing danger—that America will not comprehend how the political and social ideologies Europeans profess are still meaningful only "within the context of the issue of neutralism." The author no doubt has his crotchets, but the fascination of the book is to watch this enlightened Spenglerian struggle with the problem of hope. "The destiny of man and of peoples," he moralizes, "is death"; yet he concludes in resolute optimism that as long as the Western schism is not swept into an absolute rift, the West is not released from the burden of responsibility.

The American reader will comprehend, after reading this book, his own exasperation with the inferiority complex of modern Europe; I know no better work to bring home to him his responsibility for growing into a maturity sufficient for the control and even the sublimation of that legitimate emotion. PERRY MILLER

A Great Spaniard

UNAMUNO. By Arturo Barea. Yale University Press. $2.50.

TWO Spanish philosophers in contemporary life have interested and baffled foreign observers. One is José Ortega y Gasset, now dividing his time between Madrid and Lisbon. The other is Miguel de Unamuno, who died at the end of 1936 and who still attracts both controversy and acclaim.

This is not the place to embark on a comparison of the merits or the influence wielded by the two men. Only when Ortega is gone and the body of his work stands completed, can a scholar and critic sit down to that fascinating task. Toward that end Arturo Barea has in his interesting study provided a partial and preliminary study of the older of the two. It will not satisfy *aficionados* of the grand old man, but its author is quite aware that this is only a first attempt to cut away underbrush and set clearly and sympathetically the more obvious foundation posts for a critical biography.

Unamuno, born in Bilbao in 1873, was a philosopher, a teacher, a novelist, a poet, an essayist, a critic of political regimes. He was all of these at once, and no one of these terms is adequate to describe the impact he made on his country and his time. So passionately

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had he lived, so determined was his onslaught on factors in Spanish life which seemed to him destructive, that by the time he was fifty he loomed as one of the elder giants.

It is only in the light of his background and his accomplishment that his curious and tragic role in the Spanish war can be understood. Barea tells the outlines of the story. Unamuno, who had regarded with horror certain practical aspects of the republic for which he had hoped so much, was rector of Salamanca University when the war broke. He declared himself in favor of the military rebellion which made headquarters there, "not because he shared the ideas of the fascists but because he hoped that the movement would save Spain from the mass rule which was his nightmare, and revive 'the living tradition'." Three months later, his eyes opened by the war's course, he rose to speak against the generals. He was relieved of his post at once and died at the end of the year.

The legend, which Barea does not tell, is that a friend coming to offer New Year greetings found him lying in his chair, feet stretched to the fire, and one shoe slowly charring. His last months were spent under house guard, but shortly before his death he was allowed to see a Dutch journalist. Some people suspect that his presence became too embarrassing to Franco to be tolerated, but though rumors of poison persist they have not to the knowledge of this reviewer been substantiated. He was an old, frail veteran of many battles. It seems much more fitting that he should have left life by the sheer force of his will as a final, victorious protest against the intolerable conditions which had mounted around him.

BAREA stresses Unamuno's life-long struggle against man's unique enemy, the extinction that comes with death. This is the core of his philosophic inquiry, the live coal that gave all his work its force. In that struggle he doubled on his tracks like a fox under hot pursuit. Writing, speaking, thinking, his fight was for the power of the individual in a world which threatened with growing force to crush the individual. To Barea's mind "he achieved what he wanted to achieve; there is no thinking Spaniard who has not, wittingly or unwittingly, felt the influence of Unamuno's goading, stimulating, irritating, and humbling thought. A thinker who teaches how to turn conflict, contradiction, and despair into a source of strength has something to give to men of this age." Now that he is gone, those contradictions which were so difficult to understand from the outside fall into their proper perspective.

But Barea errs in this—it was not the "how" that Unamuno taught but the "what." His way of turning "conflict, contradiction, and despair into a source of strength" might not be another's way. It is the fact that he did it which is all-important. Consider his Spain, the paucity of his formal education, the material difficulties against which he had to struggle, the power of his mind and of the prejudices that tried to chain it—then measure his achievement against those. In a day and a country like ours, in which material aids are easy while the exercise of moral courage is doubly hard, that achievement becomes both an inspiration and a challenge. We would do well to heed it.

MILDRED ADAMS

An Indispensable Source

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Volume VI: 21 May, 1781, to 1 March, 1784. Edited by Julian P. Boyd; Mina R. Bryan and Elizabeth L. Hutter, Associate Editors. Princeton University Press. $10.

THE common reader is not likely to be attracted by an expensive and voluminous edition of Jefferson's writings and related documents edited for the use of scholars and "so comprehensive in scope and so accurate in presentation that the work will never need to be done again." "The Papers of Thomas Jefferson" will be a formidable work, and so is any one volume of it. It is not to be recommended for casual reading.

Yet I hope that every reader of this notice will try the "Papers" for himself. The reward will be rich for anyone who brings to the business a slight amount of background knowledge, a little imagination, and a sense of what to skip. Jefferson is in these volumes as he is nowhere else, and it is necessary to keep in touch with him, for it is still true as it was in Lincoln's time that "the principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of a free society."

As statesman and writer he is our great protagonist of political, religious, and intellectual freedom, and those three freedoms are so interrelated that we would do well to consider them, as he did, inseparable. We shall not have any one of them for long unless we have the others. And it is in the nature of things that the fight for freedom never ends, for freedom can be kept only by exercising it and extending it. Jefferson's intuitive understanding of the nature of freedom has never been surpassed, and he was extraordinarily sensitive to every form of attack on it, however covert it might be. He is still our ally in the unending campaign, and that is why every least detail of his thought and activity is significant.

There are other reasons also for studying the "Papers." They are one of the chief sources for our knowledge of the Revolutionary period of our history, and Jefferson himself, if one could consider him apart from his great, never-forgotten idea, would still be one of the most interesting personalities that America has produced.

Volume VI of the "Papers" begins with the last fortnight of Jefferson's governorship of Virginia and closes before he had finished his second period of service in the Continental Congress. If it thus lacks a proper Aristotelian beginning and end, it makes up for the deficiency by an abundance of rich middle. For the historian the value of this volume lies in the fact that it will enable him to see certain events more clearly, in greater detail, than before.

THE UNPROFESSIONAL reader will find much else to enjoy. The turbulent life of the time animates these pages, although it is seldom reported directly. Events are usually seen by reflection. As a minor example: On June 4, 1781, Tarleton's force raided Charlottesville and Monticello in an attempt to capture what was left of the legislature and Jefferson himself, who had retired the day before from the office of governor. Warned in time, Jefferson sent his family and guests to safety and, trusting to his knowledge of the terrain, did not leave Monticello until the raiding party was in sight. Here is how Jefferson reports the incident: "The alarm which took place on the day succeeding my exit from office prevented my depositing with you the public papers in my hands. I now transmit them by express. The labels on them were true formerly; but in preparing for flight I shoved in papers where I could." That's all, for Jefferson ignored every opportunity to dramatize himself.

Although he is seldom off-stage for more than a page or two, his supporting company is numerous and diverting. This volume includes letters from eighty-three of his individual correspondents, eminent or obscure. The editors promise to provide us eventually with a Biographical Register; it will not be the least interesting volume of the whole work. The bigwigs—Washington, Franklin, Lafayette, Greene, Steuben, Benjamin Rush, the two James Madisons, and many another—are self-explaining, or largely so; but there is a fascinating batch of little-knowns and unknowns whose personalities break through their writing with engaging clarity. But who are they? How one would like to know whence they came, where they went, and how Jefferson happened to meet them!

There is, to take one, the Chevalier D'Anmours, a charming man, whose letter introducing Colonel Ternant is a model of what such things should be. One would like to catch more than this single glimpse of him, and one hopes that his was a kindlier fate than awaited so many Frenchmen of his class. Then there is a letter from the sprightly Francis Hopkinson, in which content and form are so at one that the editors had to reproduce it in collotype, mere print being inadequate. And there are various Virginians, discoverers of strange bones, owners of albino Negroes, explorers of Western rivers, experts in Indian speech and lore. They are not practiced hands when it comes to letter-writing, but they manage to get themselves across, and they are happy to give Mr. Jefferson, still adding to his "Notes on Virginia," any information he may desire. A goodly company: the 25,000 letters addressed to Jefferson are one of the grand features of the "Papers."

As for Jefferson himself, we see him in the depths of humiliation over the abortive "inquiry" into his administration, writing the famous "Notes," embodying his recent experiences in a new model constitution for Virginia, nursing his wife through her last illness, wrestling in solitude with an overwhelming grief, returning to public life for a second period of service in the Continental Congress, where—a few months after the end of this volume—he brought to a conclusion a decade of brilliant statesmanship.

GEORGE GENZMER

Vision Versus Facts

MAKE THE U. N. EFFECTIVE—FOR PEACE. By John Bauer. Richard R. Smith. $2.50.

DR. BAUER'S intentions are good, and it is a pity that he has not devoted his considerable talents to a study of practical steps by which the United Nations can be made more effective. Essentially his proposal is [redacted] stripped-down version of World Federalism; he would have a new-model United Nations give guaranties against interference with any nation's internal or international affairs, but national armaments would be prohibited and the U. N. itself would have its own armed forces at its command to carry out its pledges against aggression.

To point out that this is not a practical program is the height of understatement. Can anyone seriously propose, now or in the foreseeable future, that the United States should eliminate its own armed forces and rely exclusively upon the guaranties of the U. N.? Can anyone believe that the Soviet Union would consider such a program for itself? Dr. Bauer's proposals are as impracticable as those of the World Federalists, but at least they see that it is useless to talk about a super-world organization unless it has power to restrain the national rivalries that have caused wars in the past and will continue to do so unless the U. N. can be made strong enough to enforce the peace and simultaneously to remove the underlying causes of war. Nor should it be forgotten that the U. N. Charter envisaged the creation of an international force similar to that advocated by Dr. Bauer, but much more in accordance with the possible. The East-West split has prevented its realization, and Dr. Bauer's proposal has no chance of being adopted.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON

Dostoevsky as Myth-Maker

FREEDOM AND THE TRAGIC LIFE. A study in Dostoevsky. By Vyacheslav Ivanov. Translated by S. Konovalov. Noonday Press. $3.50.

BECAUSE it is a study of a mystic by an author who is a mystic, this book on Dostoevsky is both more and less than criticism. Vyacheslav Ivanov, who died in 1949, was a poet and scholar of great originality and profound erudition. Basically a classical student specializing in the mystic religions of ancient Greece, he became a poet of considerable importance, taking a leading part in the literary life of St. Petersburg between 1905 and 1912. Although he was fascinated by the study of cultural achievements, which he felt should be regarded as [redacted] single sweeping development, he thought that ultimate religious experience was a spiritual absolute which transcended artistic and intellectual activities.

Ivanov discusses Dostoevsky against the background of his own rather special interests. He sees [redacted] number of links between the Russian author and a remote Greek past; the novels are essentially tragic, in the dramatic sense, and aim at a catharsis, a device of emotional release derived by Greek tragedians from old religious rituals. The dominant force in Greek tragedy is a mysterious fate; in a Dostoevsky novel this role is played by an equally mysterious process of

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spiritual choice which goes on within his characters.

Ivanov sees further relationships between Dostoevsky's religious beliefs and the mythical lore of ancient Greece. His mystical altruism, his doctrines of the universality of guilt and surrender to God are regarded as developments of primitive occult beliefs. The personalities and events of his novels, though realistically presented, are, according to Dostoevsky's own statement, intended to convey a sense of higher, transcendental reality. Thus, the novels assume the nature of myths, and Ivanov explains in detail the mythological background and significance of "The Possessed" and "Crime and Punishment."

The result of this mingling of myth, theology, and criticism is both puzzling and arresting. A reader searching for clarity is likely to be defeated by the arcane systems of two private religions, Ivanov's and Dostoevsky's, one superimposed upon the other. Many of the relationships Ivanov has detected are very general and therefore unconvincing. And some parts of the book, especially a long discussion of demonology, have little reference to Dostoevsky and appear to be digressions. In spite of these shortcomings, Ivanov's study has the great merits of learning, originality, and passionate conviction, and is probably best regarded as an independent work rather than a critique. JACOB KORG

Books in Brief

THE OCEAN RIVER. THE STORY OF THE GULF STREAM. By Henry Chapin and F. G. Walton Smith. Scribner's. $3.50. The beer carried below decks by Sebastian Cabot went bad when his ship reached a certain unexpectedly warm area in the Atlantic ocean. This, say the authors of the present volume, is the first written evidence concerning the Gulf Stream, whose flow is about a thousand times that of the Mississippi and without which much of Northern Europe would be a sub-Arctic waste. Despite their title and first chapter their book is not exclusively about the Stream but includes a sort of popular introduction to the relatively new science called oceanography. Since that science includes portions of various others in so far as they apply to the sea, one gets quite a bit of geology, biology, and so forth, some of which is familiar to readers of other popular-science books. Nevertheless, it is seen from a somewhat unfamiliar angle, and we are apparently in safe hands. F. G. Walton Smith is in charge of research sponsored by the navy, and Henry Chapin is the author of various books dealing with the byways of American history.

HANNAH MORE. By M. G. Jones. Cambridge University Press. $5.50. Even in her own day sophisticated people were likely to sneer at Hannah More, the bright young thing who gave up a successful career as novelist and playwright to found Sunday schools and compose the innumerable tracts which set the tone of pious subliterature for a hundred years. Our day finds it even harder to forgive her acceptance of the Great Scheme of Subordination and her conviction that the poor should be taught only enough to save their souls. One of the virtues of this sober, fair, and interestingly written account of Hannah More's life and works is its successful attempt to see her opinions and activities in the setting which makes them comprehensible. Even churchmen today are likely to justify religion in terms of its social benefits; in Hannah More's epoch many besides herself took it equally for granted that social services were justified because they brought religion to the poor.

THESE YOUR CHILDREN. Edited by Harold U. Ribalow. Beechhurst Press. $4.50. An anthology of twenty-five stories on Jewish subjects by American Jewish writers ranging from Ben Hecht and Albert Halper through Nelson Algren and Arthur Miller to Hortense Calisher and Abraham Rothberg. On the minus side is Mr. Ribalow's Holmesian ability to ferret out "Jewish subjects" and "Jewish characters" without the necessary complementary ability to assess qualitatively the results of his detective work. His editorial notes are also something less than perceptive: Nelson Algren "is now winning recognition from less perceptive critics than Ernest Hemingway"; James Yaffe "has been writing long, humorous, and perceptive stories"; Hortense Calisher had "a perceptive interview with Harvey Breit of the New York *Times*"; Budd Schulberg is the "author of many best-selling, perceptive novels"; Arthur Miller "wrote a perceptive volume called 'Situation Normal'." On the plus side is the fact that Mr. Ribalow has after all taken the trouble to go to the literary quarterlies and the little magazines and has come up with some good stories, as well as some early stories by now-established writers whose literary interests no longer seem to be confined to "Jewish subjects."

THE LAZY ONES. By Albert Cossery. Translated by William Goyen. New Directions. $2.75. Cossery has caught the age-old lethargy of the *effendi* world in this grotesque of Egyptian life. "The Lazy Ones" is the story of a family dedicated to the pursuit of sleep as some are dedicated to self-advancement in business, and when one of their number, Rafik, realizes that he has "grasped the elemental truth hidden at the bottom of life—the way of the least effort [is the true way]," he is filled with "pride and gratitude." The family situation is comic in the grand vein, and Cossery writes of it with the purposeful seriousness best calculated to heighten this effect. The drugged weariness he creates envelops the whole as a silkworm wraps itself in its own substance. This almost glutinous atmosphere is easier to sustain in even a long short story, however, than in a novel, where its rarefied, exhausting quality is hard on the reader. The masterpiece of this type is, of course, "Oblomov," and just as that compact though no less lethargic excursion into compulsive sleep told us something of the fast-disappearing Russian world of provincial gentility, so Cossery is, by exaggeration, giving us insight into one of the basic handicaps the Egyptian middle class faces in trying to achieve effective direction of its own life. —

BULLFIGHTER FROM BROOKLYN. By Sidney Franklin. Illustrated. Prentice-Hall. $3.75. He walked out of his father's home in Brooklyn and into bullfighting as if there had been some instinctual, atavistic craving to return to a popular manifestation of a culture which was, in fact, no part of him. This is what the Spaniards who were for him never accepted: somehow he *must* have been born in one of a half-dozen cities of Spain or carry a healthy overdose of Spanish blood in his veins. How else explain the paradox? Franklin's autobiography never really explains it either, except that he gives us an understanding of his physical need for adventure, his great admiration for skill and proficiency, his healthy respect for money. The book is well and simply written, with colorful anecdotes along the way and three or four splendid accounts of entire kills, including a play-by-play view of many of the finer points of bullfighting. To spice the whole, there is the credible and—to Franklin's *Männlichkeit*—creditable tale of the week he was highjacked by an aboriginal tribe in Mexico so that they might obtain a coveted infusion of red-haired white-skinned blood. (He admits that he slept some fifty hours after this glorious work-out.) And inevitably there is the story of his relationship with Hemingway, which he tells with enthusiastic loyalty. How does such a maverick stand up, though, in the field he has chosen to invade? Hemingway himself gave the answer to this in the passage on Franklin in "Death in the Afternoon": "He is a better, more scientific, more intelligent, and more finished matador than all but about six of the full matadors in Spain today, and the bullfighters know it and have the utmost respect for him."

YEAR IN, YEAR OUT. By A. A. Milne. Dutton. $3.50. A pleasant grab-bag of odds and ends, all short and all humorous but otherwise as various in subject and manner as possible. Some are merely agreeable specimens of what the professional funny man turns out in the routine practice of his trade; others embody serious convictions lightly expressed. Mr. Milne belongs to a generation not too enthusiastic about post-war changes in the atmosphere of British life and frequently says so without losing his temper. He thinks the young writer has much less chance of making a living than in his own youth and is not too sure about subsidies as a solution. "I can imagine nothing more desiccating to a young writer than the knowledge that he owes three hundred pounds' worth of inspiration to people he despises. . . . A Poet Laureate, with only a butt of sac to account for, is sufficiently embarrassed."

POEMS. By Miguel de Unamuno. Translated by Eleanor L. Turnbull. Johns Hopkins. $3.50. Readers who want their Unamuno library complete will be interested in these translations, which have the Spanish originals on facing pages. Miss Turnbull does her usual competent and conscientious job with the translations; she does not share the judgment that the most enduring part of Unamuno's literary work will be his poetry, and on the evidence here, there is something to be said for her point of view.

ENGLISH POETRY: MAIN CURRENTS FROM CHAUCER TO THE PRESENT. By Douglas Bush. Oxford. $2.50. Professor Bush, in his introductory note, contends that this book is not designed as "an aid for those whose minds are anxiously divided between poetry and examinations." Intended, rather, as a guide for the general reader, it discusses, in six chapters, six large divisions, with major emphasis given the major poets of the Middle Ages, The Renaissance, The Age of Reason and Sensibility, Romanticism, The Victorian Age, and The Modern Period. By English poetry, apparently, Professor Bush means poetry written by Englishmen; Americans, except Pound and Eliot, do not count, Frost, Sandburg, Lindsay, Stevens, Jeffers, for instance, not being found in the index. There is little nonsense in this short text, and little reason to believe the general reader will buy it in any larger quantity than professors will order it for survey courses.

"The Crucible"

PERHAPS the proper way to judge Arthur Miller's play, "The Crucible" (Martin Beck), would be to see it out of context—out of the pertinent, and thus painful, and thus perhaps distorting, setting of today. While watching it, I tried to do this, and now, writing about it after a lapse of days, I shall try again. But I shall not succeed except partially, and in my mind. In literal fact, I cannot shed the sense of having experienced simultaneously the anguish and heroism of Salem's witch hunt and of today's. And since this is so I am driven to believe that the emotions of both tragic periods charged the lines with a power they would have missed had Mr. Miller visited the Salem Courthouse in a more tranquil time.

But if "The Crucible" is a drama of 1953, as well as of 1692, it does not follow that it is a simple parable. On the contrary, it is self-contained rather than contained by time or place. It is the terrible and tragic situation that provides the real setting; while the action develops a completely believable conflict between a handful of ordinary citizens and the epidemic madness which spreads from children—half-malicious, half-obsessed—to the top dignitaries of bench and church.

The situation is convincing to the last irrational detail. The conflict emerges in subtly differentiated forms and shadings. Mr. Miller is not afraid to point out how short a distance can separate spiteful lying from honest, screaming hysterics or stark courage at the foot of the gallows from the normal impulse to pay irrational authority the tribute of a lie in order to live.

Beginning slowly, with a prologue somewhat diffuse and confusing, the play gathers momentum and power with each act. The final scene, just before the hanging, is immensely moving, sum-

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marizing the theme of the play with an eloquence that carries the audience (carried this member of it, anyway) out of the theater in a mood of resolve rather than despair.

Walter Hampden is impressive as the Deputy Governor who cloaks with his personality and high office the horrid farce acted out in courtroom and jail. The role of Abigail Williams, a young servant who under pressure slides from psychotic spasms of false incrimination to spells of truth-telling and repentance, is handled by Madeleine Sherwood with effective excitement. Arthur Kennedy and Beatrice Straight give the parts of John and Elizabeth Proctor the strength, reserve, and sober resolution demanded of the witch hunt's leading victims.

Peter Ustinov's satire-farce-fantasy, "The Love of Four Colonels" (Sam S. Shubert Theater), is likely to amuse almost anybody who does not delve for meanings or try to piece the thing together into a coherent play. Beginning as a witty if rather obvious take-off on the political attitudes and behavior of four Allied colonels—American, French, British, Russian—thrown together in an office in post-war Germany, the scene and mood presently shift. In a nearby castle, under the supervision of a good and a bad fairy, each colonel is given a chance to woo the Sleeping Beauty back to the world and love. Mr. Ustinov makes good fun out of the national approach of his officers to this fascinating game of forfeits. Each in turn acts a tiny charade of courtship, parodying the manner of his country's traditional drama. Is there psychological satire also lurking in these contrasting performances? Perhaps, but better not bother about it. Concentrate rather on the loveliness of Lilli Palmer, the Beauty, on Rex Harrison's arrogant charm, and on Mr. Ustinov's flow of wit and nonsense. FREDA KIRCHWEY

"The Fifth Season" (Cort Theater), by Sylvia Regan, is a pleasant farce in the spirit of Potash and Perlmutter. Without much originality in situation or dialogue, it holds its audience and creates a lingering nostalgia for earlier and simpler days. Menasha Skulnik, making his debut on Broadway after twenty years of starring on Second Avenue, plays with simplicity, assurance, and humor. L. S.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

RCA VICTOR continues to make available again in its Treasury of Immortal Performances series of LP records items not deserving of immortality, such as the Menuhin-Landowska and Menuhin-Enesco performances of Bach's Sonata in E and Concerto in D minor, but also things like the Casals performances of Bach's Suites Nos. 2 and 3, of which I will say again what I said when they were first issued: "The life which these works have . . . is the life created by the coloring, the movement, the tensions of Casals's phrasing. . . . This is something you would almost not believe you had heard in a performance, after it was over; but you can put the needle back at the beginning of the Sarabande of No. 2 and find that it did happen; and there it is on the record for all time." Which now—thanks to Victor—is true again.

And if Victor hasn't yet got around to reissuing the Kreisler-Rachmaninov performances of Beethoven and Schubert sonatas, the Elisabeth Schumann performances of Mozart arias and Schubert songs, the earlier performances of Frieda Hempel, it has on the other hand placed the public enormously in its debt by making available to it for the first time the Schnabel performances of Beethoven sonatas in Volumes 1 and 2 of the Beethoven Sonata Society, which HMV issued in 1935 only in small limited editions. The two LPs not only make it possible for many people to hear again those unique performances of Opus 111 and Opus 109, and for many more to hear them for the first time; they also make it possible to study in the performances the distinctive way of dealing with the music that so extraordinarily enlarged its meaning.

Toscanini once spoke of the difficulty of playing Mozart as one of knowing what to do between the mere *p* here and *f* eight bars later; but actually there is the same difficulty with Beethoven whose directions are much more numerous and closer together: there still remains what must be done between and around them. This is something one appreciates when one plays first the Solomon performance of Opus 111 that was issued last year and his performances of Opp. 109, 53 ("Waldstein"), and 54 on a new Victor LP, and then the Schnabel performances of the first two on the new LPs and the one of Opus 53 on the old HMV 78s. The difference—most striking in the slow movements—is between Solomon's mere obedience to every *p* and *f* in the score, and what Schnabel does in addition: the expansion, the distention in time, the intensification by dynamic force, which place the sounds in significant, powerful relations in sharply-contoured successions with cohesive tensions that are built up to the salient points and then released. And this produces the further difference that the slow movement of Opus 53, for example, as Schnabel plays it has a spaciously, profoundly meditative and powerfully dramatic expressive effect that it doesn't have in Solomon's performance.

That meditative character of Schnabel's playing led some people to characterize it as a product of intellect without emotion; whereas actually, though the involvement of a powerful intellect is evident, so is the operation of powerful emotion. It was excess of emotion, not of intellect, that produced the flaws in the performances—the occasional distention of phrase to the point of distortion, the occasional tempo too fast for clarity, the occasional fortissimo beyond the limit of agreeable sound; though it was mere limitations of technique that produced the inaccuracy and confusion that is to be heard in the difficult passagework in the first movement of Opus 111. If one can't endure these flaws one can have smoothly rounded perfection from Solomon; if one *can* endure them one gets in addition what Solomon doesn't offer: the dramatic power that Schnabel imparts to the first movement of Opus 111, the sustained continuity and intensity of the progression from the spaciously reflective opening of the second movement to the superearthly illumination of the end, the similar sustained continuity in the conclusion of Opus 109—the crescendo of intensity in the extraordinary final variation to the trills that subside into the affecting restatement of the theme.

On the record with Opus 111 are Schnabel's equally outstanding performances of the fine Sonatas Opp. 78 and 90; on the one with Opus 109 beautiful performances of the less interesting Opp. 27 No. 1 and 14 No. 1. In Opp.

109 and 111 one hears the surface noise of the copies from which they were dubbed.

Schubert is another composer whom Schnabel loved and played with wonderful effect—with lyricism, grace, and on occasion the hair-raising power that Schubert was capable of. An HMV LP offers the performances of the Impromptus Opp. 90 and 142, most of which are among Schubert's finest pieces. On my review copy two of the finest, Opus 90 Nos. 1 and 3, are spoiled by noisy scrapes.

An excellent performance of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 57 ("Appassionata") by Victor Schioler is on an HMV LP, absurdly coupled with Liszt's Piano Concerto in E flat.

Art

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

MORE than twenty water colors and oils by John Marin at the Downtown Gallery, all painted in 1952, give rise inevitably to certain questions. Are Marin's oils and his water colors of equal significance? Is he among the few octogenarians in the history of art whose very late work ranks with his best at any previous period? Shall we follow custom in hailing him as dean of something or other but pass over his current work in respectful silence?

Far from being silent, I propose herewith that Marin's recent water colors are among the finest he has done, but that the oils are among the emptiest. In water color Marin has combined a small-scale, tightly packed calligraphy with a deep Renaissance space (Autumn Coloring No. 2) and has managed to achieve an impact at once expansive and terse, not unlike early Mantegna, for example. In Written Sea, an oil, the calligraphy is crabbed, hesitant, too widely spaced. I can only think of these oils as weak sketches for the water colors, which of course they were not. In an adjoining room several water colors of the thirties show a relatively passive attitude. None projects the scudding power of Westerly Gale or the silent relentlessness of Approaching Fog. These new works have the bite of crusty very late Donatellos and Michelangelos, their modest dimensions and

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sharply limited theme notwithstanding. They show that Marin is by no means willing merely to reminisce from the eminence of some theoretical deanship. He is one of the most masculine of our male artists—a statement meant to connote no more than it says, because Botticelli and Giorgione are high on my list of creative spirits, and because the rest of this column will be devoted to women painters of both feminine and masculine expressiveness.

Loren MacIver and I. Rice Pereira, who share the hospitality of the Whitney Museum through March 1, could hardly differ from each other more profoundly than they do. The former is all tenuous, indirect suggestion; the latter, blaring affirmation. Loren MacIver, it seems to me, is the finest of our women artists now in the public eye. I offer no theory, such as that painting by women should be feminine, on which to argue this opinion. She is a minor artist whose extraordinary subtlety occasionally touches on greatness. To call her minor is intended as no insult whatever, since I consider Simone Martini, Watteau, and Paul Klee minor artists, and Klee the greatest and most minor of them all. Minor and major, like their musical analogies, are a matter of tonality; their differences are qualitative. In the visual arts I associate them as well with basic intention, and suggest that the major artist is one who attempts the sublime, as Masaccio did, while the minor artist, reticent and intensely personal, avoids it like the plague.

Loren MacIver's imagination is released by fragments of urban experience: ashcans, votive lights, sidewalks, a battered window curtain, oil slicks, and the iridescence of rain more felt than seen from the interior of a taxi. Her art lies rather close to its subject matter: the object metamorphosed into poetry. There is considerable pictorial invention, but it runs the risk of losing some of its force once the excitement of sharing an unexpected poetic discovery has worn off. I am constantly surprised that the large pictures stand up so well, as everything about Loren MacIver's art suggests the diminutive, and fragility, as Watteau understood so well, is accommodated by the small scale. Despite this theory, which I found myself dangerously far embarked upon, I have to report that the big panoramas of Paris at dawn (Metropolitan Museum) and Venice by day (Whitney Museum) challenge the several smaller items very successfully, though I still hold out for a modestly scaled Venetian night piece in gouache, in which the ghostly silhouette of the Doges' Palace predominates. The exhibition covers twenty years' work in fifty-nine paintings. The development is gradual and cumulative, a fair test, I think, of the artist with staying power; and the end is implicit in the beginning.

HEDDA STERNE

Recent Paintings • Feb. 16-Mar. 7
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I must confess that I am bothered by sudden breaks in the work of Pereira, one coming exactly in 1937 when she shifted from what I shall call illustrations of machinery, the other occurring about a year ago when fourteen years of variation of the rectangle were superseded by a totally curvilinear design. Sixty works are presented, and even from these I can find nothing like a logical momentum of change, such as can easily be followed in Picasso's shift from one idiom to another. While such remarks may be objectionable as criticism, I have always felt the career itself is worth evaluating as a kind of super work of art. Pereira's individual works strike me as much too similar to stand up in a large retrospective. Furthermore, I do not warm up to the mystical explanations, in terms of light, offered in John Baur's sensitively written introduction. The artist's sincerity is not the question—or in question; the question is, as always, what gets projected in visual terms. For me it is mostly slick design, elaborate industrial-age decoration. I would like to acclaim it as major art, like Leger's of the '20's, since it assuredly is not minor, but I am unable to do so.

In these days of conflict of interest in the political scene, I have one of my own: an exhibition in a small college museum which I direct, but an exhibition that seems worthy of more than local mention. Rassie Gifford has exhibited in group shows in New York, but Williams College has been displaying her first one-man show. Because of the conflict of interest mentioned above, I will make this only an announcement of what seems to me to be painting with an unusual combination of force and gentleness. If, as I suspect, she will be heard from in the metropolitan centers, I shall find an occasion to say I told you so.

CORRECTION. In my review of "Great Paintings from the National Gallery of Art" by Huntington Cairns and John Walker (*The Nation*, December 20, 1952) I criticized the use of an "old" color plate of El Greco's Laocoön in its pre-cleaned state, and compared it adversely with a plate in a recent and expensive publication on El Greco showing the "present radiant condition" of this picture. A very recent visit to the National Gallery obliges me to report that the radiant condition exists only in the color plate, the picture itself being as dark as when I last saw it. As the National Gallery has been doing wonderful work in getting its pictures cleaned, it did not occur to me that the "cleaning" of the Laocoön had been done only by some color printers in New York. Publishers should, of course, be enjoined from perpetrating such falsehoods. But there is a happy prospect. Something like the radiant condition indicated by the false color plate probably does exist under the dirty varnish that now covers the surface of the Laocoön. May the National Gallery soon bring it back to view!

CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES G. BELL, on the faculty of the College of the University of Chicago, is at work on a book entitled "Spirit Takes Form, an Organic Study of the Western Arts."

PERRY MILLER is professor of English at Harvard University.

MILDRED ADAMS has long been a student of Spanish and Hispano-American culture.

GEORGE GENZMER is working on a critical biography of Thomas Jefferson.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON is the United Nations correspondent of the New York *Times*.

JACOB KORG is a member of the English Department of the City College of New York.

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Teachers' Committee on the Defense of Teachers' Rights that his dismissal involved a violation of academic freedom. To aid Mr. Judd in his fight the A. F. of T. allotted a legal-defense subsidy which was supplemented by our state organization's legal-defense fund.

In conformity with the decision of the university local our organization took the matter before the University of Colorado's faculty senate, although we felt from the start that this would be a fruitless way of trying the case, since the senate was an appendage of the university itself. We had offered legal service to Mr. Judd if he wished to go before the Board of Regents, but he didn't avail himself of it until the senate had sustained a report by its Committee on Privileges and Tenure upholding the university's stand. Subsequently the Regents rejected by a five-to-one vote a motion to allow Mr. Judd to appear before it with legal counsel. As a result of this decision Mr. Judd got neither a public nor a private hearing of his case by the university itself.

Since Mr. Judd wanted to continue the case, our lawyer investigated the possibility of getting a hearing in a federal court on the ground that his civil liberties had been placed in jeopardy by the university's action. On the basis of a decision by Judge Learned Hand of the United States Court of Appeals, the way was left open to bring Mr. Judd's case before the federal court in Colorado. After a debate in our own executive committee it was agreed that our organization should continue to aid Mr. Judd. At this point, however, he refused our help, though we had been trying for nine months to get his case heard. He had the right, certainly, to reject our assistance, but by dropping the case he not only hurt himself but, we believe, has weakened the whole fight to preserve academic freedom.

Our organization took considerable risk in supporting a case of this nature at a time when the defense of liberal traditions in this country is not too popular. We feel that in the final analysis we had more at stake than Mr. Judd as an individual. Our regret is that he did not see fit to carry his fight forward through the courts rather than through the organizations set up by the university, which, as elsewhere in this country, are not safeguarding academic freedom.

MORRIS TAYLOR, President,
HERRICK S. ROTH, Executive Secretary,
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Wilson's Air Secretary and "Flying Coffins", See Page 2

I. F. Stone's Weekly

Vol. I NUMBER 3 January 31, 1953 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

What They Confirmed With Wilson

It would take a Balzac to do justice to the hearings on the nomination of Charles E. Wilson to be Secretary of Defense. The Business Man and the Politician confronted each other, each ready to turn a forgiving eye on the derelictions of his own kind. Senators who had just voted to seat a McCarthy were in no position to be righteous about Wilson's reluctance to dispose of his stock in General Motors. Wilson was taken aback. Had the Republicans not won the election? "I would like to tell you men," he told the Senators at one point, "ther is a change in the country. The people are not afraid nessmen like me right now."

The full transcript of the executive se Wilson spoke not with arrogance b said he could not conceive of new position "because fo our country was good fo He was proud of his record pany, as he had a right to be was giving him credit for lea am now risking a failure, in my a challenge. Now, as far as I a is finished. I closed up my des mingled feelings of regret and nos being treated with suspicion!

The retirement bonus provided tha eing paid only if the recipient did nothing GM's interest. Wilson had this specially chang fact which did not appear until the transcripts were released) to read that nothing he did in government service would be considered inimical to GM "so that no one would feel like I had any club over me." When Senator Russell still questioned the bonus arrangement at the second hearing, it was more than Wilson could bear. "I know what you are talking about," he said, "but I really feel you are giving me quite a pushing around.

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an honorable one; no one questions his integrity. But can you staff a government with business men who hav conception of the conditions necessary for public service!

In the clash between the two points of view, su and larger consi ations were neglected. The conflict terest the to avoid required more than the dive of st Morse, Lehman and Smith tried to ma one day of debate by the Senate; a m f his past, his point of view, his a Wilson himself volunteered at one earing, "We had exactly the same We had a very strict rule that any buyers, none of them should have at they bought from." Was it est company dealing with the executive to head Defense? area which went completely th past experience in arms pro obilization. Wilson's GM and Wil mobilization for World War II resisted automotive facilities to war production, insisted iness as usual" for months after Pearl Harbor.

The man Wilson picked to be Secretary of the Army, Robert T. Stevens, a textile manufacturer doing a $125,000,000 business with the Army, was a Colonel buying textiles in the Quartermaster Corps in the last war. When the resignation from the War Production Board of Robert R. Guthrie, in the spring of 1942, focussed attention on the lag in conversion to war, textiles was one of the horrid examples. Wool and jute were being wasted while the army was short of cotton duck. Facilities which could have produced the vital cloth were standing idle. Stevens at one point was prevailed on to force the grant of cotton duck contracts to idle carpet mills, but beyond this the business men in uniform would not go. The record should have been gone into and questions asked.

Above all questions should have been asked of Talbott, Wilson's choice to be Secretary of Air. The post is the most important one of all in many ways. The story disclosed on page two makes Talbott seem a shocking choice for it. Aviation is the one major American industry today which must live or die on war scares. Peace, real peace, would leave it withering on the vine. The air lobby today is what the armorplate and naval lobbies were before World Wars I and II. The Secretary for Air should be free in every way of industry ties; this one is reluctant to divest himself even of the obvious ones. Wilson's choice of Talbott reflects no credit on Wilson. What the Senate confirmed with Wilson was its readiness to acquiesce in handing over war production completely to big business. Experience with these same men and companies in World Wars I or II show that this is unwise from the standpoint of war production, and hazardous for the prospects of peace.

The G. O. P. Takes the Road Back—*Editorial*

THE Nation

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Freud and the Hucksters

Seducing the Social Scientists

BY RALPH GOODMAN

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Jews in Russia

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

*

The Morse Code

What the Oregon Senator Is Fighting For

BY BRUCE CATTON

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Dear Reader:

May we take just a few moments to pass along some good news—and to ask your cooperation in making it even better?

As you know, the biggest stories of 1953 will be datelined *Washington* as people everywhere await with mingled anxiety and hope the new Administration's handling of the great problems of our time.

To relay this drama to *Nation* readers, we have engaged Bruce Catton, brilliant journalist and author, most recently Assistant Director of Information of the Department of the Interior under Oscar Chapman and author of "War Lords of Washington," to write a series on the changing Washington scene.

Along with this expansion of Washington coverage, you will see next week a complete redesigning of *The Nation's* format which will bring you the many *Nation* features in more interesting and readable form. Also, Harold Clurman, long connected with the American theater both as director and critic, has joined our staff as drama critic.

Here is where we would like *your* cooperation. With so many vitally important issues of *The Nation* planned for the months ahead, we would like to send some of these issues *without charge* to a limited number of individuals *recommended by our present readers.*

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AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 176 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · FEBRUARY 14, 1953 NUMBER 7

The Shape of Things

Persuasive Mr. Dulles

Dispatches from London and the Continent suggest that Messrs. Dulles and Stassen left behind them a more acquiescent collection of allies than had greeted them on their arrival. The resentment and alarm described in this issue by Alexander Werth and Andrew Roth seem to have subsided into a mood of wait and see. Evidently British and French officials were partly reassured by Mr. Dulles's indication—there was no promise—that the new Formosa policy would not mean enlarging the Korean war. They were pleased by his invitation to visit Washington next month. In Germany the going was even easier, as Carolus foresaw. The visit of the American emissaries, and Mr. Eisenhower's letter to Dr. Adenauer inviting him also to come to Washington, have strengthened the Chancellor's hand and proportionately weakened the Social Democratic opposition.

In spite of underlying doubts and tensions, official Europe seems to be responding with a mild burst of energy to the American demand for speed in ratifying the defense agreements and getting ahead with the European army. Britain has promised prompt action on a detailed plan for closer cooperation with the Continental defense system, and the French are accelerating their effort to settle the protocols—meaning modification and reservations—of the defense treaty so that ratification and German rearmament can be pushed without delay. Belgium and Holland are gearing their plans to those of their larger neighbors but are not noticeably holding back.

The Razor's Edge

The long-range effort of American pressure will be tested by later events. Just as the atmosphere changed for the better during ten days of relatively tactful negotiation, so it could change for the worse equally fast if Washington's acts undermined the assurances given by Mr. Dulles.

By itself the Formosa decision is so meaningless that no one seriously believes it to be anything but a first step in a policy still cautiously described as one of taking the "initiative" or forcing the Communists "off balance." What will the second step be?—blockade of the China coast, as urged by Senators Knowland and Taft and Representative Short on the say-so of Admiral Radford? Will the Seventh Fleet aid and protect Nationalist forays against the mainland? Will the fleet or air force take counter-action if the Chinese Communists attack Formosa, which we are pledged to defend? And if a blockade is established, will the fleet attack British ships engaged in protecting British merchantmen en route to Chinese ports? Only a handful of questions such as these are enough to show how quickly and easily a new crisis could blow up.

The success of the Administration's effort to hasten into being an armed, unified Europe depends as much on Europe's belief that America wants to avoid war as on the persuasion exercised by diplomatic junkets and our towering financial strength. Nothing could be better designed to shatter the fragile confidence built up by last week's talks than the appearance of an American policy that threatened to extend the Korean war to the Chinese mainland.

Adenauer Takes Precautions

Now only a few months off, the West German general elections are a source of great worry in both Bonn and other Western capitals. The creation of the European army, as well as the future of the Atlantic coalition, depends on its outcome. Above all Adenauer's political life is in the balance. Thus it is not surprising that the German Chancellor is taking his precautions; he wants an election without surprises.

France and Italy have indicated the solution through their recent electoral "reforms" which all but guarantee the return of a majority for the government parties. The new electoral law just submitted by Adenauer's Minister of the Interior, though received with stormy protests by the opposition, is expected to work the same miracle. The future Bundestag will have 484 members instead of the present 402. Of this number half will be elected by direct vote, but according to a provision which gives each citizen two votes of different values. The first indicates which candidate he prefers; the second transfers his backing to another candidate in case his first choice fails to win a majority.

This method applies to half of the Bundestag. The other half will be elected according to the proportional system. In the opinion of its critics, both parts of the

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law open the way to all sorts of tricks and combinations calculated to give the parties in power the number of extra seats needed to insure continuance of the government. Aside from its extreme complexity, a careful study of the law has convinced the opposition, and especially the Social Democrats, who had every reason to expect a victory in the coming elections, that its main effect will be to keep Adenauer in office.

Trade in the Briar Patch

The President's foreign-trade policy, as outlined in his state of the Union message, differs little from that of the Truman Administration. But his phrasing was rather unfortunate. He implied that action by the United States to encourage imports should depend on steps by foreign nations to create "broader markets and more dependable currencies." Is not this putting the cart before the horse? As Graham Tower, governor of the Bank of Canada, has just forcefully pointed out, the cause of freer world trade needs American example even more than American precept.

Nevertheless, Mr. Eisenhower deserves credit for urging renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. This is not an easy pill for some of his followers to swallow, even though he attempted to make it more palatable by references to "legitimate safeguarding of domestic industries" and promises that earnest consultations with interested parties will precede executive recommendations.

The key word is "legitimate," and it is a slippery one. American briar-pipe manufacturers, for instance, think they have a legitimate claim to greater protection even though present duties on such pipes range up to 75 per cent. The Tariff Commission agrees with them, and before February 28 the President must decide whether to indorse or reject its recommendation of a higher duty. This case provides an important test of the "escape clause" added by Congress to the Trade Agreements Act. If Mr. Eisenhower decides to discourage imports of European pipes in the interest of what appears to be a relatively inefficient industry, many European exporters will decide not to risk the large investment entailed in building American markets for their products, and plans for "trade not aid" will suffer a serious setback.

Henderson in Cairo

Loy Henderson, the new American ambassador to Egypt, comes to this key post with a record of partisanship and failure. As the State Department's Middle Eastern expert he consistently opposed Zionist aspirations in the interest of what he regarded as necessary appeasement of the Arabs. He is held responsible for sabotaging the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry which in 1946 would have admitted to

Palestine 100,000 Jewish survivors of the Hitler extermination program.

The late James T. Forrestal, in his "Diary," records a conversation held on January 29, 1948, in which he and Henderson concurred in regarding the United Nations partition resolution of November 29, 1947, as merely a recommendation, unworkable and therefore subject to reexamination. These views were responsible for the gyrations in United States policy until President Truman ended them by recognizing Israel and "kicking Loy Henderson upstairs." He has since served in India and Iran, in neither place with notable success.

The Egyptian post is extremely important and calls for a creative concept of the genuine revolutionary trend in the Middle East, as in Asia, against poverty and feudalism. It requires a realization that stability in the area is essential both to the countries themselves and to the Western alliance. It requires also an understanding of the role Israel is playing as a democratic outpost in the Middle East.

Nothing in Mr. Henderson's record offers any assurance that he can meet these requirements. Does his appointment mean a return to the policy of Arab appeasement with the single goal of a Middle Eastern defense pact?

Charlie Ervin

Charles W. Ervin, who died last week at the age of eighty-seven, was one of the great personalities of the American labor movement. Old-time Socialist, union organizer, editor of the New York *Call* in the days of the Socialist Party's vigor, he also served as *The Nation's* circulation manager in the early twenties.

Charlie Ervin was the very embodiment of independent American radicalism. He could no more be imagined cringing before a witch-hunting demagogue than taking orders from an agitprop. His feeling for our nation's history, and particularly his passionate admiration for Thomas Jefferson, stood between him and all the irrational timidities and rancors of the period he lived to deplore. As associate editor of the *Advance,* organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and the union's adviser on public relations, he maintained to the last his militant spirit, unfailing common sense, and genial, sardonic humor.

The Road Back

THE domestic part of President Eisenhower's State of the Union message—we intend to discuss his projected foreign policy in a later issue—deserves, on one score at least, the nearly unanimous praise which it has received from our one-party press: it is certainly "coherent." The essentially harsh outlines of the program were partly concealed by mildness of language and absence of specific detail, but the meaning will soon become apparent as Congress settles down to work. For what the President hopes to achieve, as the *Wall Street Journal* points out, is nothing less than the reversal of a generation's philosophy of government. What he proposes, in short, is "a sharp, clean break with the domestic course of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations."

The sharpness of his dissent from the concept of a welfare state was most clearly apparent in the President's studied advocacy of a laissez-faire definition of government's responsibilities for the general welfare. In industrial relations government is not to intervene except, perhaps, to encourage mediation and arbitration. There is to be "a strong federal program in the field of resource development," but the major projects should be undertaken to assist in leveling off "peaks and valleys in our economic life"—that is, as public works and not as a means of bringing about a better regional balance of productive forces or for the purpose of expanding the economy. "Soundly conceived projects" which have already been initiated will be carried out, but new projects should be merely planned, on paper, for the future. States and localities are to be admitted to a "partnership" with the federal government in the operation and administration of resource-development projects, including river-valley authorities, which in the past has always meant that the utilities have been able to run the show pretty much as they pleased.

In the field of human relations laissez faire is to be restored as the sole measure of government's responsibilities. The President promises to use "whatever authority exists" in his office to end segregation in the District of Columbia and in the federal government, including the armed services; otherwise the safeguarding of civil rights is to be left to "the power of fact, fully publicized; of persuasion, honestly pressed; and of conscience, justly aroused." But this promise is narrowly limited in effect, since he actually has little power in the District of Columbia except the power of example, while the promise to end segregation in agencies subject to federal control merely affirms the principle that government itself should not discriminate.

The return of the laissez-faire yardstick is equally clear in what the President had to say about economic matters. Here Mr. Eisenhower has swallowed—hook, line, and sinker—the main points of the N. A. M.'s program on wage-and-price controls and related matters. Existing deficits were "planned" by Mr. Truman and his associates in order the more easily to impose a planned or managed economy on the American people. "Sound fiscal and monetary" policies, rather than direct controls, are the proper weapons to use in the war against inflation; direct controls offend the character and temperament of the American people, who are opposed to "artificial and arbitrary controls of any kind." Let the government balance the budget; let it adopt sound financial policies, and the economy will manage itself. To be sure, the President recognizes that it would be unwise to reduce tax revenues until substantial cuts can be made in the budget; but the goal is clear. And given the facts of political life, it is equally clear that any budgetary cuts the Eighty-third Congress may be able to make will be at the expense of social-service and welfare programs. Yet with military appropriations forming so large a part of the budget, it will be difficult even for this Congress to make substantial cuts in the budgets of civilian agencies, which in many instances have failed to keep pace with expanding needs. So it may be assumed that the review of the tax structure, which the President favors, will result in legislation shifting still more of the tax burden from corporations to individual consumers, from the high to the low and middle-income groups. Essentially what the President proposes is to fit the policy to the purse and to determine the contents of the purse by adjusting taxes to the scale of profits to which big business has become accustomed.

The reversal of attitude is as clearly revealed in what the President did not say as in what he said. Carefully avoided were any references to tidelands oil, to the industrial use of atomic power, to pending anti-trust suits, and to price-rigging and other monopolistic practices. The few references to education and extension of social-security coverage were weak and inadequate. Not a word was said about the development of underdeveloped areas abroad. Aside from a reference to "false servants" and the loyalty program, there was little about civil liberties and what the President did say raised more questions than it answered. For example, he failed to indicate what his policy will be toward the roving inquiries of Velde, McCarthy, and Jenner. Are these witch-hunters to be given a license to hunt "reds" in every walk of life except in the federal service? Or will Mr. Brownell, by chance, use the report of the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections to keep McCarthy in line?

The President wants all citizens to produce, "produce more, and produce yet more," but he did not mention the necessity of increasing consumer purchasing power or of bringing about a wider distribution of income. Farm policies are to be "studied"; health and housing programs are to be "studied"; the needs of the schools call for "careful Congressional study." Generously interpreted, his domestic proposals constitute an old-fashioned, conservative, static social program; less generously interpreted, the program is regressive in nearly every aspect. To make matters worse, the President actually thinks of this domestic program as "a middle way between untrammeled freedom of the individual and the demands for the welfare of the whole nation." But it is not a middle way; on the contrary, the President has set forth on the right hand side of the road which leads back to the social and economic presuppositions of Herbert Clark Hoover.

The political education of Dwight D. Eisenhower promises to be an interesting spectacle. The prospect of watching it, however, would be more exhilarating were the attendant risks confined to the big-business elements that have already taken charge of his Administration. Unfortunately this will not be the case. As the executive council of the American Federation of Labor has pointed out, the President's State of the Union Message is "loaded with potential danger" for all of us.

Helping the Handicapped

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

THERE have been frequent occasions on which I have had to criticize the United Nations. It is therefore all the more pleasant to praise it when praise is due. An occasion for praise has been provided by the opening at the U. N. headquarters of a conference on the rehabilitation of physically handicapped persons throughout the world.

I have been able to watch the preparation of this conference from the office of one of its organizers, Ernst Jorgenson of Denmark. He is himself an impressive demonstration of what handicapped persons—Mr. Jorgenson is blind—can accomplish by a combination of spiritual strength and unselfish devotion. Alone with him in his office, I watched him as he handled by telephone the innumerable details involved in getting a conference under way.

Mr. Jorgenson is in charge of the rehabilitation unit of the U. N. secretariat. He has long been chairman of the Danish Association for the Blind and of the Federation of Danish Invalid Organizations and has served on various government committees concerned with the problems of disabled persons.

He told me something of the work, started two years ago under the auspices of the United Nations Social Commission, of establishing instruction centers adapted to local conditions for the rehabilitation of the handicapped. Mr. Jorgenson's movements are remarkably certain, his tone is precise and vigorous, and the sentimental note is conspicuous by its absence. He emphasized what it means to the individual to feel able to lead an almost normal working life and what gain it represents for his people—a double gain actually, since additional thousands of workers not only make positive contributions to their country's economy but the negative one of saving funds which would otherwise have to be spent on their support. "It is not only humane and worthy of an advanced civilization," he said; "it also pays." His remarks were entirely substantiated by Henry Viscardi, Jr., executive director of Just One Break, Inc., who last week revealed that the United States was paying a frightful amount for disabilities from all causes—now at the fantastic figure of 28,000,000.

The United Nations initiative has awakened widespread interest in such projects and inspired a noble competition in schemes for instruction and work. Mr. Jorgenson drew my attention to one of the most recent—the opening in Egypt of a demonstration center for the blind. The pattern generally followed is for the United Nations to send one or more experts to the place chosen for a new center. One of their principal assignments is to gather a group of native students and instruct them in how to operate the center and even start new ones. Mr. Jorgenson hopes that the Egyptian center will be followed by projects for the rehabilitation of the blind throughout the Middle East.

No distinction is being made between the victims of war and those disabled through disease or industrial accidents, or from birth. The fact that a person is physically handicapped places him within the orbit of the rehabilitation effort. It is a task that requires large numbers of trained personnel. The conference which meets here on February 9 and 10 will devote much of its attention to this aspect of the problem. International training facilities for service to the disabled still leave a good deal to be desired. It is partly a matter of money. The United Nations' specialized agencies, as well as several of the member states, have provided fellowships, scholarships, and other grants, but on a limited scale. There is also the problem of creating growing cadres of trained staff. A statement submitted to the conference by the International Society for the Welfare of Cripples recognized that the United Nations and its agencies have established selection criteria and programming procedures which have greatly increased the value of their work but noted that there was still need of better cooperation between the different organizations in the field. To deal with this aspect of the problem, a second conference will be called immediately after this one, to be attended by representatives of the World Health Organization, the International Labor Office, UNESCO, and other agencies.

A number of very encouraging reports have come in from various countries. Studies made in Sweden show that, given adequate methods of rehabilitation, even very badly handicapped persons can learn to do effective work in their own surroundings. American studies of the collective employment of physically handicapped persons prove that their productivity in suitable operations equals that of normal workers, that their rate of absenteeism is low, and that their accident rate at work is better than average.

Particularly impressive is the work done with crippled children, who are being trained to become useful, well-adjusted producers and citizens. There are more than 300 Scout units of physically handicapped children in the United States. "We live," Mr. Jorgenson told me, "in an era of specialization, and it is only a question of finding out where each disabled person, child or adult, will fit today or tomorrow." Most of the work has been limited to the physically disabled, but Mr. Jorgenson has not abandoned hope of a parallel effort in aid of the mentally handicapped.

If lack of money stands in the way of pushing forward this admirable work, I suggest that one atomic bomb less be made and the dollars saved turned over to this department of the United Nations.

The Morse Code

BY BRUCE CATTON

Washington

AS SOON as the bemused Democratic liberals get over their present condition of shell shock they will find they have a well-prepared position from which to start the important job of defeating the reactionary drive of the Eisenhower Administration. This position is being put in shape by Senator Wayne Morse, independent, of Oregon.

Morse is waging a fight which for courage and vision has had no parallel since George W. Norris staked out the field on which liberals could rally during the dark days of Coolidge and Hoover. So far he is fighting practically alone. When Congress opened, the Democrats, possibly because they were still reeling from the election results, joined hands with the Republicans in an attempt to cut his political throat. The vote which knocked Morse loose from his Senate committee assignments was a vote of the whole Senate, not merely of the Republican majority. Only five Democrats and one Republican supported him in that showdown. No protests were received from labor organizations or other important progressive groups.

Standing thus alone, Morse is open to all the criticism which descends on the lone operator. By turns he is presented in the press as the unhappy sore-head who is against everything and the erratic egoist who flits from position to position without regard for consistency.

BRUCE CATTON is writing a series of articles on the Washington scene.

Senator Wayne Morse

Actually, he is neither. And certainly he is the most effective opponent of the Republican Administration in Washington today.

He is effective because he is not content merely to attack. He tries to show the pattern of his adversary's actions which invites the attack. For instance: quite a number of people complained that the new Cabinet looked remarkably like a millionaires' club and objected bitterly to the attitude of Charles E. Wilson and other appointees to Defense Department posts. It was Morse, however, who demonstrated that the real trouble was not a few ill-advised appointments but the fact that a big-business Administration logically means government by and for big business men, and that the interests of big business are not those of the people. Similarly, as special interests flex their muscles for a grab at off-shore oil, public power, and public lands, Morse does not merely point an accusing finger at the schemers; he shows why such grabs are to be expected under an Administration supported by special interests.

To give another example, Morse attacks the military influence in government not by denouncing generals for being poor liberals but by citing chapter and verse to show that this influence is pernicious. In the first place, he says, army officers in Europe blithely talk about *when* the third world war will come instead of whether it will come, thereby giving all Europe the jitters; in the second place, the Pentagon spends so wastefully that we could cut our military budget at least 25 per cent, get just as much defense as we now have, and set world communism back several notches by applying the saving to economic aid.

Morse is not just a gadfly trying to vex good Republicans. He is building up a solid body of doctrine on which liberals can eventually return to the offensive. The spade work for the campaign has to be done by someone who is in the thick of things on Capitol Hill. Morse is there, and that is what he is working at.

The steps by which he emerged as President Eisenhower's stoutest antagonist make an interesting story. Less than three years ago Morse was a strong supporter of Eisenhower for President; one of the first to declare himself in the Senate. Eisenhower appeared before the Senate Armed Services Committee, of which Morse was a member, and made an excellent impression; Morse felt that through him it might be possible to reverse the long-continued trend in the Republican Party and develop a truly liberal program. This impression was strengthened when word came to various liberal Senators that Eisenhower saw the nomination of Senator Taft in 1952 as nothing less than a disaster and would be willing to spearhead the fight to prevent it.

DISILLUSIONMENT came by slow stages but was cumulative. It began at the Chicago convention when Eisenhower in effect ordered the nomination of Nixon for Vice-President. This looked to Morse too much like the steam-roller tactics which had raised so much opposition to Taft's candidacy. The famous Morningside Heights compromise followed, indicating that the General as a matter of political expediency was adopting the program of a man whose prospective nomination, earlier, had looked to him like disaster. At this point Senator Morse began to suspect that Eisenhower was primarily a military man rather than a statesman and acting on the military principle of accepting aid from any source in order to gain his objective.

Shortly after this, while Morse was cooling toward Eisenhower with considerable rapidity, he was asked to be on the platform when the General addressed the convention of the American Federation of Labor. Morse said he might be willing if what the General was going to say was something he could go along with; would they please show him what the speech would contain? This they could not do because they did not know anything about it. They wanted Morse for window dressing. They did not get him.

Next came the Jenner episode, with the public embrace visible all across Indiana and farther. While Morse was finding this impossible to swallow, an Eisenhower man came to him to solicit his indorsement of the General. Morse said the Jenner episode had disillusioned him, "Don't be naive," the Eisenhower man replied. "The General really hates Jenner. What he'd like to have done was give him a poke in the jaw."

The final straw was Ike's campaign speech blaming the State Department for the premature withdrawal of troops from Korea. As a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Morse remembered having seen a document in which General Eisenhower had joined with the chiefs of staff in approving the withdrawal. Since this document had been "classified," it seemed safe for the General to make his accusation. Morse got it declassified, however, broke the secret—and broke the last thread between himself and the man he had once thought might be the redeemer of the Republican Party.

The record hardly indicates that Morse has been erratic in first supporting and then opposing Eisenhower. But it helps one to understand the pressure applied in the Senate to get him off the Armed Services Committee. A man with so little reverence for military men and military thinking can be a very thorny member of such a committee.

So much heat was put on, as a matter of fact, that in the process of disciplining Morse the Senate killed its own prized seniority system, if anybody ever wants to make anything of it. For some eighty years seniority has been the chief feature of the Senate's organization. Once a man is put on a committee, he stays on it, if he wishes to, until the voters retire him. And finally he becomes chairman. It is this system which infallibly brings aging Southern Democrats to the chairmanship of key committees. Until recently there was no way of preventing it. Now the Senate has voted that a man can be ousted from his committees, seniority or no. It is possible that the precedent will rise to haunt people some day.

Morse is definitely not a sore-head. He does have some of the bitterness of a man who has to fight alone, but most of it is directed, not at the reactionaries who are his chosen foes, but at the liberals who might have been standing beside him. It is a safe bet that this anger will vanish when liberals begin to take up the work he has started, as they will doubtless do before long. "What you need here in the Senate," Morse has said, "is a bunch of guys who are willing to be defeated but aren't willing to compromise on their principles." There are plenty of Senators of that description, and they will come out of their coma before long.

Freud and the Hucksters

BY RALPH GOODMAN

SEDUCED by the advertising industry, an increasing number of social scientists are turning into superhucksters. Today any number of psychologists and sociologists will gladly undertake to probe the mass mind to discover, for instance, how non-drinkers can be persuaded to drink and drinkers to drink more. They only want a fat check—which they get.

To understand this strange marriage between salesmanship and the social sciences, one must view it against the background of our merchandising system. Advertising's single function is to sell the goods produced by industry. A successful advertising agency must therefore conduct extensive market research. In agencies of any size a special department collects all kinds of data on the markets open to clients' products and on consumers' reactions to both products and advertising.

In this task it uses the work done by the pollsters. Roper, Gallup, Crossley, and the others do not depend for their livelihood, as some may think, on political forecasting but on market surveys done for business. In fact, the whole range of statistical research and opinion sampling got its first impetus from business concerns which felt the need of reliable data on markets and consumer attitudes.

Sociology and psychology have recently come in for increased attention on the theory that if an advertising man can gain a better understanding of human behavior, he will be able to turn out copy with more "sell" appeal. Of course advertising has always used this approach in a haphazard, intuitive manner. Deodorants, soaps, and toothpastes have been sold through an appeal to such human emotions as love, fear, ambition, and the desire to be popular. Commercial use of facts discovered by the social sciences has long been advocated by certain psychologists, notably Ernest Dichter and the late Henry C. Link; as far back as 1919 Link was acting as psychological consultant to the United States Rubber Company. A number of advertising agencies have quietly but consciously employed these techniques for more than a decade.

Today the application of the social sciences to advertising has become a veritable fad. McCann-Erickson, one of the five top agencies in the United States, has its own psychological-research staff. Weiss and Geller, a large Chicago agency, holds regular staff conferences with prominent social scientists; Edward Weiss, president of the agency, believes the social sciences will "revolutionize" advertising. The lead article in the fall *Journal of Marketing* described the various schools of psychology and made suggestions about how their concepts could be used in marketing. The Chicago *Tribune's* Distribution and Advertising Forum for 1952 took as one of its three basic topics the role that the social sciences can play in advertising and selling. At the annual convention of the American Marketing Association held in Chicago at the end of December, the social sciences stole the show, getting front-page play in the *Wall Street Journal* and *Advertising Age*.

How, specifically, are the techniques of the social sciences being utilized in advertising? A brief account of a few typical advertising campaigns will make the procedure fairly clear.

Why do people chew gum? The Wrigley Gum Company wanted to know, and Weiss and Geller undertook

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RALPH GOODMAN is the pseudonym of an executive in an important institution connected with the American advertising industry.

to find the answer. A study made at the Institute of Psychoanalysis in Chicago produced three reasons—for oral comfort, for release of tension, to express symbolic hostility or aggression. The advertising agency next made a comprehensive sociological survey of a coal-mining area in eastern Pennsylvania, where gum sales were well below the national level. It discovered that the area had a relatively high rate of illiteracy, a large foreign-born population, and a low standard of living.

Putting the results of the two studies together, Weiss and Geller laid out a campaign for this particular region. The theme was frustration and the relief obtained by chewing gum. The idea was presented on a series of comic-strip ads. The first showed a child unable to do a simple, everyday task and overcoming his difficulty after an adult gave him a stick of gum. A second showed adults conquering frustration in the same way. The strips used a minimum of words so as to avoid the impression of insincerity and reach a not too literate public. During the year that the campaign ran, Wrigley reported that sales in the test area increased at a much higher rate than in the rest of the country. As a result the campaign was expanded to fourteen other markets.

Why do people drink? McCann-Erickson explored this question by interviewing people while they were drinking. The results seemed to divide drinkers into two main groups—those who drink as a means of retreat, and those who drink for the effect. The agency felt it could not project the first group in an ad in terms of a social situation. Its analysis of the second group revealed that the heavy drinkers drink either because it makes them feel better, helps them overcome their shyness, and so on or because they "become able to think independently and to use their creative ability." Another finding was that drinkers tend to associate the taste of liquor with the effect produced.

Since previous market research had showed that heavy drinkers consume 80 per cent of the hard liquor sold, McCann-Erickson decided that effective liquor advertising should "feature a taste promise which had an effect connotation" and "the types of drinks popular among heavy drinkers." Two McCann-Erickson clients who might be interested in this study are Melrose Distillers and Schenley Distillers.

Why do people smoke? This question was investigated by Social Research, Inc., which discovered the following reasons: cigarettes relieve tension, express sociability, aid poise, help anticipate stress, give sensory pleasure, are proof of daring, are signs of sophistication, help discharge energy, and signify conformity.

Advertising is important, Social Research stressed, because it popularizes a brand and smokers want to think their brand is popular. Advertising thus helps to make smoking "respectable." But the problem of all cigarette advertising, Social Research told the manufacturers, is how to combine a pleasure promise with reassurances that the tobacco will not hurt you. The solution advanced by Social Research was the generalization: "Cigarette advertising calls for creativity, for new departures, for an invitation to smoke that is not just a variation of assertions that 'you like it' or 'it won't hurt you'."

Other special psychological tests being used today in marketing have to do with "thematic apperception," word association, Rorschach ink blots, and Rosenzweig picture frustration. One company, the Ad Detector Research Corporation of Chicago, even uses the galvanometer, or lie detector. Consumers are strapped to the machine, ads are flashed before their eyes, and as they comment, their reactions are recorded. The Chicago *Tribune* has made this copy-testing service available to its advertisers at a cost of $75 per ad.

A NUMBER of concerns have profited greatly from this tendency to base advertising on sociological and psychological studies. The Psychological Corporation, founded thirty years ago in New York, lost money for some time, but with advertisers' acceptance of psychological research, its income rose from $250,000 in 1939 to $1,500,000 in 1951. Today more than half of its earnings comes from business and industry. The head of the Institute for Research in Mass Motivations, Dr. Ernest Dichter, a Vienna-born psychologist, began by helping the Chrysler Corporation to sell Plymouths through a socio-psychological advertising approach in 1937. Since then, he has, in his own words, "conducted research and completed more than 300 surveys in almost every field of selling and for almost every type of product."

It should be pointed out here that the social scientists engaged in market research are not of the pseudo variety. Many are ranking authorities in their fields. For example, among the present directors of the Psychological Corporation are Robert L. Thorndike, professor of education at Columbia University; Robert S. Woodworth, professor emeritus of psychology at Columbia; Donald G. Marquis, chairman of the Department of Psychology at the University of Michigan; and Walter R. Miles, professor of psychology at Yale. The executive director of Social Research, Inc., in Chicago is Burleigh Gardner, a former University of Chicago professor and co-author of "Deep South." Dr. Gardner as teacher and scholar contributed greatly to our understanding of class differences in American culture. Recently he addressed the American Marketing Association on the topic, "Putting Stereotypes and Prejudices to Work in Your Advertising Strategy." Drawing on his knowledge of American society he warned advertisers that the right stereotype must be used for each economic and social group: in ads intended for *Ebony* a Negro model must be used; an ad designed for the *New Yorker* will not have maximum impact on readers of *True Detective.*

The role played by social science in advertising raises the issue of the social scientist's place in society. Often, pleading "objectivity," he chooses to remain aloof from the social struggle. But his work shows that he stands for social and economic reform. His studies have inevitably led him to take the position, at least on the abstract level, that the structure of society, not human nature, is responsible for such ills as poverty and discrimination. It is ironic, then, to find sociologists and psychologists—most of whom know the score on social and economic inequalities—offering their services for projects whose aim is to increase sales through the manipulation of legitimate consumer desires. If the social scientist becomes the hireling of advertising and business, how can he study objectively their social implications?

Social scientists in the past have paid attention to the irrational patterns of human behavior because they wish to locate their social origins and thus be able to suggest changes that would result in more rational conduct. They now study irrationality—and other aspects of human behavior—to gather data that may be used by salesmen to manipulate consumers. No one, except perhaps Mr. Wrigley, can believe that chewing gum will relieve the basic frustrations of Pennsylvania coal miners.

The entrance of bona fide social scientists into the field of marketing is all the more shocking in view of the known damaging effects on personality of advertising which stimulates desires but offers no real means of satisfying them. The late Karen Horney, in "The Neurotic Personality of Our Time," referred to this danger:

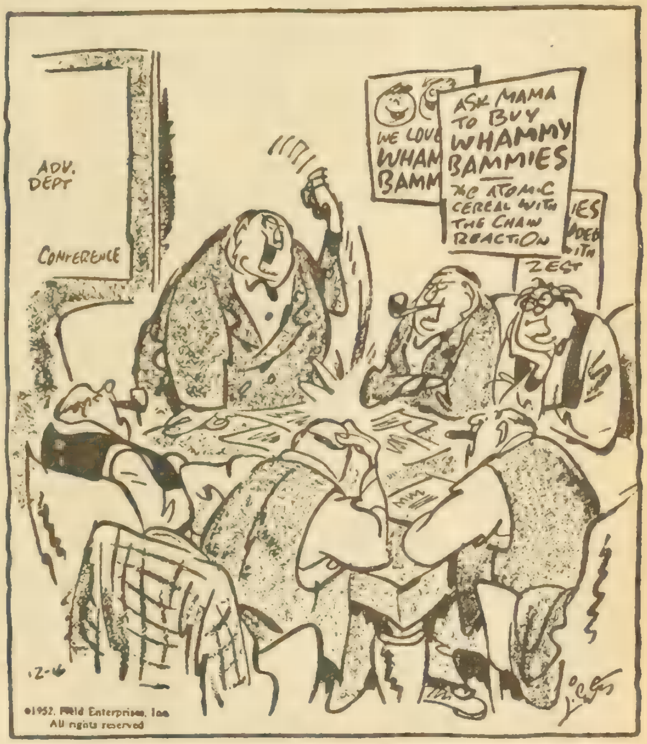
> For economic reasons needs are constantly being stimulated in our culture by such means as advertisements, "conspicuous consumption," the ideal of "keeping up with the Joneses." For the great majority, however, the actual fulfilment of these needs is closely restricted. The psychic consequence for the individual is a constant discrepancy between his desires and their fulfilment.

The sales executive, however, looks upon the public —his market—as an uninformed mass of people in whom certain desires must be aroused to get them to part with their money. The assumption of the business man is almost always that the public has the necessary purchasing power but for some ridiculous reason—such as insecurity—does not want to use it.

There is already evidence that the qualitative researchers plan to extend their operations beyond selling to the manipulation of public opinion on political questions. In 1951 the Psychological Corporation tested the effectiveness of a comic book "designed for the economic education of industrial workers." Entitled "How Stalin Hopes We Will Destroy America," the book was distributed to a group of factory workers, and "its impact was tested in terms of ideas left with readers and attitudes affected." The results indicated, the research concern reported, that "the booklet had an educational effect." It was therefore sponsored by an industrial client, who has distributed 800,000 copies to date. Ernest Dichter, in a series of talks he gave before the 1952 Presidential election, predicted that the campaign issues —Korea, inflation, corruption—would have little to do with the outcome. The decisive factor, according to Dichter, would be the emotional appeal exercised by the candidates. After the election Burleigh Gardner said in a letter to *Tide,* a news weekly for the advertising industry:

> I do think it is time to apply fresh techniques to the problem of political predictions. We believe that the strong Eisenhower majority could have been predicted using projection techniques. You could probably predict from the underlying emotional tone rather than from conscious beliefs.

Dichter's and Gardner's statements come under the heading of sales promotion. For the two men are in a competitive business. They must vie with the Gallups and Ropers to get orders from business, and they want to be in the first row when political groups decide to approach the problem of voter manipulation in the same "scientific" manner in which business now approaches selling problems. It would be a mistake to assume that the sociologists and psychologists who are helping to sell soaps and cigarettes are above this kind of opinion molding.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Lichty, Chicago *Sun-Times*

"Getting the kiddies to ask Mother to buy it isn't enough. We gotta get 'em to scream, bite and kick until Mother buys it."

Jews in Russia

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris

ALTHOUGH the number of Jews in the upper ranks of the medical profession in Russia has always been high, it seems more than an accident that six or seven of the nine "murderers in white overalls" of the impending Moscow purge trial should be Jews. Has anti-Semitism, it is being asked on all sides, become the official policy of the Soviet government?

It is certainly true that there has been in recent years a good deal of ambiguity in the Soviet government's attitude toward Jews. At a diplomatic reception given by Molotov toward the end of the war to which foreign correspondents were invited, I remember Homer Smith, an American Negro writer, going up to Kaganovich and saying, "Mr. Kaganovich, what is your nationality?" It seemed an impertinent question to address to so important a personage, but Mr. Smith got exactly the answer he wanted. Looking at him pointedly, Kaganovich said, "I am, in fact, a Jew, but in our country there is no racial discrimination."

Yet for quite a number of years now there has been a tendency to distinguish between "good Jews" and "bad Jews"—those who have fully adapted themselves to the Soviet regime and those who have not. There are also jobs where the Jews "fit" and jobs where they don't. Very few Jews are in agriculture, but hundreds of thousands—whose fathers were little shopkeepers—have enrolled in industry and the distributing trades. I have known Jewish miners in the Donbas and a number of Jews who became industrial executives and whose technical and administrative capacities received wide recognition in the shape of orders, medals, and even Stalin prizes.

When I was in Russia, Jews were prominent in the cinema and in light revues like Arkadi Raikin's Miniature Theater of Leningrad but were not numerous among high-class singers and actors. Reizen was the only famous Jewish singer at the Bolshoi Theater, and although the great Kachalov was said to be of Jewish descent, Jews were, in effect, barred from the Moscow Art Theater. On the other hand, there were many Jewish musicians—composers like Rachlin, violinists like Cistrach, pianists like the Gillels. In science, engineering, and medicine, as the impending trial shows, Jews attained the highest posts. In journalism a good many Jews held small posts but fewer and fewer got the big ones; today only two, Ehrenburg and Zaslavsky, are well-known regular contributors to the Moscow press. Ehrenburg was used during the war as the No. 1 anti-German hate propagandist, and although his snappy articles were popular in the Red Army, I often heard soldiers say, "He's overdoing it a bit; it's his Jewish point of view."

From at least one government department Jews are now systematically excluded. In the thirties, during the Litvinov regime, the Soviet Foreign Office was sometimes disdainfully referred to as "the synagogue," but it probably no longer contains a single Jew.

The military record of the Russian Jews during the war was remarkably good, as may be seen from a table published in October, 1942, showing the number of recipients of military decorations classified by nationality—128,000 Russians, 33,000 Ukrainians, and 5,000 Jews. Considering the size of each group in proportion to the population, the Jews received the most. This may, however, have been due to the fact that Jews, being townspeople, usually with some education, were very often officers or non-coms. Yet there were almost no Jewish generals.

At the same time, a certain amount of "primitive" anti-Semitism did exist: for example, the Jews were widely accused, though never publicly, of "wangling" for themselves the best rooms and apartments and black-market commodities. A curious phenomenon was the way the Soviet press, in describing German atrocities, tended to play down the Jewish angle, emphasizing the murder of Poles and Russian war prisoners more than the massacre of millions of Jews. It was almost as if killing Jews was not quite so bad as killing other people.

A kind of sporadic distrust of Jews has also been apparent in the higher echelons of the Communist Party itself—an inevitable hangover from the great purges of the thirties, in which an abnormally high percentage of Jews figured as Trotskyists. Soviet policy opposes not only Zionism but its opposite extreme—internationalism and the Trotskyist belief that only complete assimilation can solve the Jewish problem. In steering a middle course Soviet policy has in effect prevented complete assimilation while denying Jews the full nationality privileges explicit in Soviet law. This anomaly has tended to put Russian Jews—both those with a national consciousness and those desiring complete assimilation—into a false and ambiguous position. The very laws and regulations were to some degree ambiguous. In his passport, whether he wanted it so or not, a Jew was described as of Jewish "nationality," though there was really no such

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ALEXANDER WERTH, Paris correspondent for The Nation *spent many years in Russia as a journalist.*

thing, geographically or culturally. The number of orthodox Jews was very small indeed; the younger generation of Jews, especially, preferred more and more to be considered Russians. My own feeling is that Joseph Newman was thinking of a small unassimilated minority when he wrote in the New York *Herald Tribune* of the Zionism of Russian Jews and of the overwhelming impression made on them by the arrival of the Israeli legation. The "offensive" was started not by the Jews but by the Russians, though no doubt the little manifestations of Zionism at the time of the establishment of the Jewish state played into the hands of Russian anti-Semites.

In the general purge of the arts in 1948-49 phrases like "rootless cosmopolitan" were generally interpreted as a slur on the numerous Jews in literature and the other arts who, much more than their Russian confrères, were guilty of an interest in Western culture. When somebody at the 1949 Paris Peace Congress asked Ehrenburg what was meant by the "anti-cosmopolitan" campaign in the Russian press, he laughed the whole thing off: "Just shows we have some idiots in our press, which in turn shows that we have freedom of the press—even for idiots." But that was for foreign consumption. The Jews in Russia—or certain Jews—have now been built up to represent a foreign body in the Soviet Union, the only foreign body and therefore, potentially, the fifth column *par excellence.*

The Soviet authorities revealed grave doubts about the Jews in 1948, when they liquidated the only Yiddish paper in Moscow, the Communist *Einheit,* the Jewish publishing house, the Jewish anti-Fascist Committee, and the Jewish Theater. The last two had been associated with the name of the famous Jewish actor Michoels, who was murdered in mysterious circumstances while visiting Minsk in 1947. A Jewish theater critic named Golubov was murdered with him, and the crime was attributed, probably rightly, to an anti-Jewish pro-Nazi gang; such gangs survived in the Ukraine and Byelorussia for a number of years after the war.

WHEN we come to the nine doctors, the mystery thickens. The story of the wrong "treatment" given to Zhdanov and Shcherbakov makes no more sense than the charge that the doctors were "trying" to kill important Red Army leaders. It was generally known that Zhdanov had angina pectoris, while Shcherbakov suffered from a grave organic illuess which caused a monstrous form of obesity and was a hopeless invalid for at least two years before his death. Accounts of the plot against the generals are extremely vague. Perhaps the most significant thing that has been published was *Pravda's* attack on the lack of vigilance shown by the Security Police—an apparent attempt to implicate Beria.

On the one hand there is, it seems, a struggle for supremacy among the top Communists; on the other, an anti-Jewish drive motivated by the belief that if a potential fifth column exists in Russia it is likely to be made up of Jews, some of whom have a sneaking nostalgia for Israel while others are just a trifle too skeptical to conform wholeheartedly to the rigid moral standards of "Soviet Man," with his tremendous inner discipline and singleness of purpose. The arrest of the nine doctors—all of them extremely valuable men—is the one thing for which there is no logical explanation, even though six of them are Jews. Perhaps, to Malenkov, no price was too high to get at Beria.

Europe Looks at Dulles

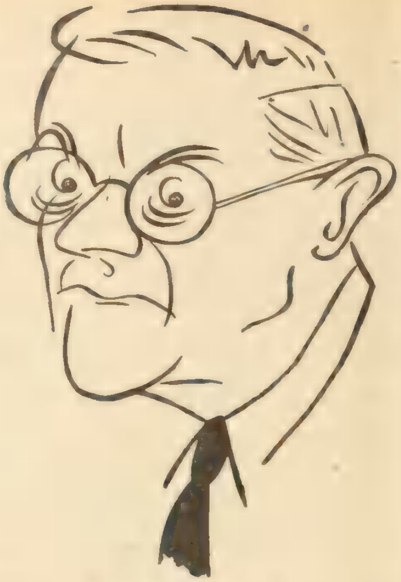
[The sharply adverse reaction abroad to President Eisenhower's new directive concerning the Seventh Fleet and to other foreign-policy declarations in his State of the Union message was pointed out in our issue of February 7; other foreign-policy developments are noted in our editorial pages this week. But in a sense these developments in American policy were presaged in Secretary Dulles's TV speech to the nation, delivered on the eve of his short swing through Western Europe. For all its casualness of tone, Mr. Dulles's address was a carefully contrived exposition of the bases and objectives of the new Administration's foreign policy, and it was so regarded in European capitals. Our correspondents in Paris, London, and Bonn report below on Europe's reception of this important statement and of Mr. Dulles.]

Better Taft than Dulles?

Paris

MR. DULLES'S speech and his visit here were sharply criticized by the press, with the exception of a few right-wing papers which consistently eat out of the hand of the United States. But even their line was in effect, "Okay, but you'll have to pay more for Indo-China." The opposition hardened when it was noted that Britain was not responding favorably either. If Britain would join up with the Continent, France would be more disposed to subscribe to the rearmament of Germany. Since it refused, Dulles was really demanding a lot and offering nothing in return.

What, it is asked, are the alternatives implicit in the Dulles policy? One seems to be the peripheral strategy dear to the heart of Senator Taft; the other, development of the *Wehrmacht* either as an independent force or as part of a European army to which Britain would not contribute. If the peripheral strategy means that American bombers would be available to check a Russian invasion of Europe, many Frenchmen would prefer it—unfamiliar though it still seems for the present—to reconstitution of the *Wehrmacht* in any form. And if, as *Franc-Tireur* suggests, France must do without dollars in the future, it could save a lot of money by pulling out of Indo-China.



John Foster Dulles

Yet it would be rash to prophesy that the French, so hard-pressed economically, have been persuaded by Mr. Dulles to follow any bold new line. It looks as if France were facing a period of hard bargaining in which it will be subjected to insults, threats, and a lot of bullying. The Dulles approach seems to have already deprived the free world of even a semblance of unity and dignity.

There is still in France a deep sense of freedom and a livelier intellectual life than anywhere else in the world. Whatever may be the government's temptation to yield to Mr. Dulles, one can be sure that the tougher his manner, the stronger will be the French resistance.

ALEXANDER WERTH

No Shotgun Wedding

London

THE British were startled, to say the least, by Dulles's tip-off that the chief purpose of his hurried visit to Europe was to "shotgun" Western Europe into federal unity. The usually pro-American *Economist* snapped:

> Mr. Dulles must not be surprised if Europeans inquire what the real object of the policy is, to use the European Defense Community to ward off the Communist threat or to use the Communist threat to remake Europe in America's federal image? . . . If it is Mr. Dulles's policy to force Britain into full membership of a West European federation, then his policy will fail. Neither in trade nor in strategy nor in political affectations does the United Kingdom regard itself as exclusively or even mainly a European country. This leads them to wonder why it should be so immoral for them to stay out of something that the moralizer himself has never had any intention of joining.

Brendan Bracken, Churchill's war-time Minister of Information and his close friend, wrote in the *Financial Times* that Mr. Dulles is "perhaps the only surviving admirer" of Horatio Alger, but insisted that "the disciple is a more active moralizer and his grasp on the obvious is firmer."

The *Economist* and other pro-American journals are indignant that Mr. Dulles has borne out the charges of American "dictation" which they have so often refuted. British statesmen do not like having pistols held to their heads. A friend of mine who is employed in one of Britain's largest companies insists that the Conservatives are now infinitely more anti-American than the Bevanites. Nevertheless, Mr. Eden managed adroitly to cut off Commons debate on the Dulles visit, and the lengths to which the British will actually go to oppose his policies remains to be seen.

ANDREW ROTH

Happiness at Bonn

Bonn

THE West German government, including its constituent parties and its press, received Dulles's speech with emotions best described by the almost untranslatable word *Schadenfreude*—pleasure caused by the misfortune of others. Adenauer and his supporters regard themselves as model pupils of the European school directed from Washington; they can hardly contain their joy at seeing London and Paris given bad marks.

This is no flight of fancy. The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* headlined its report on Dulles's visit to Europe: "The School Inspector Is Coming!" The theme recurrent in the government press is that "Paris is afraid that Bonn may take its place" as the center of Western Europe.

Not satisfied with supplanting London and Paris in Washington's favor, the West German ruling groups seemingly hope soon to meet the United States on a footing of equality. Now that Bonn has obtained its army, these Germans are saying that the French had better look out or they will be excluded entirely from the European Defense Community. The comment of the liberal-rightist *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* is typical:

> If Europe wishes to remain in the political orbit of the West, it must adapt itself to the new situation outlined by Dulles. If the politicians of Europe's states could achieve unity, a European "consciousness" would exist to deal with an American "consciousness." And this would carry the strongest possible weight with Dulles, who is looking—and not without good reason—for strong partners.

Adenauer himself, echoing the views of "Inspector" Dulles, bluntly declared: "Anybody who believes that Europe will be insured by America if it doesn't pay the premiums is sadly mistaken."

CAROLUS

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Ethics and Economics

GOALS OF ECONOMIC LIFE. Edited by A. Dudley Ward. Harper and Brothers. $4.

MANY economists have worked hard to make economics a science separated from ethical assumptions and devoted to the evaluation of efficiency. This volume takes an apparently opposite tack. Fifteen distinguished scholars drawn from economics, political science, biology, psychology, anthropology, philosophy, and theology combine to explore the relationship between ethics and economics and to distinguish appropriate Protestant roles in individual, group, and public conduct. The contributors include J. M. Clark, Frank Knight, Robert McIver, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Ralph Linton, among others. The enterprise is sponsored by the Federal Council of Churches and supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Five additional volumes will appear later.

The venture promises well. The Protestant, or more precisely the Calvinist, tradition is closely connected with the system of incentives under which free enterprise has flourished. Today many thoughtful Americans find the material achievements of free enterprise no unmixed triumph. Though they rejoice in its real promise of an end to poverty and in its lightening of toil, they uneasily sense a lack of corresponding ethical progress and suspect that men are not better because they are richer. Can we be better and better off? Are justice, freedom, and abundance compatible? We anticipate much from the examination of such questions by a group as well versed as this in various aspects of the study of man.

Much is given to us. The general quality of the essays is excellent. The five written by economists are nontechnical and extremely provocative. In them J. M. Clark demonstrates the inadequacy of market valuations; Kenneth Boulding examines the concept of progress and its close connection with free competition; Clarence Danhof and Eduard Heimann place our own system in the perspective of other cultures; and William Vickrey makes conflicts among values the central point of his essay. The other tidbits in this intellectual smorgasbord delighted this reviewer, a novice in all save economics, even more. There are Mr. Emerson's detailed comparisons of the ways of animals and men and his suggestion that much in human behavior is explained by homeostasis, the effort of the individual organism and conceivably of social groups to maintain healthy physiological and psychological balances; Mr. Snygg's list of psychological theories (an economist cannot repress an unworthy joy that Mr. Snygg blames physiology for some of psychology's defects much as economists now and then scold psychology for economics' deficiencies); Mr. Green's philosophical defense of stability in values and his proof of the existence of God; and Mr. Niebuhr's eloquent call upon Christian love to harness a human selfishness he sadly recognizes as strong and persistent. Each of these essays illuminates its own intellectual field, no small tribute to essays which average only thirty pages.

Nevertheless, judged by its stated purposes, the enterprise is a failure full of merits incidental to its objectives. The obvious mark of failure is the book's disunity. Although the contributors refer respectfully to their colleagues' contributions, they rarely use them to modify their premises, verify their techniques, or amend their conclusions. The sad fact is that we are treated to separate essays translated from several technical languages on a variety of subjects and never shown how these partial insights into man's condition can be combined to form a more complete understanding. Each expert, firm and confident in the handling of his own subject, grows reticent as he approaches its frontiers and mute when he passes beyond them. The two theological essays and the single philosophical one are partial exceptions to this generalization. Their merit is an attempt to see man whole. Their fault is a level of abstraction so high as to obscure their view of concrete human behavior.

Indeed, it is difficult to understand how either a sincere Protestant or a sincere unbeliever can alter action or attitude because of what he reads here. Though various authors inform him that free enterprise and state control must be combined, that different cultures have adopted different values, that psychologists disagree on man's nature, that love of God is a crowning possession, and much else, no one guides him on the path of daily life. As a good Christian should he enrich himself? All contributors agree that self-interest is a powerful drive. All share the belief that it has proper limits. But what are these limits? How, by examining his conscience or this book, can a person decide that he has amassed too much or that his methods were unworthy? For no longer, our theologians agree, can wealth be taken as a sign of grace.

No answers are vouchsafed to these difficult questions, and, in truth, few concrete suggestions are made. Even more surprising is how little impact their common Christian faith has on the contributions of these scholars. As far as we can judge from this book, theology, instead of influencing other disciplines, has assumed a place alongside them as one more analytical framework on which to hang partial truths. Although this symposium interests and informs, like most others it conspicuously fails to integrate.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

Struggle for a Soul

THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PAUL CLAUDEL AND ANDRE GIDE. Introduction and Notes by Robert Mallet. Prefaced and Translated by John Russell. Pantheon Books. $4.

THE famous correspondence of Alain-Fournier and Jacques Rivière takes one into the very climate of French intellectual life as no historical survey could. And so too does this present volume of letters written between 1899 and 1926. The very fact that publication in France occurred in 1949, while the two long-estranged antagonists were still alive, is of the first importance. Gide and Claudel alike recognized that their struggle for Gide's soul transcended private bitterness; it was a moment in the conscience of the race. And the French public, because it is what it is and still respects the opinions of writers, accepted their recognition. It is heartening to see this kind of controversy conducted not in a courtroom or before investigative committees but within the pages of a book. Even today representative intellectual controversy is front-page news in France, with the frail Mauriac fending off both Sartre and Cocteau.

These letters contain some new information for the student of Gide. They tell us that "Le Retour de l'enfant prodigue" was partly conceived as an answer to Claudel; that the Freudian motivation of "La Porte étroite" was an afterthought; that as late as 1914 Gide's homosexuality was not known to some of his close associates. But the first and lasting interest is the struggle for a soul. "You are the stake, the protagonist, and the cockpit of a great struggle whose outcome I cannot foresee, but I think that what is best in you will end by opening its wings." So Claudel wrote in his last letter, but by 1947 he had given up all hope. He then saw Gide at the beginning of the downfall of all the young men who wrote him letters after having "gone astray." And he would recognize in Gide no talent "at all."

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The Catholic and non-Catholic cannot be expected to read these letters with the same eye. In fairness to Claudel one must grant that Gide's slipperiness at times bordered on deception; more than once he presented himself as closer to conversion than he was. The brutal proselytism of Claudel, deeply offensive to me, will seem nobly disinterested to many others. What at least deserves open discussion is the attitude of certain French Catholics toward suppression of the truth. Francis Jammes set the pattern when he complained of a passage in "Le Voyage d'Urien." Du Bos, Maritain, and others pleaded with Gide to suppress "Si le Grain ne meurt." And in the crucial pages of this correspondence Claudel begs Gide to remove a passage with homosexual connotations from "Les Caves du Vatican." These vices "are neither permitted, nor excusable, nor avowable." *Nor avowable.* If the confessions had to be made publicly, they should at least be made posthumously. Against this position Gide argued, as always, his hatred of hypocrisy.

ALBERT J. GUERARD

Rise of Chinese Communism

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF CHINESE COMMUNISM. By Conrad Brandt, Benjamin Schwartz, and John K. Fairbank. Harvard University Press. $7.50.

FOR five years China has supplied one of the most controversial issues in American politics. The issue has been used to blacken reputations and ruin private lives; it has helped some political figures to build their careers; and it played, I believe, a role in the defeat of the Democratic Party. Perhaps one of the most lamentable effects of the controversy has been the shrinking of examination and free discussion of the developments in China. Many a student of Chinese affairs who could contribute to the discussion today keeps silent for fear of championing an unpopular notion.

In view of this growing aridity it is especially pleasant to report the publication of a chrestomathy that should not only provoke useful debate but remain a standard work on Chinese communism. The book, its authors explain modestly, is a study of the Chinese Communist Party line, "not a history of the movement as a whole, much less a history of the Chinese revolution." The authors underestimate the value of their own work. For this fat volume *is* a history of the Communist movement. What is missing from the forty Chinese Communist documents is supplied in the twenty-six commentaries—all of them very good and a few of them brilliant—by the Harvard scholars. It reflects no discredit on the authors that they do not give definitive answers to the questions they raise.

These questions and conclusions are of great moment to the United States. Is Red China the latest of Russia's satellites? Is there any possibility of Mao Tse-tung becoming another Tito? Was the Chinese revolution a product of Soviet intrigue, and could any conceivable United States action have arrested its progress?

It is not easy to detect any clear answers in the Chinese documents, for in China as in Russia the party line has been a series of violent zigzags rather than a straight line. Yet the picture that emerges does carry a lesson. The party itself was created in 1921—by Mao among twelve Chinese—in the Bolshevik image and in the presence of a Comintern emissary. For the next seven or eight years it was directly, closely, and disastrously supervised by Moscow. Late in 1922 Karl Radek forecast the next turn in China by advocating an alliance between the Communists and the Kuomintang. The Chinese Communists obediently and formally approved this step six months later. Joffe, Borodin, Mif, Galen, Roy, and scores of other less well-known figures begin then to appear behind the Chinese Party, guiding it, warning, watching, and at times summarily firing its leaders. Tragically for the Chinese Communists, their greatest crisis coincided with the titanic battle between Trotsky and Stalin. Moscow's ignorance of the Chinese scene compounded the confusion among the Chinese Communists and caused the death of uncounted thousands.

While the party line zigzagged madly,

while the party leaders were being fired by Moscow or forced into insane and bloody adventures, Mao went off on his own. For years as the documents in the book show, he had believed that revolution could grow sturdy roots in the countryside. By 1927 the Hunan peasant associations he had organized had more than 2,000,000 members. That September he led an abortive peasant revolt, and in November he set up the first Soviet. In this year Mao was left off the party Politburo, and the Central Committee declined to submit to the party congress his land-redistribution plan. The Comintern, and Stalin himself, still insisted that the "initiator and guide" of the Chinese revolution must be the urban proletariat. But the papers of Mao presented in the book show he had already decided that the poor peasantry would serve very satisfactorily as the "revolutionary vanguard." In this respect, the authors suggest, Mao had given a new twist to Leninism.

In the next few years the Moscow-controlled party organization in the cities crumbled, while Mao and his rural associates gained strength. Finally the Comintern agents, including Chou En-lai, who survived the urban disaster, came to Mao's country strongholds to seek refuge and assignment. With no choice before it Moscow adopted Mao as its favorite son. And being both a Leninist and a shrewd Chinese compromiser, Mao took the proffered olive branch—for years there was little more than this branch.

As the "Documentary History" shows, the party line continued to zigzag under Mao, less at the time in response to Moscow's wishes than to the need to retain peasant support and win the backing of the anti-Japanese, nationalist segments of the population. It was not until the Communists had defeated Chiang Kai-shek and Mao had made his pilgrimage to the Kremlin that the party line made a violent twist back to the orthodox notion of a revolution guided by urban workers. Unfortunately, the book stops with 1950. It thus touches but lightly on this twist or the other important developments since then. The authors suggest, however, that one of the effects of Moscow's adventure in Korea was to fix China within the Soviet orbit, and another was to speed up the process toward totalitarian controls and methods.

Is the Chinese Communist Party a Soviet satellite? The authors feel the relation is rather that between a senior and a junior partner, with the powerful Chinese nationalism barring any swallowing of China by the Soviet empire. On the other hand, they say, while Communist propaganda may keep the Sino-Soviet bonds firm over a short term, in the long run Chinese nationalism may assert itself, as did that of Yugoslavia.

MARK GAYN

The Crane Legend

THE LETTERS OF HART CRANE, 1916-1932. Edited by Brom Weber. Hermitage House. $5.

AMERICAN poets can seldom hope to be elevated to mythological status with such splendid Byronic rapidity as Hart Crane. The American imagination is nothing if not prudential. But Crane is our astonishing exception; somehow he burst our bonds of native caution and humor, not only among the sentimentalists of state poetry societies but among otherwise sober and learned men. The process was begun during his brief lifetime, and now for a decade or more he has been securely lodged among the constellations. And it is perhaps unfortunately true that he has been more useful to American letters as a myth than he was—or would have been had he lived longer—as a working poet. Whether you are an idolater or a detractor, you can deal more effectively with a myth than with a real live poet, human and corrupt.

Moreover, it is perhaps similarly unfortunate that this volume of Crane's letters—intelligently and meticulously edited by Mr. Weber—will do little to reestablish the memory of the poet on a more effable plane. The fact is, Crane *was* a myth. He believed it, and he insisted upon it. Throughout an incredible series of fights, affairs, jobs, hangovers, moves, illnesses, family squabbles, and in spite of long periods of creative inertia, he managed to subordinate every motion and every emergency to a ruling, consuming, conscious drive to write poetry—and not just to write but to drown himself in a tumultuous sea of creative passion.

One cannot read this volume through without receiving the impression that Crane was more than half mad almost all the time. The letters, voluble and fluent, are full of outbursts and despairs. They are full also of solecisms, so many that one can scarcely think them all slips of the pen. There are many passages of fine prose, and the letters are worth reading for these, as well as for the glimpses of Crane's contemporaries and the comments on his own poems. There is much fuel here for Crane's detractors, but there is assurance for his idolaters too. The main objection to the volume as such is that it may be premature: there are so many omissions, so many names disguised by blanks, that there will have to be a supplementary volume, when time takes the edge off Crane's private indiscretions, if only to satisfy our curiosity.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

A Basic Study

CLASSIC ART. By Heinrich Wölfflin. Translated by Peter and Linda Murray. Phaidon Publishers. Distributed by Garden City Books. $6.50.

A NEW and thoroughly readable translation of one of the most influential books on art history ever written. "Classic Art" appeared in 1899, sixteen years before Wölfflin's still more famous "Principles of Art History," which, despite its title, is a systematic contrast of Renaissance and Baroque art and architecture. This earlier work, which char-

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acterizes the painting and sculpture of the High Renaissance in Italy, was the basis of the second. A third, not yet translated, developed the contrast between German and Italian concepts of form in the visual arts, especially in the late medieval and Renaissance periods. No writer on the history of art can match Wölfflin for force of impact on the study both of historical style in art and of national (or at least regional) continuity in artistic traditions. Wölfflin's basic ideas have also influenced the criticism of music and literature. He is more responsible than anyone else for the elimination of derogatory overtones from the term Baroque, which the "correct" late eighteenth-century critics used as a means of castigating the work of prior generations.

A stiff translation of "Classic Art" published in 1903 has long since gone out of print. Once again, through this fine new translation, Wölfflin's fresh observation, his intuitive grasp of form, his vast scholarship, and his flair for intellectual synthesis become available to American and English readers.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Books in Brief

THE WEST PORTALS OF SAINT-DENIS AND CHARTRES. By Whitney S. Stoddard. Harvard. $20. A very detailed study of portal sculpture in the Ile de France in the fifty years following the erection of the façade portals of Saint-Denis in 1140, under Abbot Suger. This volume, which is profusely illustrated and beautifully designed, argues convincingly for the traditionally held view, recently attacked by French scholars, that the Royal (West) Portal of Chartres Cathedral followed rather than preceded Saint-Denis. Abbot Suger therefore receives credit for launching a type of portal composition which eventually became standard for Gothic architecture and must rank with the major inventions of architectural sculpture. The study of ornament, much of it of superb quality, is more thorough than in other books in this field.

PRIMARY ELECTIONS IN THE SOUTH. A Study in Uniparty Politics. By Cortez A. M. Ewing. Oklahoma. $2.75. This is a useful supplement to Key's "Southern Politics" and Heard's "A Two-Party South?" Though primary elections are the only real political conflict in the South, even in the primaries participation is lower in Southern states than in other sections. The figures "refute better than rhetoric the Southern apologists who maintain that the South is as democratic as other sections." Rejecting Heard's relative optimism, Ewing believes the South is likely to "become more isolated from the national political scene," to exert less influence in Presidential elections, and "to remain important only in . . . Congress by holding the balance between the two great parties."

Verse Chronicle

BALTIMORE, whether you know it or not, is becoming quite a center for poetry. There seem to be, in that city, several groups which enjoy the stimulating company of their peers; one of these centers around Editions Imagi, which has just published, as the initial volume in a limited series of first collections, "First Poems," by Marvin Solomon ($1.75). Only two hundred copies of this handsomely made book have been printed. In an introductory note it is stated that the poems in this volume do not represent Mr. Solomon's complete production over the past five years; there has been highly critical editing by Mr. Solomon's fellow-poet, the editor, Thomas Cole. Perhaps too highly critical, for Mr. Solomon appears here as a good deal of a one-string harper, the ironic note. I feel sure he has more to say than that "it is hard to find princesses to be rescued nowadays" in these or in other words, that he has more sprightliness in him, and is capable of a fine light touch with the rococo; I hope that next time he will submit less humbly to editorial strictness.

Another finely made book, the "Collected Poems" of Yvor Winters, has been published by Alan Swallow ($3). Mr. Winters is surely one of the most romantic fellows imaginable, with his devotion to the classic, his belief in the virtue of his one-man crusade. It is a good crusade, though not a fashionable one—against verbalizing, against prolixity, against spilling and heaving yourself all over the place, against a lot of talking whether or not you know what you are saying.

> Few minds will come to this.
> The poet's only bliss
> Is in cold certitude—
> Laurel, archaic, rude.

Few minds indeed; the statement is not quite true, either. There has been pleasure known, both to writer and reader, from the poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling; cold certitude would rule out too many. But Mr. Winters's practice lives devoutly and finely up to his profession; the precision excludes neither emotion nor suggestion.

Still another nice-looking book, with good paper and seemly typography, is "Trembling Prairie," by James K. Feibleman (the Hammer Press, no price stated). This is Mr. Feibleman's fourth collection of verse, but he gives the impression of being more at home in philosophy than poetry in so far as vocation or even avocation is concerned. His poems have an amateur quality about them, with both the awkwardness and the disarming appeal; they seem a little venturesome, a little shy, the diffident expressions of a gentle spirit; this is no hard-boiled old pro telling you. No single item is sharply memorable, but a good deal of atmosphere is conveyed, the mood and weather of the gulf, bay, bayou, tide flat, levees around Mr. Feibleman's home country; and the eye does not entirely miss people either.

For readers whose interests extend beyond the contemporary American, the following might be noted, though lack of space prevents comment: "Early English Christian Poetry," translated into alliterative verse, with a critical commentary, by Charles W. Kennedy (Oxford University Press, $4); "The Song of Roland," translated by Frederick Bliss Luquiens, with an introduction by Nathan A. Smyth (Macmillan, $2.75); "Canadian Poems," 1850-1952, edited by Louis Dudek and Irving Layton, who include their own works (Contact Press, price not stated); and Baudelaire's "Les Fleurs du Mal," translated by Roy Campbell (Pantheon Books, $3.50). These last are especially useful to set off against the Millay-Dillon versions.

In conclusion, and valedictory, I refer readers of this chronicle to my letter in the correspondence section.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Tchaikovsky's Suite No. 3, which Balanchine used for the ballet of that title, has pages that are characteristic products of Tchaikovsky's extraordinary powers of invention, craftsmanship, and taste. Except for an occasional slow tempo that doesn't seem right to me Schuricht's performance with the Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra on a London record is good; and the violins, though not lustrous; are not veiled. Something better than the Capriccio Italien should have been put on the reverse side.

All of Dvorak's superb Slavonic Dances are performed well on two Urania records by Talich with the Czech Philharmonic. Treble must be reduced; but on a couple of sides it must be stepped up again near the center.

Of the Delius pieces that are played well by Slatkin with the Concert Arts Orchestra on a Capitol record I like the Prelude to "Irmelin" but don't care for the Caprice and Elegy for cello and orchestra, the Intermezzo and Serenade from "Hassan," "Summer Night on the River," and "On Hearing the First Cuckoo in Spring."

Prokofiev's Suite No. 2 from the ballet score "Romeo and Juliet"—merely very efficient writing for its purpose—is played well on a Vanguard record by Mravinsky with the Leningrad Philharmonic. Shostakovich's Ballet Suite No. 1 (1950) is on the reverse side.

CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT LEKACHMAN is a member of the Economics Department of Barnard College.

ALBERT J. GUERARD, associate professor of English at Harvard University, is the author of "André Gide" and other books.

MARK GAYN is the author of "Japan Diary."

HAYDEN CARRUTH, formerly editor of *Poetry,* is on the staff of Intercultural Publications.

S. LANE FAISON, JR., chairman of the Art Department of Williams College, is *The Nation's* art critic.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

The Presidential Succession

Dear Sirs: Inasmuch as Dr. Monroe E. Deutsch has mentioned my name in connection with his proposal [One Heartbeat Away, *The Nation,* December 20, 1952] that the people be allowed to vote separately for President and Vice-President, you will perhaps permit me to express my views on this subject.

Let me say, to begin with, that I share his dissatisfaction with the existing arrangements regarding the Presidential succession. I can see no merit in a system which when a vacancy happens in the office of President, places in the Executive chair—possibly for a full four years—a man never thought of for that office by anybody. But I cannot think that Dr. Deutsch's remedy would do more than compound the evil.

Dr. Deutsch argues that if the "package deal" were abandoned and the candidates for Vice-President required to be judged on their own qualifications, the nominating conventions would choose better men for the secondary post. I see no reason to think so. The contest between the parties would still be for the great prize; the Vice-Presidency would still be hawked about in exchange for votes for the Presidency. The remarks which Senator White made prophetically in 1803 would still be true: "Character, talents, virtue, and merits will not be sought after in the candidate. The question will not be asked: Is he capable? Is he honest? But can he by his name, by his connections, by his wealth, by his local situation, by his influence, or his intrigues, best promote the election of a President?"

Dr. Deutsch's proposal for a separate Vice-Presidential election, taken by itself, would in my view leave the caliber of the candidates exactly where it is now. But it would have one very serious disadvantage. It might, as he himself concedes, bring into office a President of one party and a Vice-President of another. Then, if the President died, we would not only have as President a man whom no one intended for the office but have what Senator Beveridge used to call a "political non-sequitur" in the Executive branch. Does anyone really think that the substitution of Senator Sparkman for Senator Nixon as provisional successor to President Eisenhower, would remove the difficulty of the succession problem?

Dr. Deutsch, however, has another plan for improving the character of Vice-Presidents: he would attach to the office duties of such high importance that no one would think of nominating an incompetent person to it; such an office, furthermore, would become an object of ambition to men of Presidential caliber. The scheme is a plausible one, and it has often been urged before—by Theodore Roosevelt, by Senator Beveridge, and, more recently, by Representative (now Senator) Monroney.

I submit, however, that no plan for enlarging the powers of the Vice-Presidency can be sound. The additional powers must be legislative or executive. If they are legislative, the system might work well enough so long as the Vice-President and the Senate were of the same political complexion. But what would happen if a Democratic Vice-President with the powers of, say, a "Czar" Reed were thrust upon a Republican Senate, or vice versa?

The case is much worse if the additional powers are executive. For how is the President to be held responsible for his Administration if high executive duties are vested in an officer not subject to his direction or control? It must be remembered that a Vice-President, armed with substantial powers and irremovable except by impeachment, might use his position to embarrass or defeat, as well as to aid, the Administration. The danger, always present, would be especially acute on those occasions when, under Dr. Deutsch's plan, the Vice-President was not of the President's party.

I remain, therefore, of my original opinion, elaborated six years ago in the *Atlantic Monthly,* that the best solution to the problem of the Presidential succession is to expunge the office of Vice-President from the Constitution and to let an officer designated by Congress—preferably the Secretary of State—act as President until the next Congressional election, at which time the people can elect a new President for a new four-year term.

If the office of Vice-President cannot be abolished, I would favor the scheme advanced by Walter Lippmann, that the Vice-President act as President until the next Congressional election and that then a new President and new Vice-President be chosen. I admit the force of Dr. Deutsch's comment that such a plan does not eliminate the evil of the Vice-Presidential succession but merely reduces the time it would afflict us. But the shortening of the maximum term of an accidental President from four years to two seems to me a very sensible advantage.

LUCIUS WILMERDING, JR.
Princeton, N. J.

"Whose Wars?"

Dear Sirs: I would like to congratulate you on the December 27 issue of *The Nation,* in particular on Nelson Algren's American Christmas, 1952, and the very important article, Whose Wars? by Robert Lynd.

I had been looking for some time for a documented analysis of the economic motive behind the growing military strength of the United States, and Robert Lynd has done a real service to the cause of truth in raising this vital question. I attended a large conference on Point 4 in Washington last May in which American business and industry was a participant, and I seemed to feel at that time some apprehensions about the direction in which our policy was moving and the incentive of at least some of these people in backing social and technical assistance; namely, to establish our footholds in the areas of the world where great natural resources still lie untapped.

RUSSELL JOHNSON,
Peace Education Secretary,
American Friends Service Committee
Cambridge, Mass.

In Defense of Freedom

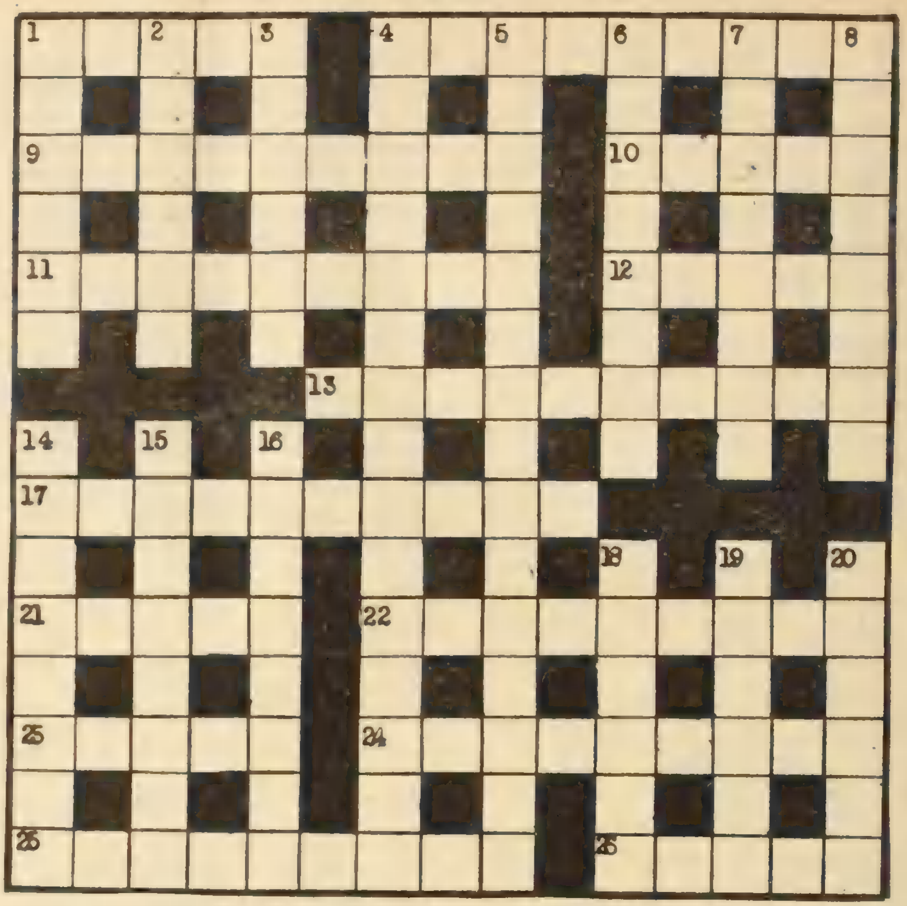
Dear Sirs: The serious consequences of loyalty oaths and official investigations in the name of anti-Communist security measures need not be emphasized to readers of *The Nation.*

This letter is written to propose the formation of a committee of informed and independent persons who would undertake to keep a comprehensive account of legislation and Congressional action touching upon freedom of speech and thought. It would further serve as a coordinating agency for the many individuals and organizations who would like to pool their efforts to bring a better understanding of the implications of such legislation.

The committee I propose would bring before the public in letters to the press and in articles to periodicals more popular than scholarly the implications of statutes and investigations which threaten freedom of research and of ex-

Crossword Puzzle No. 503

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Goat's-head island? (5)
4 If you want to get at a lot, rub the wrong way—you'll find it counts. (9)
9 Certainly not the people's choice. (9)
10 Approaches where to find R and T. (5)
11 Here are the rules. (9)
12 Be allowed to come back with something to chew on, perhaps. (5)
13 Implying fleet women are O.K. by the M.D. (Affected by ether, perhaps!) (5, 5)
17 The clue is one-sided, until a real change is made. (10)
21 His tiger was evidently hot, but sort of cold. (5)
22 Exemplified by De Falla's three-cornered one? (5, 4)
23 Small insect of an irregular variety. (5)
24 There's ego in the air—you'll hear it again and again. (5, 4)
25 Decor for "Snowbound"? (Designed by Anderson.) (9)
26 Finale of 25, arranged for woods only. (5)

DOWN

1 Heavy treads come in clusters. (6)
2 Nothing to drink on return? One can't say it isn't material. (6)
3 The forcible impinging of devilish behavior? (6)
4 If your calling concerns the Salvation Army, you might. (9, 6)
5 Implying one got a good deal for what his first story might be on. (7, 8)
6 These certainly aren't short salutations as used by Robin. (8)
7 When at the head, it's still the same—drawing. (8)
8 Uneasy without the remainder? (8)
14 Flounce with the hair down? (8)
15 Novel territory for the river. (8)
16 You might find a sort of pest in step! (With the white man, of course!) (8)
18 An obvious kind of leather? (6)
19 A word for the lead of "Life with Father"? (6)
20 Give us time—we must master them to do anything well. (6)

*

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 502

ACROSS:—1 FATIGUE CLOTHES; 9 ABUSIVE; 10 WHISTLE; 11 HEARTS; 12 FRESHETS; 14 SINCERE; 15 COTES; 17 BLIND; 19 ESTEEMS; 21 POPULACE; 23 IMPALE; 25 NONSTOP; 26 ELUSIVE; 27 AS THE CROW FLIES.

DOWN:—1 FLASH BULB; 2 TOUCANS; 3 GLISTENED; 4 EDEN; 5 LOWER BERTH; 6 and 21 TAILSPINS; 7 ENTREAT; 13 and 8 TELESCOPIC LENS; 15 CREAMPUFF; 16 SORCERESS; 18 IMPENDS; 20 SWAHILI; 22 LATCH; 24 VETO.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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pression, and which penalize retroactively possible erroneous judgment or actions legal at the time they were taken. It would further seek to counteract the official investigations by elucidating in principle and in concrete detail the necessity of freedom for the security of a free society.

New York KATHERINE A. WELLS

Last Verse Chronicle

Dear Sirs: The Verse Chronicle on another page of this issue will be, I regret to say, the last to appear over my signature in *The Nation*. The policy announced in the mid-January issue strikes me as all to the bad. No matter what face is put upon the matter, a "liberal" magazine which effects economies, however grimly necessary, by firing a good literary editor and cutting down on the space allotted to notice of books is altogether too mean-spirited for this old politician.

New York ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Tidelands Campaign

Dear Sirs: In making Tidelands oil a naval reserve President Truman has made it more difficult for Congress to give away (quit claim) federal property worth more than Tea Pot Dome, the TVA, the national forests, and all the gold in Fort Knox.

The value of this submerged land is estimated at one hundred billion dollars, or more than one-third of the public debt. It is worth more than the oil in Iran and Mexico.

The campaign to pressure Congress into giving away this priceless natural resource, which the Supreme Court of the United States in six decisions has clearly and unequivocally declared does not now and never did belong to the people of any single state, is clearly a campaign to get Congress to do something the Supreme Court refused to sanction.

Of course it is within the power of Congress to give away Tea Pot Dome, the TVA, and any other federal property. The governments of Mexico and Iran also have the "power" to give away their oil land. Are our citizens less vigilant and alert than the people of Mexico and Iran? Let us hope that Congress will uphold the decisions and final decrees of the United States Supreme Court in this affair, and that readers of *The Nation* will wire or write their Senators, without delay. J. RUPERT MASON,

President, International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade

London

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Around the U.S.A.

Nearly Everybody Swears in Harrison

Harrison, New York

THIS Westchester County suburb of New York achieved fame of a sort recently when its school board became the first in the state to require a loyalty oath from the officers of all organizations seeking to use the school facilities. The oath is also required of speakers who appear before such organizations. Thus the officers of the local Parent-Teachers Association, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, or League of Women Voters must take the oath if they want to meet in a Harrison school building.

The pattern set here has already been copied in several nearby communities and eventually could spread to all the three thousand autonomous school districts in the state.

The local board's action, taken over the protest of many residents, brought into the open the bitterness which has been developing covertly between the self-styled "old-timers" who work as well as live in the county and the "johnny-come-lately" commuters. The commuters opposed the oath and had a bad time of it. Their moderately phrased arguments were frequently equated with communism and were countered more than once by ill-concealed appeals to race prejudice. Perhaps half of Harrison's commuters are Jewish.

Without doubt the majority of the town supports the board and the loyalty oath. After the turn of the century the electrification and four-tracking of the New Haven Railroad, which serves the community, and the building of nearby Kensico dam, brought a great many workmen to Harrison, many of them newly arrived Italian immigrants who settled there permanently. They raised large families and as the years passed took over the political power which had formerly been the unquestioned prerogative of the descendants of the original settlers—Harrison was founded in 1696.

■ By the mid-thirties the white-collar exodus from New York began to lap over into Harrison as into other Westchester towns. One of the motivations in this shift from city to suburb has undoubtedly been the New Yorker's perennial search for better primary schools. The Harrison system, however, was generally oriented toward high school as the terminal educational experience, with emphasis on technical and business training, while most of the commuting families wanted their children to go on to college. Inevitably demands for changes in the curriculum were voiced.

In the last seven years the town's school population has nearly doubled. When the commuters tried to elect sympathetic members to the school board, the Italian American community made a vigorous counter-effort to control it and "keep the schools from becoming a hotbed of progressive education." Since Italian and Irish Americans constitute a majority in the school district, they succeeded in getting a four-to-one Catholic majority on the board.

Their domination was not docilely accepted by the commuters. The board meetings, which in the past had been humdrum affairs, became the scene of vigorous debates on educational policies. For a while the board attempted to avoid discussion by retiring into executive session, but the state education law was cited to prevent this. Fighting stubbornly, it rejected the voters' offer to form an Advisory Committee through which technically trained residents could assist the trustees in planning enlargement of school facilities; this, said the board, smacked of subversive usurpation of the functions of elected officials. By now the board was characterizing all opposition as "pinko." It seems to have concluded that if it could discredit the most vociferous members of the Parent-Teachers Association its troubles would be over.

Last October, soon after the United States Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of New York's Feinberg act requiring all teachers to sign a loyalty oath, the board issued the indicated questionnaires to the teaching staff and at the same time announced that officers, members, and guest speakers of organizations using school buildings must sign a similar oath. An early deadline was set for compliance. Later, when it became evident that the board might become a laughingstock if each little cub scout were asked to sign the oath, the date was postponed until after the next scheduled board meeting so that the ruling could be amended to require the oath only from officers and speakers.

■ A Citizens' Committee consisting of an Episcopal minister, two professors, a partner in a large accounting firm, a well-known author and critic, a former dean of the Harvard Law School, and several other respected residents circulated an impressive letter of protest throughout the district. This, together with extensive publicity in the local and metropolitan press, produced the largest turnout ever to appear at a board meeting, some four hundred persons. But the cards were stacked. Secure in the knowledge that he had majority community support, Joseph Vassallo, president of the board, opened the meeting by putting the question on the amended oath, received a unanimous vote of approval, and then consented to hear the other side.

On November 14 all the officers of the P.T.A. took the oath. Afterward two of them resigned in protest. Others who had been active against the oath decided they could continue the fight better in office than on the outside. Recently action was instituted before the state Commissioner of Education to compel the school board to revoke the oath requirement.

Already the town is showing signs of the suspicion which the Citizens' Committee predicted would divide neighbor from neighbor. "What have they got to hide?" people ask about those who oppose the oath. Some of the protesters, ashamed and angry at the turn of events, are talking about selling their homes and moving to another town.

DAVID CLINTON

[*The author is a Harrison commuter.*]

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Anglo-Egyptian Accord

The Anglo-Egyptian agreement on the Sudan, signed in Cairo on February 12, is undoubtedly an Egyptian victory, a victory made possible by its unequivocal retreat from previous demands for Egyptian sovereignty over the Sudan. So long as Egypt insisted on "unification of the Nile Valley," Britain rightly refused to budge from the position that it would not resign its trusteeship until the Sudanese were able to become self-governing and decide their own future.

Toward the end of last year General Naguib outflanked Whitehall by scrapping the policies of his Wafdist predecessors and promising the Sudan not merely self-government but complete independence within three years. For the British view this was moving altogether too fast, but the enthusiasm aroused in the Sudan by the Egyptian move left no alternative to acquiescence. And in the subsequent negotiations over the details of the transfer of authority the British relinquished most of the "safeguards" they had originally asked for. In particular they modified their demand for special powers for the governor general to enable him to protect the interests of the non-Moslem, primitive tribes of the southern Sudan and accepted instead the endowment of this official with some vague general powers.

No doubt this compromise was inevitable, but many anti-imperialists would feel happier about the new agreement if it provided guaranties against exploitation of the southern Sudanese. The good intentions of the northern Moslem majority in this matter must be taken on faith. So, indeed, must the promises of the Egyptian government to the Sudan as a whole, and it is not very auspicious that General Naguib's agreement to self-government for the Sudan should have coincided with his assumption of dictatorial powers in his own country.

Taft and "Christian Repentance"

In its recent annual report the House Committee on Un-American Activities for the first time agrees with those of its critics who have long contended that the "non-Communist" affidavit of the Taft-Hartley act is more of a help than a hindrance to the Communists. Not only is the provision difficult to enforce but, in the view of the committee, it has provided certain unions with a ready-made answer to the charge of Communist domination. The committee recommends that the non-Communist oath be dropped, and even Senator Taft agrees, since he feels that to extend the oath to cover the past—the form now reads "I am not a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with such party"—would rule out "the possibility of Christian repentance."

But this does not mean, of course, that the labor-baiters in Congress have retreated or recanted; on the contrary, they are now concocting a still more deadly potion for the labor movement. Its major ingredients are an amendment to the Taft-Hartley act authorizing an employer to discharge Communist employees despite union-shop agreements, bigger and better Congressional investigations of "reds" in unions, establishment of a new agency charged with determining which unions are free of the Communist taint, "a great many more prosecutions," to quote Senator Taft, by the new Attorney General for past violations of the non-Communist clause, legislation making it unlawful for a member of the Communist Party to hold office or employment in any labor organization, nullification of contracts held by "Communist-dominated" unions, and special security safeguards governing unions in key defense industries.

All of which would seem to mean that the Republicans do not intend to introduce much "anti-labor" legislation as such; they will simply step up the tempo of the campaign to "ferret out the reds." The labor movement this year is the No. 2 target on the list of all the chief investigators, the first being American education.

Soviet-Israeli Break

The terrorists responsible for the bombing of the Soviet legation in Tel Aviv gave the Russians another opportunity to ingratiate themselves with the Arab world. By promptly severing diplomatic relations with Israel, the Kremlin has done much to wipe from Arab memory the fact that the Soviet Union in 1947 supported the partition of Palestine and in 1948 rushed to become the third nation in the world to recognize the new-born Jewish state.

Experts are already weighing the significance of the

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move in terms of the complex Middle East political situation. Whatever the answer, it surely cannot be a pleasant one for the West. Any encouragement of Arab hostility towards Israel can only increase present unrest in the area and further divide the Arab states from the West. Moscow's step may ultimately spell the defeat of Western efforts to establish a defense pact in the Middle East.

But in the meantime the Soviet action must not deter the Israeli government from finding and punishing those responsible for the bombing. This would be Israel's best answer to Russia's slanderous charge of official complicity in the outrage. It is also the only possible answer to the moral question involved.

Appeal to Eisenhower

Russia's newest act, coupled with its recently launched campaign of anti-Semitism, gives sharp urgency to the four-point program which fifty-one distinguished Americans have suggested to President Eisenhower as a means of averting a possible disaster to the Jews. They have called upon the President:

> 1. To issue a solemn public condemnation and warning that this attack against the Jewish people is an incitement to massacre.
> 2. As a deterrent, to declare that the help of the United States in terms of funds, Point Four aid, and other forms of assistance will be withhheld from any country which engages in such attacks.
> 3. To make clear to the Arab world the importance of reaching a formal settlement of the Palestine war as an end in itself and as a prerequisite to productive relations with the United States.
> 4. To place on the agenda of the United Nations a proposal for the establishment of a "watchdog" committee to prevent anti-Semitic violence anywhere as contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and the principle of peaceful association between countries.

Joining in this request are presidents of colleges, religious leaders, business men, educators, and writers, including the president of The Nation Associates.

That American public opinion is fearful of a new disaster is indicated not only by these proposals but by the disapproval of the Russian campaign expressed in many quarters, notably by the National Council of Churches of Christ and by the forty Catholic leaders whose statement was published in the *Commonweal*.

With the General Assembly resuming its session on February 24, an opportunity exists for the initiation of deterrent action of an impressive nature. It is hoped that President Eisenhower will direct Ambassador Lodge to propose such action in accordance "with the highest purposes of international morality and international peace," as the group of fifty-one has phrased it.

Mr. Wilson's Noble Sacrifice

We don't suppose people worried too much about how the Charles E. Wilsons would get along after Mr. Wilson sold his General Motors stock. Just the same there was a good deal of comment on that 26 per cent capital-gains tax and a feeling around that he'd made a pretty handsome sacrifice for the sake of serving his country as Secretary of Defense. Happily nobody need give the matter another thought. The facts about Mr. Wilson's stock sale and earnings have been put together by William J. Casey and J. K. Lasser, the tax experts, and it seems that next year the Secretary's after-tax income will be $22,850 higher than his top income as president of General Motors.

But that is just part of the good news. Mr. Wilson is not only going to be better off than he was before he got his government job. He is going to be better off—and by a much larger number of dollars—than if he had taken the Defense job and been allowed to keep his General Motors stock. Job plus income from stock and other General Motors perquisites would have netted Mr. Wilson a take-home income of $102,500. By selling the General Motors stock and investing the proceeds thriftily in 2½ per cent tax-exempt municipal bonds, Mr. Wilson's income after taxes as Secretary of Defense will be $145,600. The whole story is complex and fascinating, but it all adds up to the reassuring fact that virtue is not to be its own reward in the case of Charles E. Wilson: the reward is virtue plus either $22,850 or $43,100, depending on which way you figure it.

Business Is Just That Practical

One of our American weaknesses is that even those who regret the thought control now spreading rapidly through American life are little given to speculating about its sources. This fact is strikingly revealed in the report of the twelve-man commission set up three years ago by the Association of American Universities, under grants from the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation, to seek a cure for the chronic financial predicament of American colleges and universities.

The commission recommends that educational institutions turn for assistance to business and private groups and not to the federal government. This accords with the popular American view that business gives without strings, whereas controls tend to go along with government donations. To make such distinction is unrealistic.

The fact is, of course, as *Business Week* has pointed out, "business men and college professors probably never will see eye to eye." The dire need of the colleges is for funds to finance research in the social sciences and humanities. Grants to colleges for research for the current school year will amount to approximately $350,000,000, of which 90 per cent is earmarked for work in the physical and biological sciences. With customary candor *Business Week* explains why: with the physical sciences "the benefit [to business] is usually obvious. . . . [But] except in a few cases, that's not true of the social sciences. Instead of bewailing their lot, the colleges . . . might do better by laying out a definite program of what they think they can do for industry in the field of social science. . . . But such research won't become so widespread as, or approach the scope of, the natural sciences unless colleges offer something tangible, so that management can sell the idea (1) to its boards of directors and (2) to its stockholders. Business is just that practical."

In fundamental respects the predicament of education is that of all qualitative social values in a business society. If its future depends upon its going begging to business, it will have to remake itself and its great tradition in the image of the modern corporation.

Where Are We Going?

WHAT Americans and indeed all other peoples have a right to ask, before the Eisenhower Administration pushes its "positive" foreign policy any further, is exactly what ultimate purpose animates that policy. They have a right to ask what the word "positive" means, in distinction to "containment." They have a right to know whether, if it includes such concepts as "liberation," it implies an ultimate showdown with the Russians and Chinese, and if so what sort of a showdown is contemplated. To find an answer to these questions is not easy, perhaps not possible. A quick review of the President's State of the Union message on February 1, Secretary Dulles's "off-the-cuff" talk a few days before his departure for Europe, and his brief speech after his return, fails to yield any solid information on what we are up to in the world.

My own fear is not that the final objectives of American foreign policy have been fully formulated and then deliberately cloaked in loose generalizations. The danger, in my opinion, is the reverse: that the objectives are still in an amorphous, embryonic stage, but that decisions being taken and actions launched will force the premature crystallizing of those objectives in final and irrevocable shape. If the public statements of our new leaders fail to specify what a "positive" policy means, it may be because meaning is waiting upon acts to make it clear. It is possible that without any formal decision this nation is being committed to a plan not merely to defeat or push back the Communist forces in Korea and Indo-China but by gradual steps to "liberate" all of China. It is possible that we and our allies are being jockeyed into a position which will commit us jointly to the defeat of Soviet power in the satellite countries of Europe, first no doubt through methods of psychological warfare but second if necessary through a showdown with Russia. It is possible that we are preparing not merely to defend Western Europe if it is attacked but also, at a propitious moment, to challenge Communist power in Eastern Europe to "roll back" or fight.

All this is possible—but neither we nor our allies nor our enemies have been told whether it is true or likely. In the absence of an open formulation of purposes, we can only go by the sum of appearances. What, for instance, does Eisenhower imply by his repudiation of "secret understandings of the past" which permit the "enslavement of any people"—meaning the Yalta agreement? Poland was already under Stalin's thumb when the Yalta conference met. The deal, which incidentally was not "secret," approved an eastern frontier already set by Russia and endorsed an undefined cession of German territory to Poland. This cession was later defined and accepted at Potsdam, pending final settlement in a treaty of peace; and then, in 1946, it was repudiated by Secretary Byrnes. So there is nothing left on that front, secret or otherwise, for Mr. Eisenhower to repudiate today. The Yalta deal on China was in fact kept secret until 1947. But it was negotiated and agreed to all over again after Yalta in talks between Chiang Kai-shek and Moscow. That it had any influence in bringing about the final victory of Mao Tse-tung only the China Lobby and its backers could seriously maintain.

Again we ask: what does Mr. Eisenhower's repudiation of Yalta mean? Does it mean that we are prepared, by force if necessary, to throw the Communists out of China, to restore Japan's lost islands, to give Poland its 1921 boundaries, to liberate all of Eastern Europe? Perhaps, in line with Mr. Dulles's promise that those "suffering under Communist slavery" can "count on us," it means all this. Or perhaps it is nothing more than a propaganda gesture, an empty and deceptive bit of psychological warfare, as Dr. Conant's first statement in Bonn would seem to indicate. We do not know.

And what did Mr. Eisenhower mean by his Formosa decision? Since he is a man of intelligence and a general he knows that it amounts to nothing, either as "sense or logic," unless it is part of a larger plan. The original intervention by President Truman in 1950 did not, except in form, neutralize Formosa or "shield" the Chinese mainland from attack by the defeated and exiled Chiang. The function of the Seventh Fleet was from the start to defend Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa asylum from attack by the victorious Communist army. In other words, it was an open intervention on the side of Chiang in China's civil war. When the Chinese Nationalists grew strong enough to stage small commando raids on the coast, these raids were both countenanced and protected by the Seventh Fleet. General Eisenhower's order will have the effect, we suppose, of stepping up such attacks while maintaining the naval defense of Formosa. He is backing this gesture with the dispatch of more military aid to Chiang and with publicized visits by Nationalist admirals and generals to "inspect" American naval bases and military installations.

All this has been accompanied by a great flurry of talk about a naval blockade of the Chinese coast. Admirals and Senators have expressed opinions on the subject which have sped by air waves to every continent. The Administration has lately been soft-pedaling the idea of a blockade, especially since Dulles's return, but has declared that it will demand action by the United Nations to establish a tight embargo on all trade with China. It has also announced a plan to build up the Nationalist navy. Thus the Formosa move already implies further moves, all aimed at—what? Scaring the Chinese into accepting a Korean truce on American terms? Encouraging pro-Chiang but isolationist Senators in and around the China Lobby to believe we can lick Mao Tse-tung without wasting American man-power? The final objective is not announced, but the policy itself is immensely dangerous.

How seriously it is regarded abroad is made clear in each day's dispatches from India and Pakistan, from Paris and London. If its purpose is to confuse the Russians and Chinese and throw them off balance, Washington had better give thought also to its effect on our allies and friends. Their minds are confused and their balance disturbed by the same collection of rumors, threats, promises, and unexplained actions that are presumably aimed at the enemy. With each day that passes they will demand, more and more insistently, an answer to the question the Eisenhower-Dulles policy has dramatically raised: What is the new Administration up to in the world?

FREDA KIRCHWEY

New Look

With this issue we present our readers with a new format. Aside from the changed cover and new-style heads, which we think handsomer than the old, the greatest changes are in the paper and in the use of three columns instead of two throughout most of the magazine. The smoother paper gives type and drawings greater clarity; the three-column page makes for easier reading and slightly increases the amount of text we can print in an issue. Along with these new features we are particularly glad to introduce two distinguished additions to our editorial staff: Harold Clurman as theater critic, and Maxwell Geismar, author and literary critic, as a contributing editor. Regular readers will also note the changed form of our book section, in which a major review is featured and other important books are discussed briefly, each by an expert in his field.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

The Lesson of Austria

IN ITSELF it sounds like a joke: the 260th meeting on the Austrian treaty closes in London after two sittings and the British chairman is authorized to call a new meeting three weeks later. But this diplomatic marathon, unique in history, is worthy of something more than a cynical comment. An interesting lesson can be drawn from it.

Austria is in many ways a different problem from Germany, and Soviet policy, accordingly, is also different. At the Moscow conference of 1943 Austria was classed as a liberated country, not a defeated one. To have applied to Austria the same occupation policy that Russia carried out in East Germany would have been an open violation of the clause in the Moscow agreement guaranteeing respect for the unity and political independence of liberated countries. In addition to this, Austria, unlike Germany, continues under four-power control.

No matter how much cause the Austrian government and people have had to complain of Russian occupation policies, especially in matters of reparations and control of industries, the fact remains that in the last general elections, in November, 1950, the two parties most opposed to the Soviet Union and the Communists won a smashing victory—and nothing happened. Similarly, each time the Austrian Communists tried to impose their power by other than constitutional methods, as when the Workers' Councils of Florisdorf called for a general strike in the autumn of 1950, the failure of the attempt produced no reaction on the part of the Russians. They registered the defeat and that was all.

But in the meantime the cold war has been taking its inevitable course, and the political strategists of the Atlantic coalition have successfully enlisted the indirect support of European countries that could not become open allies. The position adopted by the late President Renner of Austria in a famous article published (January, 1948) in *Neues Oesterreich*—"no Anschluss, either toward the northwest or toward the southwest, either toward Moscow or toward Washington"—became less and less tenable. The visits to Washington of the Catholic Chancellor Figl and the Socialist Vice-Chancellor Schaerf and the attitude of Austria in the last session of the U. N. Assembly were already indications that Austrian "neutralism" was acquiring a distinctively Western color.

Negotiations on the Austrian peace treaty, which had dragged along for years, became still more difficult. Russia was plainly not interested in facilitating a solution which would benefit the Atlantic alliance. Formally, the reason for Moscow's recent refusals to sign a peace treaty was its opposition to the "abbreviated" draft suggested by the American, British, and French diplomats as a substitute for "a genuine treaty, basically already concluded, which actually assures Austria's restoration as an independent, democratic, free state"—to quote Ambassador Gromyko. But actually the motive for Russia's resistance is its desire, in the context of the cold war, to maintain armed forces in Austria and also, as permitted by treaty, in the Eastern countries giving access to Austria.

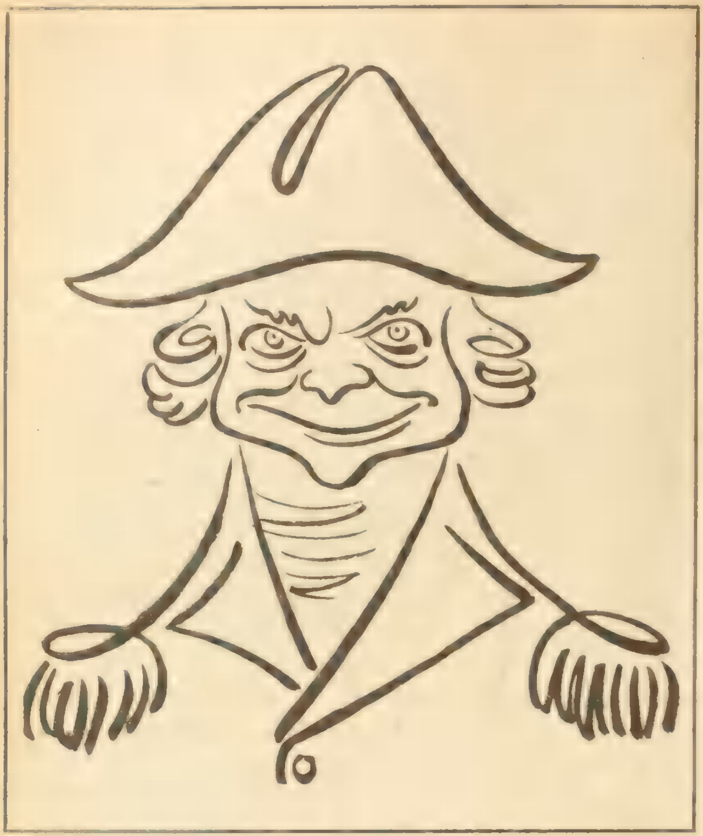
Between the meeting that closed on February 9 and the next meeting, if it is held, the new elections in Austria will have taken place—on February 22. The majority of the parties contesting the elections have made the return to real independence and national sovereignty the major issue of the campaign. In the fight the Soviet Union, accused of having stalled the treaty for five years, is the main target. The anti-Communist forces may win on this issue, but their success will hardly advance the conclusion of an Austrian peace treaty, whose best chance was lost in 1948 when Dr. Evatt, Australian president of the U. N. Assembly, urged that it be negotiated together with the problem of Germany.

The lesson to draw from all this is important. First, it is difficult to obtain peace in a single, limited area while other areas are used as the basis for further preparations for war. That applies to Korea as well as to Austria, and it explains my stubborn skepticism toward the speculations about an "early solution" of the Korean problem that greet each new session of the Assembly. Neither a peace treaty for Austria nor a solution for Korea can be obtained so long as each side fears that the abandonment of its position means the strengthening of its opponent's.

Second, there is a limited moment when negotiations are possible, and if missed it seldom recurs. The recent publication of French and British material on the fateful days of the summer of 1939 confirms this view. When on July 31, 1939, the French-British military mission headed by General Doumenc left for Moscow, it was evident that it had still a very small margin of time in which to settle the two major disputed points: Poland's reluctance to permit Russian forces on its territory in case of a German attack, and a guaranty of protection for the Baltic states against aggression, including "indirect aggression." Molotov had stated in several confidential notes to Paris and London: either we agree now or it will be too late. Daladier and Chamberlain were in no hurry. The moment for negotiation was allowed to pass, and the end of the story everybody knows: the Soviet-German pact and World War II.

Again there is only a limited time for the negotiation of agreements to stop World War III, and in the meantime, while "liberation" replaces "containment" and military preparations go on at an accelerated pace, it is pure romanticism to expect any solution of isolated issues, whether they relate to Korea or Austria. A negotiation on Germany, however, would be a different matter, since Germany is the real key to the European deadlock.

WHAT IKE WILL NEED



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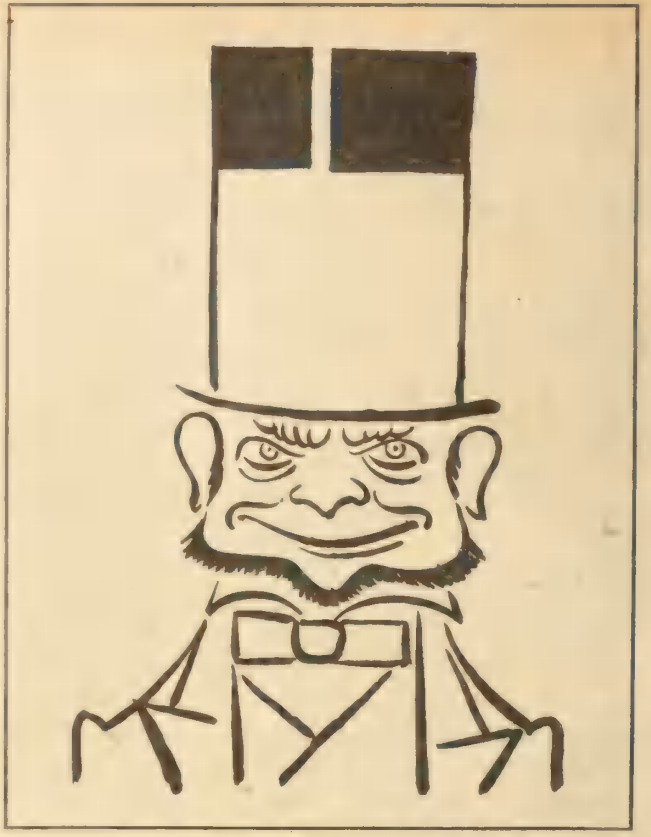

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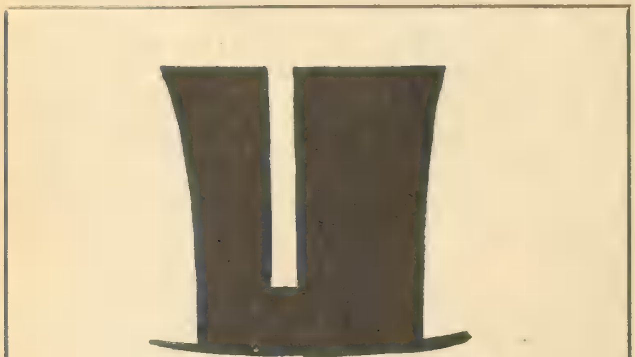

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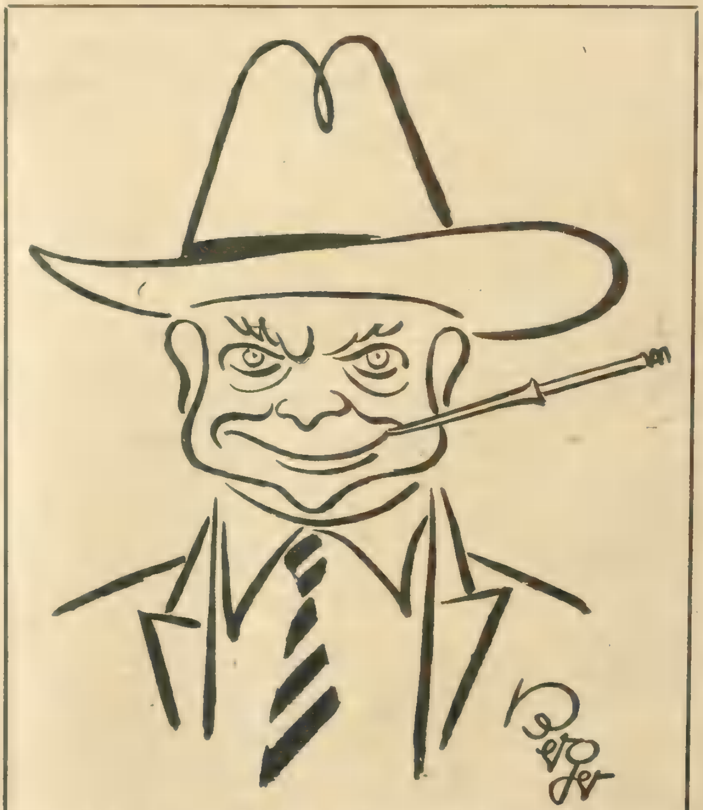

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KINGLESS JUNGLE

New York's Water Front . . . *by George Horne*

THE New York State Crime Commission, in the most penetrating of a long series of expert inquiries, has opened up the Port of New York like a patient on the operating table. As the commission examines the port's shocking criminal record, another investigation, this time under federal auspices, is getting under way. But already two aspects of the fantastic picture are clear:

1. By common consent of its inhabitants New York's vast and fabulously wealthy water front is a veritable jungle in which there are no rules except those of the killer and the jackal. The thug in control, to a lesser degree the longshoreman himself, the company which employs him, the agents of the law who should be policing the longshore miles—every element in this complex and baffling community has abdicated its responsibility.

2. Partly because New York is the most crime-ridden port in the world, it is also the most expensive in which to operate. But very little of the excessive fees charged for cargo-handling goes into the pockets of the ordinary dockworker, whose annual income—despite a fairly high hourly wage rate—remains below that of many wage-earners in comparable labor fields.

The testimony taken by the Crime Commission consisted mostly of an incredible series of confessions. Everyone connected with water-front operations appeared to be cheating, scheming, stealing, coercing, paying tribute or taking it. The swindling varied from the extortion of weekly pay envelopes for non-existent workers to blackmail practices carried out in the name of anti-communism. Witness after witness from the ranks of stevedoring and shipping companies admitted that in the naming of their own hiring bosses and loaders they followed the orders of water-front overlords whose identities they did not even know. Sometimes the longshoremen's union, the International Longshoremen's Association (A. F. of L.), in violation of the union-employer contract, insisted on naming the hiring bosses. Thugs demanded regular payments from shipping firms in return for labor peace and fulfilment of the union contract. Pilferage of cargo by individuals and small gangs was revealed as common practice, although the sums involved certainly never reached anywhere near the $50,000,000 a year estimated by some experts.

A high point in the record was the testimony concerning the arrival of a shipload of valuable Russian furs. Longshore leaders, in an outburst of anti-Communist zeal, ordered the workers not to unload the shipment. The longshoremen complied, but meanwhile a handful of local leaders arranged a $70,000 pay-off with the importers, and the furs were unloaded in darkness.

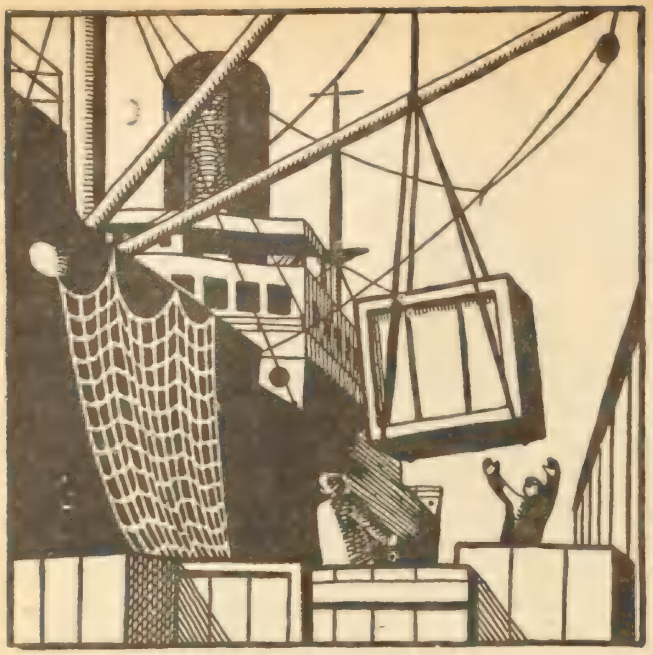
In this maze of evidence the members of the Crime Commission sought to read a single pattern or to uncover a master-mind. They failed. There is apparently no king in this jungle, only jackals and hyenas who are as quick to turn upon each other as upon anyone else. Even "Mr. Big"—William J. McCormack, wealthy stevedore and industrialist and probably the best-known name on the water front—failed to fill the bill, at least so far as the evidence given at the hearings shows. Much of Mr. McCormack's testimony related to a charge that as a former state licensing official he had squeezed $90,000 from the late Tex Rickard. This he enthusiastically denied. As to his water-front activities, which are the subject of more shop talk among longshoremen than those of any other individual, little was brought out at the hearings which impugned him as anything other than a somewhat careless writer. It seems that in August, 1951, Mr. McCormack wrote a report in which he described everything along New York's dockside as perfectly lovely, and that a few months later he wrote another report—this one for Mayor Impellitteri—in which he said that chaos was about to descend on the port. Most water-front observers who see Mr. McCormack regularly at the Whitehall Club, and who hear his name cropping up in longshore talk, agree that this charge of literary inconsistency cannot hurt his reputation very much. After all, he is not known primarily as a literary figure.

The Crime Commission succeeded in amassing an impressive amount of evidence, but in certain directions its inquiries seemed hesitant. It did not, for instance, look diligently into the role that politics plays on the water front, despite several inviting hints that were dropped in the course of the testimony. Nor did it pay more than cursory attention to the surprising number of water-front thieves who received suspended sentences, including many who pleaded guilty.

There are about 40,000 longshoremen in the port of New York, more than the combined total employed in the other eight or nine major ports of the country. For two reasons the New York dockworker cannot ordinarily earn enough to support himself and his family decently. First, and most important, there are just too many of him for the jobs available. Second, under the anarchic conditions which prevail, much of his earnings must be given up in the form of kick-backs, pay-offs, and other types of squeeze. But it must be emphasized that the role played by crime in the New York dockworker's admittedly unhappy lot has been exaggerated as a result of the publicity given the many crime hearings. At least as important as crime is the role played by the law of supply and demand.

In 1951, the last year for which complete and reliable figures are available—

GEORGE HORNE *is transportation editor of the New York* Times.



it was a good year for foreign commerce and hence for job availability—14,774 longshoremen, or 35.3 per cent of the men on the roster of the New York Shipping Association, the employer agency, worked 1,200 hours or more during the year. Fewer than 4,000 men, about 9 per cent of the total, worked from 700 to 1,199 hours; 23,000 men, more than half the total, worked 699 hours or less. Of those in the last category, 14,982 worked fewer than 100 hours in the entire year.

By comparison, the steadily employed 40-hour-a-week worker puts in more than 2,000 hours in the course of a year. The fact is that in the longshoremen's trade there are too many casual workers who pick up an occasional day's pay, often at overtime rates. These irregulars lower the earning ability of the men who depend on the docks for their living.

Now let us look at earnings. The dockworker today gets $2.27 an hour, with time and a half for overtime after eight hours and for Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays. For certain types of cargo such as damaged shipments and explosives, he can earn upward of $4.44 an hour straight pay. His wage rate has risen comparably with that in other trades; in 1914 he was earning only 33 cents an hour, while in 1940 he was earning $1.05.

About a dozen years ago, according to studies made at the time, the dockworker's average yearly income was $900. Today it is probably around $2,500. The 1951 statistics show that 9 per cent of New York's 40,000 longshoremen earned $5,000 or more that year, while 49.8 per cent earned less than $1,000. In between we find that 8.5 per cent earned from $1,000 to $2,000, 7.8 per cent from $2,000 to $3,000, 11.1 per cent from $3,000 to $4,000, and 13.8 per cent from $4,000 to $5,000.

The men are hired under the antiquated system called the shape-up. Each day job applicants gather in a semicircle at the pier head while the hiring foreman beckons to individuals or, looking up into the sky, calls out, "Joe's gang! Ray's gang! Red's gang!" While this system has rightfully been attacked as subject to many kinds of criminal abuse, most observers agree that its elimination would be no cure-all for the evils that plague the water front. Were the International Longshoremen's Association a really democratic labor organization, it would long ago have devised a fairer and more modern method of hiring. And most objective observers agree that so long as the I. L. A. remains the kind of organization it is, any other hiring method—including the much-discussed hiring hall—would prove just as susceptible of abuse.

Actually there are favorable aspects to the shape-up: for one thing, it encourages work gangs to stay at the same piers the year around. For steamship and stevedoring concerns, this means that men skilled in specialized types of cargo-handling are always available. It is generally agreed that a real hiring hall which distributed employment under a rotating system would considerably increase cargo-handling costs. The Port of New York Authority has suggested as a compromise plan a kind of state-run employment service which would operate regional centers throughout the city. The plan is now under discussion by the Crime Commission.

Much of the evil of the shape-up, as it now operates, arises from the fact that the union leadership will not permit the employing company to appoint the man who selects the work gangs, extra gangs, and individual extras. Somehow the union manages to elude its responsibilities both to the employer and to its own membership. It represents only its own bureaucracy, and as a result the well-being of the rank and file suffers.

The employers must carry their share of blame for the anarchic conditions. They welcomed the over-supply of labor which tended to keep labor costs down. They shut their eyes to crime in which they did not themselves participate. Some employers deliberately hired thugs in the belief that only tough leadership could keep the men in line. Experience has tended to substantiate their belief; notorious criminals are running piers which—let's face it—have built up excellent records for efficient cargo-handling. In general, shipping is a highly competitive business, and it is difficult for the people in it to work together, even to clean house for their own benefit.

Some years ago Mayor O'Dwyer named a port committee to study various phases of the city's water front. Its findings have been gathering dust in the City Hall for a year. Subcommittees named to study cost factors came up with some plain talk. The New York dockworker is a sturdy fellow with an excellent production record in war time as well as in peace; the port itself offers unequaled services to the shipper. Yet the port is more expensive for a shipper to use than any other in the country, primarily because of the racketeers who infest it.

Let's take the institution known as the public loader, forbidden in every major port except New York. A thug browbeats an operator into appointing him public loader for a terminal. A thousand tons of steel comes into the terminal. The loader hires a longshoreman at $2.27 an hour to load the steel on trucks. As often as not, the lift equipment owned by the steamship company is used. The steel is loaded in a few hours, and the public loader, who sometimes appears only after the job is finished, collects a fee of five cents or more per hundred-weight of cargo. The thousand tons of steel thus yields the loader about $1,000, minus the few dollars he pays out to his longshoreman. Sometimes he gets his fee even when the truck driver has done his own loading. The public loader is one of the most desirable jobs on the water front, and men have killed for a share of the spoils.

During the current port inquiry a firm of civil engineers surveyed port traffic and reported that while New York's export-import volume was merely being maintained, the volume at other American ports was increasing steadily. Port officials have plenty of evidence that shippers, whenever they can, divert to other ports to avoid the costs of public loaders, feather-bedding, pay-roll padding, and other rackets, as well as to save money on legitimate costs (it is generally agreed, for instance, that the city's pier rentals are far too high).

New York has such superb advantages as a port that it has been difficult for the shipping industry to realize that its supremacy might one day be challenged. But that day will come unless reform comes sooner. Two possible solutions have been most frequently discussed. One is reform from within—a big wind blowing through the I. L. A.; the parent A. F. of L., at its recent meeting in Miami, announced that the cyclone is on its way. But Senator Tobey, who will head the imminent federal investigation of crime on the water front, has already characterized the A. F. of L. action as a "deathbed repentance."

The alternative solution is state control of the docksides, perhaps through a harbor commission with broad administrative powers. Such a solution would be opposed all the way down the line and probably by the employers. Nevertheless, many persons believe that this is the solution that the State Crime Commission will eventually recommend.

NEW FARM PROGRAM

It's Good for Bankers . . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

MAYBE this is where we came in thirty-odd years ago, or maybe it is just that one Republican-big-business Administration is very much like another. At any rate, the Eisenhower regime has come up with a phalanx of leaders and counselors who will bend every effort to save the farmer from himself. Since the farmer is not without friends in Congress, the wind may shift before the year is out. The farm program taking shape will be a lot nicer for the processors, the bankers, and the distributors than for the farmers.

To begin with, the program will be run by men who do not particularly believe in price supports. Secretary of Agriculture Benson avowedly believes that men get along best when they feel the spur of insecurity, which seems to mean that the farmer should never be quite certain that he won't go broke and lose his farm by fall. Benson has gathered about him men who feel the same way. The farm-committee system is likely to go, and with it the payments of a quarter-billion dollars a year for proper soil-conservation practices. A harder dollar and a tightening of farm credit are in prospect.

This could be very serious. Farm prices and incomes have been going down for quite a time; as good a Republican as Senator Thye of Minnesota has said that 1951 and 1952 were the farmer's most difficult years since 1939. Net income for 1953 will be off still more. The industrial boom hurts the farmer as much as it helps him. He has to compete with the giant industries for many of his basic supplies, and he goes on a cash basis into a market where prices are pretty well rigged. In one year farmers use as much rubber and steel as the automobile industry uses in all its passenger cars. The defense economy is creating relative scarcities in everything he buys and putting no floor under his income.

As a result, it takes a fair amount of capital to be a farmer these days—at least $50,000 the National Farmers' Union estimates. And since the average farmer needs a considerable period to lay that much capital aside from his yearly profits, the matter of farm credit is vital. A heavy purchaser of necessities ranging from tractors to insecticides and obliged to pay cash, the farmer could be ruined by a comparatively mild drop in farm prices if reasonable credit were not available to him.

In the present Department of Agriculture the various farm-credit agencies are under the direction of Romeo Short, who came to the department from the vice-presidency of the American Farm Bureau Federation. The Farm Bureau is generally given the credit—or blame—for killing the Farm Security Administration. It has opposed the Farmers' Home Administration, which makes loans to farmers unable to get credit from the banks, has sought to have the Farm Credit Administration made independent of the Department of Agriculture, and has consistently dragged its feet on the rural-electrification program. Thus there is little likelihood that the department will make much credit available to the farmers who need it most.

Equally significant is the development in the department's Commodity Marketing and Adjustment Division. In this division are the farm price-support agencies, including the Commodity Credit Corporation and the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation. The boss man here is John H. Davis of the National Wool Marketing Corporation of Boston. Davis has remarked that the existing

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BRUCE CATTON is writing a series of articles on the new Washington Administration.

price-support program "lacks realism" and that much government buying of farm commodities "could be handled more efficiently through commercial market channels."

In recent years price-support operations have been closely linked with the Production and Marketing Administration, which headed up the extensive farmer-committee system. This system was one of the most interesting parts of the whole farm program. It was the mechanism, controlled almost wholly by the farmers themselves, through which, when necessary, the production-quota system was extended to individual farms and through which also farmers were induced to practice soil conservation. The soil-conservation program has been immensely important not only for its long-term benefits but because it has added approximately a quarter of a billion dollars annually to farm income. The payments made under it have gone chiefly to small farmers. They have been denounced by both Secretary Benson and the Farm Bureau, on the ground that they pay the farmer to do what he ought to do anyway. (It is a question whether the average farmer can afford to do it without help, but perhaps that isn't germane.) The committee system has always been anathema to the Farm Bureau, which wants to see its functions transferred to the Extension Service. This, in effect, would be to transfer them to the bureau itself. It will probably be done.

The Agricultural Advisory Committee as Benson has set it up is strangely lacking in dirt farmers and heavily weighted with processors. Jesse Tapp, vice-president of the Bank of America, is generally considered its most liberal member. Dean W. I. Myers of Cornell, a director in various large corporations, is one of the most conservative men in America where farm matters are concerned. Among other members are Homer Davidson, vice-president of the American Meat Institute; Robert R. Coker, South Carolina seed dealer, banker, and corporation director; Carl Farrington, vice-president of the Archer-Daniels-Midland Company of Minneapolis; D. W. Brooks, general manager of the Cotton Producers' Association of Atlanta and a member of the Textile Industry Advisory Council; and Albert Mitchell, prosperous New Mexico rancher and Republican national committeeman.

Finally, it may be worth while to recall that in May, 1951, when the meat industry was particularly irked by price controls, representatives of the American Meat Institute, the Farm Bureau, the Grange, and other interested parties met in Washington and came out with something called the Common Sense Meat Program, the principal aim of which was to kill price controls on meat. A committee which undertook to push this program had as chairman one True D. Morse, an executive of Doane's Agricultural Service in St. Louis, who had been preaching sound money, a balanced budget, and no inflation. Mr. Morse is now the Under Secretary of the Department of Argiculture. Morse's name also appeared on the letterhead of the Foundation for American Agriculture, along with that of Romeo Short. R. Douglas Stuart of Quaker Oats was chairman of the foundation and Charles Dana Bennett was its director. It existed chiefly to promote more intimate relations between big business and the farmer and had an anti-union tinge.

Looking at the people appointed and the things said and done in the present Administration's Department of Agriculture, it is not too hard to see what is going on. Control over the nation's farm policies and programs is being taken from the farmers and given to the traditional enemies of effective farm programs. Secretary Benson himself is the perfect illustration. When he first took office he bluntly informed his coworkers in the department that all lazy loafers would now be required to do an honest day's work for a change. And in his first press release he made the erroneous statement that the department was the "largest of all the nation's agencies," a swollen bureaucracy. The significance of that kind of talk is that it could come only from a man who has no use for the old farm programs.

Farm programs hereafter may benefit grain speculators, cotton traders, middlemen of high and low degree. The farmer himself is in danger of losing all he has won in the last twenty years

Proposals for Peace—VII

BY CLARENCE E. PICKETT

FOR four years now we Americans have been hard at work rearming. It is a good time, therefore, to ask a few questions. Do we feel more secure from attack? Have we created a deep and abiding friendship for us among other peoples? Have we achieved more through negotiation and mediation than we did formerly? Are our motives more fully trusted? Are our own civil rights better protected? I do not believe there has been gain in any of these spheres.

But there have been some gains—the admission to our shores for permanent residence of 400,000 D. P.'s outside the quota, our technical-assistance program, our food-sharing. Perhaps even more important is the new recognition that it is necessary to have persons with outstanding qualities represent our government abroad. Some 85,000 civilian Americans fill this role today. How much of the peace of the world is lost or won by the kind of people they are?

No great and strong country has ever made these interests primary in its security program. It is true that Communists understand strength and can prepare to meet it. But can they compete with us if our central purpose is the welfare of all? The only real aid we can offer is friendship and confidence. These are qualities of international life that do not require bombs and tanks and soldiers to make them accepted. Youth, technicians, and many generous taxpayers are more eager than we realize to throw themselves into a creative program. And it is my belief that nothing would so confound the plans of those who seek to do us harm.

CLARENCE E. PICKETT is honorary secretary of the American Friends Service Committee and cowinner of the 1947 Nobel peace prize.

SOUTH AFRICA

Who Provoked the Riots? *by Harry S. Warner*

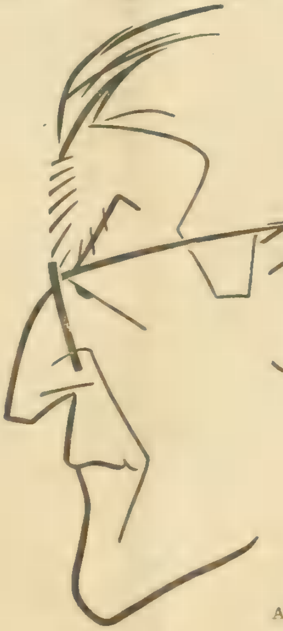
Capetown, South Africa

WITH the aim of breaking all resistance—native, colored, or white—to *apartheid* (segregation) as the dominant factor in South African life, Justice Minister C. R. Swart has introduced a bill which would give the Malan government the right to suspend virtually all law in cases of loosely defined "emergencies." The government is also seeking passage of the so-called "whipping-post" law, which provides fines, jail terms, and the lash for any incitement to violation of any law, particularly one relating to *apartheid*. Both government proposals are termed "Malanazi" by the opposition; surely Hitler never wrested from the Reichstag powers more dictatorial or more destructive of democracy than these.

Everyone knows what Malan and his Nationalists mean when they speak of "emergencies." In the spring of last year the non-whites of South Africa, with the support and sympathy of democratic-minded whites, launched a campaign of passive resistance to the *apartheid* laws. For six months the movement spread peacefully; even witnesses for the Crown—including members of the special political branch of the Criminal Investigation Department—have since testified that the campaign was disciplined, non-violent, and directed not against whites but against "unjust laws."

Then suddenly, between October 18 and November 9 last year, violent clashes with the police took place in four widely separated localities—New Brighton in Port Elizabeth, the Denver Hostel in Johannesburg, the No. 2 Location in Kimberley, and East London. More than forty persons were killed, all but five of them non-whites killed by the police. Several hundred other non-whites were wounded. The exact number is impossible to establish, for in each instance the police, after restoring "order," made the rounds of the hospitals and arrested all persons they had shot, on the theory, apparently, that a bullet wound was proof that the victim had been rioting.

These are the "emergencies" in the minds of the supporters of the "Malanazi" bills. Mr. Swart and his colleagues argue that the riots were "anti-white" demonstrations to be blamed on the leaders of the resistance campaign and on the English-language press which supported it. He and other ministers have also said that the riots were "extensions" of the Mau Mau movement in Kenya. They have given other, and still more contradictory, explanations. But slowly the real facts are coming to light, mainly as the result of investigations by lawyers engaged in defending persons arrested on charges arising out of the riots. And from these facts only one conclusion can be drawn—that the ultimate responsibility for the riots lies with the police and the deliberately provocative behavior of their chief, Minister Swart.


Alvin Katz

C. R. Swart

Let us deal first with Mr. Swart. On November 2—after the incident at Port Elizabeth, but before the others—the Justice Minister made public this statement:

> The police have instructions to take drastic action where there is a threat of a clash between Europeans and non-Europeans. They will strike when necessary and they will shoot when necessary. So called innocent bystanders should get out of the way when there are signs of trouble. If they are so innocent, what are they doing at trouble spots? The police have instructions to act and to act swiftly and they have my support. The organizers of the defiance campaign should heed this warning.

Note that this order requires the police to shoot, not in defense of their own or another person's life—the only time a policeman or anyone else is legally permitted to shoot—but when there is threat of a clash between Europeans and non-Europeans. Not even a clash, simply the threat of one. What amounts to such a threat is a question for the police officer to decide, and his decision will of course depend on how frightened or how trigger happy he happens to feel. If he thinks angry looks amount to a threat he is entitled to shoot.

On November 15, 1952, at a Nationalist Party meeting in the Free State, Mr. Swart said again:

> I have instructed police officers not to wait until their men are killed or wounded in riots before they fire. They have been told to shoot first. The government will deal with the unruly elements with all the force at its disposal.

This conception of a shoot-first-and-talk-afterward police force is in line with Mr. Swart's way of thinking. On an earlier occasion he had said: "Only the police can save South Africa from chaos." After these reiterated instructions is it any wonder that the police soon found occasions to shoot? Is it any wonder that if no occasions arose they began to manufacture them?

In East London the trouble started when the police arrived to break up an

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HARRY S. WARNER is the pseudonym of a South African who has been in close contact with the rapidly developing race problem there.

open-air prayer meeting. Although there was a ban on meetings in the location, special permission had been granted by the Chief Magistrate to hold this one. While the preacher was reading from the Bible to a crowd of about two hundred, two lorries full of armed police drove up. The preacher was reading about the oppression of the Israelites. The officer in charge decided that he could not permit such subversive theology, and ordered the crowd to disperse within five minutes. The meeting immediately broke up. In less than two minutes, while people were walking away, he ordered a baton charge by the African constables and then a bayonet charge by the European constables. Shots were fired, and a man was killed. Almost everyone injured, whether by batons, bayonets, or bullets, had been attacked from behind. The police then climbed into their lorries and drove up and down the main streets of the location firing at anybody they saw and even into houses. One man was killed while sitting in his kitchen reading a newspaper. One man was killed and two wounded while having a beer party inside a house. Dozens were injured. A woman belonging to one of the religious sects, wearing a red robe and carrying a cross, came round a corner unaware that there was trouble. A policeman jumped off the lorry and ran a bayonet into her leg. Nobody attacked the police in any way—it would have been suicide to do so.

Mr. Gwentshe, the chairman of the African National Congress in East London, went to the police station and obtained permission to drive through the location in a car with a loud-speaker to calm the people. He returned to his house and was fitting the loud-speaker to his car when he saw that the police had followed him. One took aim at him with a rifle; the bullet killed a man standing next to him.

Then the police again drove through the location, firing into the houses. This started the rioting, first stone throwing and later burning of buildings. It is believed that at this stage the Europeans were killed. The police did not stay to put down the riot they had stirred up. They could see that the municipal offices, a welfare center, and a church were burning, but they did nothing about it. By then it was evening. That night they stayed at the police station, which is on the edge of the location, and with guns propped on the window-sills fired into the streets.

At the Denver Hostel the police sniped at Africans standing on the balconies when there was no threat of disturbances. Earlier there had been some trouble; stones had been thrown and windows broken but nobody had been injured. Feelings were high in the hostel on that day because the municipality had raised the rents by 80 per cent and the tenants had decided not to pay the increase until they had made representations to the Native Affairs Department. One man did not abide by the decision and went to pay the sum demanded. A crowd tried to mob him, and he ran for safety into the superintendent's office. Then a crowd of tenants, joined by some poeple from a nearby beer hall, threw stones and broke windows outside the hostel.

When the police arrived, most of the people who lived in the hostel were standing on balconies around a quadrangle, watching the excitement. For half an hour nothing happened. Then someone must have remembered Mr. Swart's orders, and suddenly there was a burst of firing. A man on the first balcony was killed, one on the second balcony injured. People disappeared into the rooms behind. The firing stopped, and the people thought that it was safe to come out. As they did so the police began picking them off. Again they disappeared and waited until they thought it safe to come out to attend to the dead and wounded. Again the police fired at them. All those killed were shot through the head.

To round off the day, the police arrested the three wounded men and the three leading figures on the Tenants' Committee, two of whom were not even at the hostel that afternoon. All are being held on the charge of public violence.

At Kimberley there had been dissatisfaction about the management of the municipal beer hall, and a boycott had been organized. An argument took place with some Africans who wanted to enter the beer hall. A policeman hit a woman on the head with his handcuffs. This infuriated the bystanders and they began throwing stones; then they overturned and burned a municipal lorry parked nearby.

Arrival of a bus-load of police armed with rifles and sten guns put an end to the disturbance, but the police fired point blank into the crowd of Africans gathered around the beer hall. Then, as in East London, they drove through the streets of the location firing at anyone they saw and into the houses. Among those killed was a women carrying a six-months-old baby on her back. Having stirred up the entire location, the police returned to the station, while furious mobs set fire to the location offices, the beer hall, and other buildings that bore evidence to the white man's administration.

At Port Elizabeth a railway policeman tried to arrest an African for failing to pay an extra charge for a tin of paint he was carrying with him on the train. An argument started, and a friend of the man came to his assistance. There was a scuffle, and the railway policeman pulled out his revolver and shot and killed the friend. This was witnessed by a crowd, mainly women, on the railway platform. People ran screaming into the location and spread the story. After a while

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TO A SNAIL

Your sensitive exposed flesh as you pass
Might well disarm those deputies of doom
  Who with tensed claw and beak agape
Spread menace from the air or through the grass.
But as a window hardens into glass
And so destroys the mullion whose design
Was its own tegument, you raise a shape
Of brittlest fiber upon fluid line,
Making your progress, like our human, crass
And death expected in that living room.

FRANCIS GOLFFING

several hundred Africans came out of the location to the railway station, some of them throwing stones. Police reinforcements arrived, and again they fired point blank into the crowd. Again they drove through the location firing into the houses. When they left, a furious mob ran through the location. They burned down the cinema and killed the owner and his son, they burned the post office and other buildings, and they killed a European bringing his workers home on a lorry.

There is one thing the police have learned from these events—how to stir up a riot. In all the locations and townships there is a feeling of dumb frustration and subdued anger which requires only a spark to set it off. In addition, there is a criminal element known as Tsotsis. These are mainly young gangsters who have been driven to crime by slum conditions, poverty, and, most of all, the regulations concerning passes, which make it difficult for them to obtain work. They prey on their own people and often rob and assault the Europeans. When there are shootings and the people's anger is aroused, the conditions for these thugs to take control are created. Tsotsis then lead the violent outbursts of burning and killing. One would think that if the government genuinely wished to stop riots it would permit responsible African leaders like Mr. Gwentshe to exercise leadership in their communities. But that is not the policy of the government. Throughout the eastern province all the well-known leaders have been prohibited from attending "any gatherings." It is not clear whether this means that they are prohibited from standing in bus queues or attending cinemas, but it is certain that they may not address public meetings. One of them has said: "The government is putting the Tsotsis in the leadership of the African people."

There are other signs that the government does not wish a responsible leadership to develop. In the western native areas of Johannesburg, where a gang of hooligans has dispossessed two hundred law-abiding families and forced them to live in an open square, no action whatever has been taken by the police. It is the government's policy to create as much unrest as possible and then to shoot down all who are involved. There is no other explanation for the events I have described. The passive-resistance campaign, peaceful, disciplined, and nonracial, was something it could not handle by ordinary means. So it decided to convert it from a passive into a violent campaign.

MARGARET SANGER

Back from India . . . *by Mildred Gilman*

MARGARET SANGER returned recently from a "birth control" trip that circled the globe. She crossed the Pacific by boat to Japan, flew to India, with stops at Hongkong, Bangkok, Singapore, and Ceylon; then from India she flew to Paris, and returned to America by boat, a trip that would have been strenuous for a woman half her age. She made dozens of speeches, shook thousands of grateful hands, visited many clinics, appeared at functions large and small in her honor, spoke at the Third International Planned Parenthood Conference at Bombay, and attended its nine days of sessions.

I talked with her in New York on her way back to her Arizona home, where I imagined she would rest after her breathless two months' trip. But rest was farthest from the mind of this vigorous little woman whose original mission forty years ago, to bring relief to New York City slum mothers by birth control, has grown to encompass the whole world.

"I must get busy immediately organizing North America, including all of Canada, for the second meeting of the new International Planned Parenthood Federation, which will be held in Stockholm, Sweden, next August," she said to me briskly, with no thought of an interim for rest. "Japan wants the 1954 meeting. I was elected honorary president of the federation for North America at the Bombay conference. Lady Rama Rau is honorary president for the East." India, Japan, Sweden seemed no farther away to her than the Bronx must have seemed back in 1916 when she was fighting to establish permanent birth-control centers in Manhattan.

She told me of her pleasure at the warm reception she had received in Japan this time in contrast to the cold shoulder the militarists turned toward her in 1922 and the refusal of the American occupation forces to admit her in 1950, despite the expressed wishes of the people. "This time there were actually loud-speaker trucks telling about the coming of Margaret Sanger to Japan. People flocked out of their shops and doorways. Children in school yards ran into the streets to learn what was going on. The trucks shouted, 'Sanger is here! She says no abortions. Sanger is here! She says no obortions'."

India, like Japan, was an old story for Mrs. Sanger, who had attended the All India Women's Conference there sixteen years ago. At that time she helped to obtain adoption of a resolution demanding that contraceptive information and supplies be distributed by municipalities to their health departments, particularly to all midwives and visiting workers. This progressive step was taken despite the opposition of Gandhi. Mrs. Sanger feels that her earlier visit did much to lay the groundwork for India's acceptance of the recent conference, at which about five hundred

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MILDRED GILMAN has been an educational consultant to the Planned Parenthood Federation for many years.

delegates from fourteen nations established the first world-wide planned-parenthood organization.

The Hindu religion has no injunctions against birth control, and the present limited opposition comes from a dwindling group of Gandhi's followers and a small number of Roman Catholics. "On my earlier visit," Mrs. Sanger said, "I found Gandhi most hospitable and friendly. We took long walks and had extended discussions in which I put forth my best arguments. We both agreed that families should be limited; he felt three or four children to a family were enough, but he insisted that intercourse, therefore, should be restricted to three or four occasions during the entire married life of the couple. He felt that women who wanted to control the size of their families should 'resist' their husbands, in extreme cases leave them. Needless to say his suggested 'methods' have had no success."

The spirit of Mahatma Gandhi lives on in modified form in the present Health Minister, who was one of his secretaries, and in an elderly woman named Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, who was a devout disciple. The latter is a highly respected person who has done much good for India, but it is due to her influence that the four government-sponsored child-spacing clinics set up as experiments in India by Dr. Abraham Stone under the auspices of the World Health Organization have so far used only the "rhythm" method.

Mrs. Sanger found the younger doctors and public-health nurses eager to learn safer, better methods of birth control. More than half of the delegates from India to the Bombay conference were under thirty-five. Many were too poor to afford even the most modest hotels. Some had walked long distances to Bombay, lacking the money for railroad fare. Many reported that a few hundred rupees had been scraped together in their home villages to get the help of a doctor and set up a modest clinic. The conference hall "was jammed to the ceiling," the greatest interest being shown by the men.

"India's women," Mrs. Sanger continued, "under the leadership of the wonderful Madam Pandit, Lady Rama Rau, and others, have taken great strides toward independence, but it is still a land in which girls marry as children, passing at puberty from their father's domination to that of their husband. Laws for relieving the sad condition of India's widows, who may not remarry, and for allowing daughters as well as sons to inherit from their fathers are being pushed in the legislature, but there is strong opposition. Nevertheless, many changes are taking place. More young people are marrying for love instead of by parental decree. For the first time, in both Japan and India, I saw wives walking beside their husbands, no longer respectfully a few feet behind them. Some of the younger men even carried the babies on their backs."

Margaret Sanger

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, vice-president of India, scholar, revered spiritual leader, and president of UNESCO, embodies perhaps more than any other person the spirit of the new India. In his opening address to the conference he dismissed as spurious the argument that birth control interferes with nature or is contrary to the will of God. "God is not an external despot or a sultan in disguise," he said. "What is civilization? Is it not progressive control of nature? To combat disease, pestilence, prolong the span of life—all these mean a fight against the drift of nature. Abstinence [counseled by Gandhi] is in essence a defiance of the edict of nature. . . . Intelligence is a divine gift, and it is up to us to use it in furtherance of social happiness and individual development."

According to Mrs. Sanger, "the widely held idea that illiterate villagers are uninterested in birth control and will not take the trouble to practice it was one of the myths dissipated at the conference. Preliminary investigations of the attitudes of both urban and rural families toward limiting the family showed 75 per cent ready to accept it without any prior education or propaganda. Our own coworker, Mary Langford, who was in charge of one of the demonstration clinics, said that two men walked eighty miles to the clinic to learn a safe method of planning families."

One side activity of the conference which received almost no publicity because the problem is not associated with the Indians was the instruction asked for and given in the correction of infertility. "Infertility," said Mrs. Sanger, "is more of a tragedy to Hindus than to peoples whose religion does not glorify fertility. The family-planning movement is as interested in helping infertile mothers to have babies as it is in relieving the over-fecund."

The most important thing is that India, with a population of more than 360,000,000 people which is increasing by approximately 5,000,000 a year, recognizes the need to limit its numbers, for its own well-being and for the peace of the world. As in Japan, the government has sponsored steps to meet this need. The Indian consulate general in New York City reports that there are 200 birth-control clinics in 28 cities of 21 states of India, 15 of them being in the municipality of Bombay. And in his report to Parliament on the country's first five-year plan, presented last December, Prime Minister Nehru included a request for $1,300,000 for family-planning clinics throughout the country. This request has since been approved. Results will be obtained more slowly in India than in Japan, Mrs. Sanger believes, owing to India's staggering illiteracy rate—about 90 per cent—and its many different languages and dialects.

In summing up Mrs. Sanger said, "I spoke to large, eager audiences in India as I did in Japan. I talked with individuals. I am convinced as never before that the problem is no longer one of acceptance; it is of developing one of the new contraceptives to the degree where it can be used easily by people in the most remote provinces, living in the most primitive conditions, but still eager to achieve the human dignity of planning their families."

BOOKS

Woman's Place *by Patrick Mullahy*

THE SECOND SEX. **By Simone de Beauvoir.** Translated and Edited by H. M. Parshley. Alfred A. Knopf. $10.

"THE SECOND SEX" is in many ways a superb book, brilliantly written with a broad scope and keen psychological insight. However, because of certain political leanings Mme de Beauvoir has to be read with critical caution.

The author is, or was, a close associate of Jean-Paul Sartre, and her book abounds in existentialist language. "The Second Sex," originally published in France in two successive volumes, discusses the problem of women from various angles. Book One (Fact and Myths) includes a critical review of woman's problems seen from the perspectives of biology, psychology, history, historical materialism, literature, myth, mysticism, and so on. Among the topics discussed in Book Two (Woman's Life Today) are Childhood, The Young Girl, Sexual Initiation, The Lesbian, The Married Woman, The Mother, Social Life, Prostitutes and Hetairas, From Maturity to Old Age, Woman's Situation and Character, The Narcissist, The Woman in Love, The Mystic, The Independent Woman.

Woman, says Mme de Beauvoir, is not regarded as an autonomous being. She is "defined" by man not "in herself" but in relation to him. She belongs to the category of the "Other." "In the most primitive societies, in the most ancient mythologies, one finds the expression of a duality—that of the Self and the Other." Man, the author holds, never thinks of himself without thinking of the Other. Man orients himself in the world "under the sign of duality," though this duality was not originally sexual in character. "But being different from man, who sets himself up as the same, it is naturally to the category of the Other that woman is consigned; the Other includes woman." Man has become sovereign, Subject, Self, while woman has become the Other, the inessential, the object. Following an idea of Hegel, Mme de Beauvoir says: "We find in consciousness itself a fundamental hostility toward every other consciousness; the subject can be posed only in being opposed—he sets himself up as the essential, as opposed to the other, the inessential, the object."

But the other ego or self sets up a reciprocal claim. To the stranger I am the Other, the inessential, the object—which may be something of a shock to me. Hence I am forced to recognize that the polarity of Self and Other expresses a reciprocal relationship, a reciprocal relationship of subject and object. But why has this reciprocity not been recognized between the sexes? Why has one of these contrasting relationships been established as the essential one? Why is man the sovereign Subject? In other words, why do women not fundamentally challenge male sovereignty? How explain the submission of women? Since other groups can in various ways free themselves from the dominion of their oppressors, why does woman not get rid of or free herself from her "oppressor," man, and attain "an authentically subjective attitude"? The answer, in part, is that women are related to men in a more fundamental fashion. The bond that unites woman to man—and conversely, of course—is not comparable to any other. Unlike other divisions in the world, the division of the sexes is a biological event, not an event in human history like, say, the division according to "race" or class. Male and female constitute a fundamental unity. "Here," according to Mme de Beauvoir, "is to be found the basic trait of woman: she is the Other in a totality of which the two components are necessary to one another."

Still the question recurs, since men and women are complementary, why have women not been liberated from oppression, freed from the category of absolute Other? "The Second Sex" attempts to answer this problem. I myself think that Mme de Beauvoir's existentialist categories are not logically necessary, that they add nothing to her analysis, but this issue is a minor one.

Though today woman is heavily handicapped, her situation is beginning to change. But is the change a good thing, and if so, why? The answer to this presupposes an ethical philosophy, in the author's case an existentialist ethics. Perhaps the following will give a hint of what this is: "Every subject plays his part as such specifically through exploits or projects that serve as a mode of transcendence; he achieves liberty only through a continual reaching out toward other liberties. There is no justification for present existence other than its expansion into an indefinitely open future. . . . Every individual concerned to justify his existence feels that his existence involves an undefined need to transcend himself, to engage in freely chosen projects."

And if the prospect of woman's "transcendence" is anxiety-provoking to some, Mme de Beauvoir attempts to reassure them: "To emancipate woman is to refuse to confine her to the relations she bears to man, not to deny them to her; let her have her independent existence and she will continue none the less to exist for him *also:* mutually recognizing each other as subject, each will yet remain for the other an *other.*"

Woman's problem can be stated, then, in terms of how a human being in her situation can attain fulfilment, liberty, transcendence. The author set herself the task of discovering what circumstances limit woman's liberty and how they can be overcome. "The Second Sex" surveys the various factors—biological, psychological, historical, economic, social—which have brought about her situation. But she appears to believe that "the economic interests of the males" are causally fundamental, though she recognizes that other factors

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PATRICK MULLAHY teaches philosophy at the City College of New York. He also gives courses on psychoanalytic theory at New York University and the New School for Social Research. He is the author of "Oedipus: Myth and Complex," editor of "A Study of Interpersonal Relations" and "The Contributions of Harry Stack Sullivan," and collaborator with Dr. Clara Thompson on "Psychoanalysis—Evolution and Development."

have been at work too. For she says, among other things, that while a change in the economic condition is not alone sufficient to transform woman's situation, it has been and remains the basic factor in her evolution. Here, I think, there lies an ambiguity in the analysis, but it is impossible to go into that in a review.

The author appears to put her ultimate hopes for woman's freedom in "democratic socialism," not in any totalitarian regime. Soviet Russia "has revived the paternalistic concept of marriage." Nevertheless, she seems rather apologetic about Russia. She makes certain claims about that country which one would like to see reliably documented. Only the innocent will be convinced by her quotations from the Soviet constitution of 1936 and the Communist International. In regard to the United States, she can find little to say that is favorable.

There are times when Mme de Beauvoir seems to resort to a form of shock therapy. Concerning the connection—or lack of it—between love and marriage she says that adultery is "the form that love will assume as long as the institution of marriage lasts." There are some who consider such a notion a product of neurotic anxiety. It raises a fundamental point, however, about her outlook toward society. Brilliant as Mme de Beauvoir is, her sociology is a bit naive. She does not really face the enormous complexities which any advanced society has to deal with. In one sense she is a romantic individualist. References to a future utopian society really tell us nothing. They offer no concrete guide as to how both men and women can solve their problems—personal and social. The fact is that men are much less autonomous subjects than Mme de Beauvoir would have us believe. Of course she knows that, but she slights it in favor of a simpler explanatory scheme. To be sure, oversimplification at times has its justification because it highlights problems which are ignored or not sufficiently noted, if at all. We may grant that point without forgetting that other more comprehensive problems remain.

After she has presented us with such a brilliant work, it is perhaps unjust to demand more. I only wish to add that woman's problems are part of the wider problem of interpersonal relations in family, school, work place, community, and society in general. To understand these we need a more powerful psychology than Mme de Beauvoir possesses and a more powerful sociology and social philosophy. She has done an excellent job of showing some of the limitations of psychoanalysis, historical materialism, and various ideas derived from biology, literature, and philosophy. But her suggestions are too simple to be of much use in working out a solution to woman's problems. It is necessary to emphasize this, I think, because of the sweeping generalizations she makes about marriage, present-day society, and the like.

As an individual achievement "The Second Sex" is first rate. Its author has remarkable powers of observation, a keen and sensitive mind. On the whole the book is a delight to read. It will help to dispel many of the current ideas about women derived from Freud's theories. In fact, it will probably do much to dispel many of the contemporary prejudices about women.

New Books in Brief

Ways to Truth

TWO ROADS TO TRUTH. By Edmund W. Sinnott. Viking. $3.50. There can be few goals more difficult to achieve or more ardently pursued than the attempt to find a satisfactory reconciliation of faith and reason, religion and rationalism. This latest quest by the dean of the Yale Graduate School comes nearer than most. His analysis of the nature of religion and of science is concise, lucid, and eloquent; it is when he tries to prove them two facets of the same truth that he becomes involved in such dubious statements as "The brotherhood of man will come only if the fatherhood of God is recognized. Moral problems will never be solved unless they are treated as part of the structure of the universe." Nevertheless, although one may quarrel with its conclusions, the book is stimulating and provocative.

All About Jefferson

JEFFERSON READER: A TREASURY OF WRITINGS ABOUT THOMAS JEFFERSON. Edited with an Introduction by Francis Coleman Rosenberger. Dutton. $5. Variety and freshness mark this collection of writings about Thomas Jefferson. It begins with excerpts from the reminiscences and reports of fifteen of his contemporaries; then follows a mixed bag of eulogy and satire in verse and of calumny in prose; then come nine essays by experts on as many aspects of Jefferson's career and thought; then a sheaf of poems by our own contemporaries; utterances by four Presidents (one of whom had something to say); and last, to fill up the measure, seven miscellaneous pieces, including one of Macaulay's forthright and prophetic letters to Jefferson's great nineteenth-century biographer, Henry Stephens Randall. Several of the essays, such as John W. Davis's on Jefferson as a lawyer and Gilbert Chinard's on his classical scholarship, are hardly accessible to most readers; the editor is specially to be commended for giving them a wider circulation. The volume as a whole is neither a unified biography nor an interpretation of Jefferson; it is an engaging miscellany illustrating but not exhausting its subject and the ways in which he has aroused the curiosity, admiration, or hostility of people in every era and walk of life.

Magnolia Myths

MYTHS AND REALITIES: SOCIETIES OF THE COLONIAL SOUTH. By Carl Bridenbaugh. Louisiana. $3.25. Professor Bridenbaugh's book is a little masterpiece of social history. Its thesis that the pre-Revolutionary "South" consisted of three distinct societies is not entirely novel, but the idea has never been so clearly and thoroughly supported by evidence. The three societies are the Chesapeake, which includes the Albemarle region of North Carolina as well as Maryland and Virginia; the Carolina, centering on Charleston; and the Back Settlements, extending all the way from Mason and Dixon's line to southern Georgia.

In two hundred pages, never congested, Mr. Bridenbaugh sketches the life of the three, setting them in sharp contrast; and the "myths" that cluster around all three, but especially around the first two, are examined and dissipated. Chesapeake pretensions to a well-developed literary, artistic, and intellectual culture are cut down drastically; and the newly rich planters of the Carolina coast are treated even more severely. In both cases there should be no doubt about the verdict. Mr. Bridenbaugh has special respect for the Moravians of North Carolina; his book should awaken new interest in them. "Myths and Realities" will delight any reader; the professional student will find it an excellent starting-point for further work and will be grateful for its full bibliographical notes and references.

A Romantic Socialist

MY DEAR TIMOTHY. By Victor Gollancz. Simon and Schuster. $5. An eloquent, exasperating, muddle-headed, and warm-hearted self-portrait by a romantic idealist and ardent Socialist who is also a hard-headed publisher. The reader's temptation to close the book with a bang will be strong when he comes to such passages as these: "Matter at the service of spirit, matter become one with spirit, that should be the aim of our Socialist commonwealth. . . . I want to see the socialism of our day reaching out more and more to the idea of goodness." Or: "I have always felt a vast, single, living bliss behind everything." But the over-all effect is impressive—testimony to one man's goodness and his belief in the human race.

Adolescent's Portrait

LOVE FOR LYDIA. By H. E. Bates. Atlantic–Little Brown. $3.50. Except for the sudden melodramatic twists in this story of young love in a small English town, "Love for Lydia" moves lethargically, and the author relies upon his characters to sustain interest. But Mr. Bates does not have the mature insight to create a convincing portrait of adolescence. His characters are too shallow and weak to give conviction to the artificial tragedies they are made to enact. The author is, however, adept at sketching his minor characters, and in a few competent strokes he gives the reader two fading aristocratic aunts, a remarkably vulgar newspaper editor, and a tomboy whose ugliness conceals a fermenting passion. Bates's failure to develop a strong hero and heroine is what has made "Love for Lydia" a trivial and inadequate novel.

Labor's Lansbury

THE LIFE OF GEORGE LANSBURY. By Raymond Postgate. Longmans, Green. $4.75. There are few more attractive figures in the history of the British Labor movement than George Lansbury, who died in 1940 in his eighty-first year. Agitator, local administrator, editor, member of Parliament, and Cabinet minister—in all these roles he worked ceaselessly and unselfishly to promote the achievement of the Socialist commonwealth which to him was the essential goal of a Christian society. For four years he led the attenuated Labor opposition in the House of Commons, doing much to restore the party's morale after its shattering defeat in 1931. His resignation was due to his whole-hearted pacifism, which seemed increasingly unrealistic to his colleagues. While wisely refraining from any attempt to estimate his place in history, Raymond Postgate does not disguise his belief that Lansbury was a great man. This may be the partisan opinion of a devoted son-in-law and collaborator. But great or not, "G. L.," as he was affectionately known to vast numbers of workers, was certainly a good man and a very lovable personality. His story was well worth telling both for its intrinsic interest and for the light it throws on the vicissitudes of the British Labor movement.

Birds in Hand

OUR AMAZING BIRDS. By Robert S. Lemmon. Paintings by Don R. Eckelberry. American Garden Guild and Doubleday. $3.95. Bird books are evidently popular, and they are "angled" in many different ways. This one is neither a field guide on the one hand nor merely something for the library table on the other. A member of the graphic staff of the National Audubon Society has provided a lavish number of lively black-and-white paintings; a former editor of *House and Garden* has contributed informative portraits of something more than a hundred species. The result is not only pleasant to look at and very easy to read but might well serve as an introduction to the birds for those who are not ready to cope with more ambitious books. Most of the species the Easterner is likely to see first are there. Incidentally the modest price makes it quite a bargain as handsomely illustrated books go.

Theater

Harold Clurman

A PLAY, in stage terms, is a scenario or a plan of action to be performed by living persons. The basis of drama, then, is action. But action cannot be abstract. It is seen through people who are characters, and in most plays the characters speak words which, though primarily intended to define and carry forward the action, possess a quality of their own. Action is also modified by place—not only the locale of the story itself but the actual place of performance or "stage practice," which must ultimately determine something in the nature of the action. Every character, besides having an ideal identity in the scheme of the play, has a real identity through the actor who embodies him. For this reason the theater, which is an art of many parts, achieves unity only as one conceives all of them with a view to grasping their central spirit, the root of their organic life.

"Love's Labor's Lost," perhaps the first of Shakespeare's plays, is based on a very fragile line of action. Its characters are almost pastel sketches. Yet how lovely and lyric, how bright and gay, youthful and joyous is the feeling of the play. It is all fun and tender merry-making. It bathes blithely in that "sweet smoke of rhetoric" which Shakespeare liked both to laugh at and indulge in. Euphuism and airy conceits, pride in pedantry and glowing satisfaction in new learning—all these Shakespeare affectionately mocks because he knows he is enthusiastically guilty of all of them. He has in him something of the fantastical Spaniard Don Adriano de Armando, lovably mad, who "hath a mint of phrases in his brain," a quixotic loon without a shirt to his name, whom the aristocrats use as a sort of court fool. "The music of his own vain tongue doth ravish like enchanting harmony."

Just as Shakespeare in this early flight spreads his sumptuous plumage of splendid words, so his theme, expressed largely through that happy blade Berowne, is the excellence of love, the pleasures provided by womankind, the primacy of passion. "Abstinence engenders maladies." How this play revels in its own youth, its discovery of language, laughter, and bubbling genius! The play is a harbinger of the Shakespeare to come: it has the glamour of an awakening to a brilliant dawn.

I do not know how the play should be done—except that there must be gaiety and freshness in it. I do not know where it takes place—except on a stage—for the Navarre which is the locale of its action is nothing but the playground of the poet's fancy.

Albert Marre, who directed the City Center production—the first in New York since 1891—has chosen to do the play in an Edwardian mode, which is as quaint and as near or far as need be. To translate the play in this fashion is as legitimate, it seems to me, as to approximate any pseudo-historical time. The "translation" is consistently carried out and certainly amusing. It makes the play a pleasant college boys' romp—and that in a way is just what it is. This "Love's Labor's Lost" has really been directed—which is a rather rare thing in our theater. It has been given a theatrical form—in terms of the eye and the feeling which goes with what the eye sees—and that, in part, is what we mean when we speak of stage direction. The costumes are charming—as if for a Wilde play done as an operetta; the use of the musical accompaniment is quite winning.

YUL BRYNNER
in
RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN'S
The King and I
A New Musical Play
with CONSTANCE CARPENTER
ST. JAMES THEATRE, West 44 St.
Evenings at 8:25: $7.20 to 1.80. Matinees
Wednesday & Saturday at 2:25: $4.20 to 1.80.
MONDAY EVES. ONLY: CURTAIN AT 7 SHARP

R & H

MARTHA WRIGHT
GEORGE BRITTON
in
South Pacific
with MYRON McCORMICK • WILLIAM TABBERT • MARTIN WOLFSON
and JUANITA HALL
MAJESTIC THEATRE, West 44 St.
Eves. at 8:30: $6.00 to 1.80. Wed. Mat. at
2:30: $3.60 to 1.20. Sat. Mat. $4.20 to 1.20.
HOL. MATINEE, MON., FEB. 23
MON. EVES. ONLY: Curtain 7 sharp

The cast has a young complexion which goes well with the rest. Its diction is a bit over-deliberate, showing a modest caution that is to be recommended even though it constrains and dulls the pace somewhat. But better a hesitant Shakespeare that is heard than a confident one that is blustered or blurred.

The men have better roles than the women. Priscilla Morrill as Jacquanetta has a merry eye, and Nancy Marchand as the Princess of France a good presence. Philip Bourneuf as Holofernes and Hurd Hatfield as Sir Nathaniel are particularly humorous (Hatfield's real talent, I now discover with pleasure, is for character acting), and Joseph Schildkraut is charmingly foolish and forlorn as Don Adriano. Mr. Schildkraut, who it is no news to say is a fine actor, must however overcome one serious fault: he tends to draw his audience's attention to the precise effect he is making so that he seems not only to be acting his part but to be demonstrating how he is acting it. When he is commendably simple, as here, he seems to be asking his audience to appreciate the fact of this simplicity—which makes his performance not quite so simple as he intends.

"The Emperor's Clothes"

A PLAY must be constructed to work on the stage if it is to be shown on the stage; that's a first rule. But sometimes plays are written and produced as though for the stage alone. A spectator observes that they move well, that tension is rising and flowing toward a climax, that the characters are being drawn and shaped by their impact on one another, but little or nothing of this comes across the footlights. He feels that if he had been up there in the thick of the play, the circumstances might have been both clear and important, but as it happens he is the witness to events he cannot share and only partly understands. The lines of force are self-contained and do not project into the auditorium.

Such a play is George Tabori's "The Emperor's Clothes." It is full of matters that concern an audience: the power of the single spirit to resist the pollution of the total state; the problem of honesty in close relationships; the essence of truth in the confusion of facts; love, honor, courage, and the like. The scene is Budapest in 1930, the plot concerns a small professional man who, both despite and because of his son and wife, succeeds in taking his stand. Mr. Tabori does not appear to have much new to say on these subjects, but that is not a serious fault, for they are always worth discussing in familiar terms. The fault is that he has been so much concerned with how his play would perform that he has thought little of how it would communicate. His back is to the audience. The characters do not seem entirely consistent, nor are their reactions evidently gauged to their experiences. But you cannot really attack them on this score, for you are never abreast of the proceedings. At the end you see that there has been a triumph, but you cannot be sure that it is a valid triumph. In any case, it does not greatly concern you, for you were not party to the struggle.

The play was written behind the footlights, and it has been produced there. Lee Cobb, Maureen Stapleton, and Brandon de Wilde fill the stage with noise and motion. They are sure actors, their support from the minor roles is deft, and they have been well orchestrated. Nevertheless, their performances are theatrical, not dramatic. Harold Clurman has directed the play in terms of its stage virtues perhaps because those were the virtues available to him. The production is a model of exits and entrances, of crossings and clashes and the rise and fall of vocal tides. If Cobb has a tendency to intone his lines, it may be because the lines will not go in plain speech. The play is full of brocaded philosophy, a little too rich for its content.

There might be another approach that would get "The Emperor's Clothes" across to its audience, but there is also a high degree of probability that it would collapse if extended that far.

ROBERT HATCH

Records

B. H. Haggin

BACH'S Clavierübung has been issued in its entirety on seven Haydn Society records. Three records are devoted to the six Partitas of Part 1, one record to the Italian Concerto and French Overture of Part 2 and the Four Duets from Part 3, and one record to the Goldberg Variations of Part 4—all played on the harpsichord by Ralph Kirkpatrick; and one record to the Prelude, Chorale Preludes, and concluding Fugue of Part 3, played on the organ by Paul Callaway.

In his accompanying notes Kirkpatrick, placing this work of Bach in the category of works like the Etudes of Chopin, Schumann, Liszt, and Debussy, contends that the "keyboard practice" of the title is to be taken "in the sense of an exercise, an activity of the spirit," and cites Bach's own statement that the various pieces have been "composed to delight the spirit of music lovers." But Bach's way of exercising the spirit was to exercise his prodigious craftsmanship and knowledge of techniques and styles; and some of the results offer more to delight an interest in the skilful use of techniques and styles than to delight the spirit. All six Partitas are no doubt fascinating to anyone interested in their "astonishing assimilation of French, Italian, and German keyboard styles"; but as a mere music lover I find only No. 1 in B flat and to a lesser degree No. 3 in A minor interesting to listen to simply as music. Similarly, the French Overture and Italian Concerto may excite some listeners with Bach's "[appropriation] to the harpsichord [of] prevailing French and Italian orchestral styles of the preceding fifty years," but listening to the music I am excited only by the wonderful slow movement of the concerto. Again, however interesting Part 3 may be to some for the elaborately organized "mathematical and symbolic structure" that Bach erects out of the chorales to illustrate the basic tenets of Lutheran doctrine, what affects me as great music is the magnificent opening Prelude and several of the longer Chorale Preludes—the other longer and shorter ones being, for me, less interesting, and the concluding Fugue impressive as a piece of fugal construction. The Four Duets may interest some as "the most highly concentrated two-voice music that Bach ever wrote," but I find them quite dull. And while everything in the Goldberg Variations may sound like "unsurpassable invention" to some ears, I hear examples of mechanical use of the variation process as well as things as wonderful as the three slow variations in minor mode.

Much of Kirkpatrick's playing is relaxed, sensitive, clear, and strong; but at times it is tight, stiff, stolid: the Praeludium of the Partita No. 1 hasn't the easy flow, the Sarabande the cohesive note-to-note continuity that I can recall hearing in other performances; the slow movement of the Italian Concerto flows less easily than in Mr. Kirkpatrick's own Musicraft performance years ago. And in those slow Goldberg variations in minor mode there isn't the spaciously elaborating inflection—both powerful and subtle—that I have heard give them overwhelming expressive effect in other performances. Important in connection with all this is the delicate, lovely sound of the old Chickering harpsichord Mr. Kirkpatrick uses: it adds to the pleasure from his best playing, and makes the occasional stiffness and stolidity easy on the ear.

Callaway's performances of the organ works also seem excellent; but the thick sounds of the Washington Cathedral organ are made even less clear by the excessively long reverberation.

From Columbia has come a set of three records with organ works played by Albert Schweitzer—the first offering Bach's Toccata, Adagio, and Fugue in C, Fantasia and Fugue in G minor, and Fugue (again without the Prelude) in A minor; the second six of Bach's Chorale Preludes; the third the less familiar Preludes in C and D and Canzona in D minor (Schweitzer Edition Vol. 2 Nos. 10, 12, and 13), and Mendelssohn's Sonata No. 6, of which I find only the Canzona interesting. Even when Schweitzer's first recorded performances of the fugues were issued years ago I found that their simplicity was carried to the point of occasional ineffectiveness; now I can see that he is entirely without the performer's art—the legitimate art of pacing, articulating, and shaping a piece of music—that is required for the effective presentation to the listener's mind of even a Toccata and Fugue of Bach. But now as then the method—and in particular the slow pace—works well with the Chorale Preludes, producing clear and moving statements of the wonderful "Ich ruf' zu Dir, Herr Jesu Christ," "Nun komm', der Heiden Heiland," "O Mensch, bewein' dein' Sünde gross" (first and second versions, of which the second is especially wonderful), and "Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sind." The sounds from the organ of the Parish Church in Gunsbach, Alsace, are not as compact and clear as those from the organ Schweitzer used in the earlier performances.

Letters

New Farm Commission

Dear Sirs: As a farm reader I want vigorously to object to Eisenhower's farm commission.

First, the fourteen-man commission is overweighted with food processors with an interest in buying cheap from farmers and selling dear to consumers. By the same token it is underweighted with dirt farmers or their spokesmen with an interest in maintaining a decent standard of living for working farmers.

Second, the New York *Times,* in a recent editorial, was completely wrong in suggesting that sentiment for high-level supports exists chiefly in Washington. It is the other way around. The sentiment for high-level supports is so strong at the grass roots that the politicians and bureaucrats in Washington are forced to get on the bandwagon.

Third, the *Times* is wrong in suggesting that 90 per cent support is "high" level. The parity formula is simply a device for keeping farm prices in line with costs of operating. Why should farmers be forced to operate for 90 per cent or 60 per cent of their costs, which they can only do by reducing the standard of living of their families?

Fourth, the nature of our farm economy requires a government program of stabilized prices at full parity levels. Farmers cannot set their own prices as do most businesses via a standard markup. Farm prices fluctuate widely, while cost items, such as machinery, repairs, commercial feeds, local taxes, gasoline, and seeds are all relatively insensitive to price changes. The result is that farmers are often caught in a price squeeze that hampers farm efficiency and may produce bankruptcy.

Farmers do not enjoy generous tax write-offs or cost-plus-10-per-cent contracts—110 per cent of parity—as defense industrialists do. Farmers only ask for stabilization at 100 per cent of parity! We should all have learned under Roosevelt that our prosperity is based on adequate income (buying power) among farmers and workingmen. Let us hope that Mr. Eisenhower and his new farm commission grasp this simple proposition before it is too late.

JAMES M. YOUNGDALE

Benson, Minn.

An American Replies to Elio Vittorini

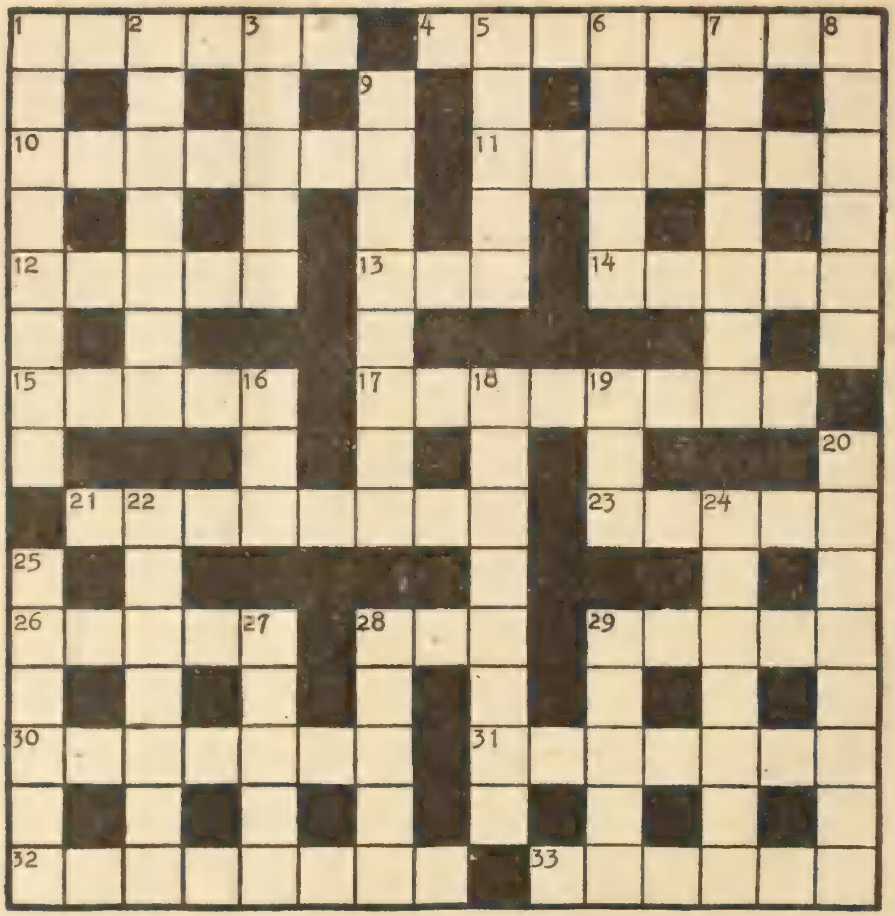
Dear Sirs: The problems of an organized society are a good deal more complicated than either the Stalinists or those committed to freedom in the abstract would admit. The problem revolves around the necessity both for discipline, taking the form of organization which tends toward dictatorship, and for individual spontaneity, which tends toward anarchy. Both discipline and individual spontaneity are necessary for real freedom. While the Stalinists are committed to rigid discipline, Mr. Vittorini's position [Roads of the Ex-Communists, *The Nation,* December 6], on the other hand, leads toward anarchy. Neither of these tendencies can result in peace and freedom.

There is unfortunately a general tendency for intellectuals in the West to underestimate the role of organization in providing them with the individual freedoms they prize so highly. They seem to think there are natural freedoms that are not a result, as they are, of a particular type of organization in an economy at a particular level of development.

Organization and individual spontaneity taken as absolutes are dialectical

Crossword Puzzle No. 504

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 11 across.
4 The sort of officer that gets your goat? Its relative, rather, with good taste. (8)
10 and 19 down. Indicates the degree of shaking, with finesse. (10)
11 Evidently the result of applying a marinade looks good. (1, 6, 6)
12 This plant produces much with us.
13 See 28 across.
14 Move quickly? Just the opposite, because it's stable in part. (5)
15 and 31 With which the government has been concerned during seizure? (Uniform sizes are not guaranteed!) (3-2-3-4)
17 Eckstein might be disturbed by them (if too loud?). (8)
21 Don't kill the gag—Adam did. (8)
23 and 26 Berle's travels, appearing in the back pages, perhaps. (They'd better not over their lines!) (5, 5)
28 and 13 Pale, yet putting on weight—despite the implication of fast living. (6)
29 and 30 Calves aren't quite covered with them; organists are. (5, 7)
81 See 15 across.
32 Two famous men here named Washington second or third. (8)
33 The pen has an agreeable sound at first, but the result might be frothy.

DOWN

1 Salesmen who suggest a business cycle? (8)
2 Not derbies (brown) with which the old sailor used to go around. (7)
3 These might be folded down or wound up. (5)
5 How to make a profit once more. (5)
6 Yanks are not always so considered.
7 Remark not originally made by a caterer? (7)
8 A damaged plane—but not likely. Ephemerid, rather. (3, 3)
9 Making more speed about the beginning of the end. (8)
16 and 27 Provincially it sounds like a long distance around the neck perhaps. (3, 5)
18 Furniture, somewhat higher placed than the top of the bureau. (8)
19 See 10 across.
20 There might be dirty work here, so it's no place for boating! (8)
22 Examines by employment? (7)
24 Obscure uprising fades away, somewhat like 29 down. (No wonder they're worn.)
25 Ship at a place under fire, perhaps.
27 See 16 down.
28 Sweat might make it or eliminate it.
29 Not a first-class would-be sailor. (5)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 503

ACROSS:—1 CAPRI; 4 TABULATOR; 9 UNPOPULAR; 10 NEARS; 11 PRINCIPIA; 12 BETEL; 13 SOUND WAVES; 17 UNILATERAL; 21 BLAKE; 22 OPERA HATS; 23 LARVA; 24 THEME SONG; 25 WINTERSET; 26 TREES.

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opposites. They are part of the process of growth in individual life and in the life of society. While the ideology of the West idealizes individual spontaneity, the ideology of the East idealizes collective action.

It is this factor that leads many in the West incorrectly to equate Hitlerism and Stalinism, a misconception I believe Mr. Vittorini has accepted. There is a qualitative difference between the regimes despite many similarities. The difference is the difference between John L. Lewis, one of our great trade-union leaders, and Joseph P. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association. Although both discourage democratic activity and require obedience to their decisions, John L. Lewis makes a serious effort to achieve a better life for the coal miners. Mr. Ryan's only interest is personal power and wealth.

It is my opinion that 100 years from now men will look at the Soviet Union and deplore the fact that socialist democracy began with forced labor camps and political purges, as we deplore the fact that capitalist democracy in America began with slave labor.

It is the job of humane men in the West to synthesize the democratic spirit and ideas of Jefferson with the scientific socialist ideas of Marx, which, as Mr. Vittorini says, are based on the great humanistic traditions of the West. The major responsibility for this accomplishment rests on the American labor movement and its leaders.

New York HAL KOPPERSMITH

Commendation

Dears Sirs: I can't help writing you to comment on the article you published in *The Nation* of January 24 entitled I Have a Thing to Tell You, by Ruth Elizabeth Crawford. I most certainly commend you very highly for your courage in printing this article.

I too think that Miss Crawford is entitled to a hearing. What is left of our democracy if, at the very least, we deny a "fair hearing" to those whose opinions may differ from ours?

Ralph, S. D. JOSEPH PINTAR

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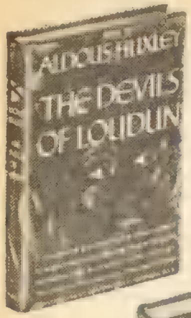

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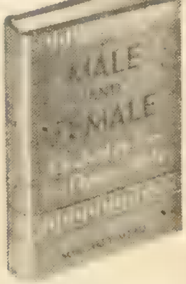

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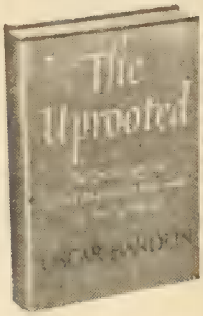

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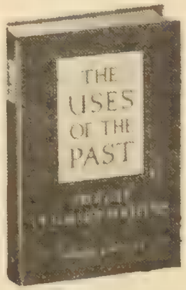

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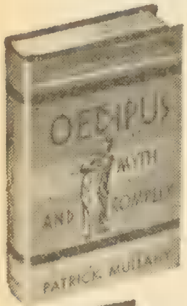

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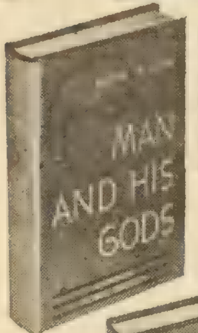

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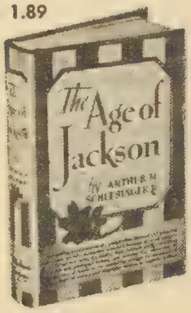

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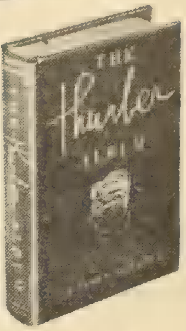

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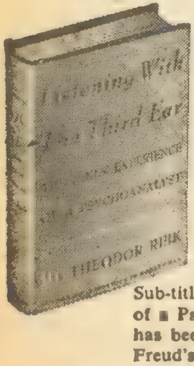

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Depression: Can the G. O. P. Block It?

by Fritz Sternberg

Asia Eyes Formosa *W. Macmahon Ball*
Perjury or Heresy? *An Editorial*
I'm Still Waiting *James Kutcher*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Around the U.S.A.

Soliloquy

Alfred, New York

IN THIS season of the sessions of investigating committees, my mind is full of the substance and shadow of violence and threat.

Ruin has taught me to meditate about the ambiguous upraised arm of the Statue of Liberty. In my present state of remembering things past I wonder whether the poised arm is potential blow or benison. Surely the most remarkable single intellectual fact of my life has been the hobnailed entry of investigating officialdom into the classroom. (Not enough people raised their voice against the robot captivity of the college president's office by the comptometer of the treasurer's office, a coup d'état that deposed scholarship and raised up warriors, politicians, and corporation executives to lead American education in the twentieth century—and so the bloodless revolution was successful.) As an undergraduate I saw teachers picked off the college roster by the do-or-die inspired investigating committees who were anticipating the judgment day of the god of history. Town versus Gown? Hardly. The State against Ideas. The horse hoofs of mounted policemen struck sparks of learning on campus streets.

De te fabula. . . . I am today in the shoes of the teacher whom I saw threatened when I was a learner. The flux of things creates the sensation of having been there before. I see graduate teachers I know of by their scholarly work, violated by dismissal, threatened by professional blacklisting. I am no longer spectator. I am of them. The men of ideas are being pursued down the corridors of their school buildings by the hounds of conformity, by the wilful betrayers of the promise of the land we live in. The beacon of the American Enlightenment was almost snuffed out by the sneerers at the brain trust. Their laughter was epidemic, signifying the degradation of American intellectualism. More recently America has grinned at the discomfiture of the eggheads.

Behind the anti-intellectualism is the repeated canard: "Those who can, do; those who can't, teach." Gleefully the sentence is applauded and the sense of it enjoyed and reprinted by corporate well-wishes and their incorporated hangers-on. The teacher in America is being debunked by legislative officialdom. The academic art of informing has changed to the technique of the academic informer of miraculous memory.

■ But if the teacher has democratic vistas in his mind, let him be mindful of his own dereliction. For too long has the teacher of the humanities merely rehearsed the review-book lessons of Wycliffe's nonconformity, Chaucer's humanism, Montaigne's skepticism, Emerson's protest, Mill's liberalism, and Shelley's dissidence. We are in danger of losing the pamphleteering skill of Erasmus, Voltaire, Milton, Paine, and Thoreau. We suffer from too much vicarious liberalism. We have become a mutual-admiration society, hugging our books to our chest, knowing ourselves the saving remnant, fatalistically optimistic that it can't happen here in the land of promise. To realize freshly that the liberalism we teach has been well-intentioned toward the past but vicarious about the present is to reestimate our position and redirect our attention against officialdom that censors libraries and cashiers teachers, against the epidemic joy in the pejorative use of "brain trust" and "egg head," and against the conformists who misinterpret as accomplished the American promise of a world of free men freely examining the flux of ideas. The success of the American promise—we have a short but significant tradition—is the explicit assurance that the world will note and imitate what we have done here and what we now do here.

Reviving in himself the promise of America, the teacher will scorn to change his state with the conformists who curse his classroom bell, his library book, his midnight candle. And the upraised hand of the Statue of Liberty will lose its ambiguity of threat and be a sign of benison. And teachers will slough off the creased coils of violence and fear and stir themselves in the sun of the American promise.

MELVIN H. BERNSTEIN

[*The author is a member of the faculty of Alfred University.*]

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Volume 176, Number 9
New York, Saturday, Februrary 28, 1953

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Feints and Jabs

By a process that might be described as "sleight of tongue" the Administration seems to be moving toward a definition of its positive foreign policy. Several verbal feints have been made in the past week or so. For instance, at his first press conference, on February 17, President Eisenhower declared that the question of a naval blockade of Communist China had neither been brought up to him nor been studied in the proper sections of the government, "meaning," said William S. White in the New York *Times*, "those sections powerful enough to make high policy." Next day Secretary Dulles at *his* first press conference declared that measures to check the flow of goods to China, "one of which is a naval blockade," are under "intensive scrutiny" by the State Department. He did not say whether any particular actions had been decided upon, although he hinted that a further effort might be made at the U. N. General Assembly, reconvening this week, to get member states to cut off all commercial intercourse with China. Eisenhower and Dulles agreed on one point: that as fast as South Korean troops could be trained and sent into the line, United Nations forces would be pulled back.

As for President Eisenhower's promised repudiation of World War II "secret" agreements that had brought about the enslavement of peoples, it finally simmered down to a mild resolution rejecting "interpretations or applications" of those agreements which have been used to subjugate free peoples, and expressing the "hope" that such peoples would again enjoy the right of self-determination and self-government. As Senator Humphrey said, this resolution was "primarily public relations." But it was definitely not repudiation and as a result it caused far less worry among our European allies than did the President's original promise—or threat. But in the degree to which it reduced anxiety abroad it generated dissatisfaction among the Republican fireeaters in Congress. Regarding Mr. Eisenhower's failure to wipe out the results of Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam as deplorable softness, they were ready as this week began to fight for a tougher resolution.

Only a few liberal Democrats spoke up warmly in defense of the Administration's version and for unity behind the President! Foreigners can perhaps be excused for the air of puzzlement with which they often observe our political behavior.

Roll-Back Policy?

But however inconsistent and apparently shifting, the week's pronouncements from Washington added up to something. "The shape of things to come" began to emerge. Still vague, it looks like a scheme to avoid immediate dramatic acts in Korea or elsewhere which would engage larger American resources, further alarm our allies, and possibly drag Russia into the fight, while laying down a long-range strategic plan to challenge Soviet power on every front. Even the President's soft resolution establishes for the record a position from which he could launch almost any sort of "liberation" move.

Put together, the Formosa decision backed by increased aid to Chiang, the preparation of South Korean forces for a major role in the war in the peninsula, the plans for building up of a stronger Vietnam army with a native officers' corps, the rearming of Japan, the urgent threat-plus-plea for European unity and quick action on the European army agreement, the new emphasis on psychological warfare, all fit into a single frame—a frame whose outlines were lightly roughed in by the President's resolution. It seems to add up to a strategy which would make nonsense of any further talk about negotiated agreements with Russia.

Just Another Day

John L. Lewis, last of the "big three" labor leaders, celebrated his seventy-third birthday on February 12. No special event was planned, the news stories said, it being "just another day" in the busy life of the president of the United Mine Workers. And so it was, in a sense, for Mr. Lewis issued a statement urging approximately 120,000 U. M. W. members in West Virginia to give all-out support to Governor William C. Marland's important tax program. West Virginia's new thirty-five-year-old governor is himself an ex-miner and was elected last fall with the active support of Mr. Lewis and the coal miners of the state. By levying a severance tax on the state's natural resources, Governor Marland hopes to raise $18,000,000 in new revenue to be earmarked for high-

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Next Week

Our Foreign Policy and the United Nations
Canada's Coming Elections
Camus vs. Sartre: France's Great Literary War

ways and schools, including West Virginia University's medical school.

Of the $18,000,000 sought the soft-coal industry would pay, on the basis of 10 cents a ton, a total of about $14,500,000. The rest would come from lumber, oil, gas, limestone, sand and gravel, brine, and other resources. Mr. Lewis points out that the tax can be charged against the cost of production and deducted from federal income taxes.

Hearings have opened in Charleston, and a lively legislative battle is shaping up on the issue. If enacted, the measure would provide an attractive blueprint for other states which like West Virginia have suffered from the uncompensated exploitation of their natural resources by absentee industrialists. Hale and hearty at seventy-three, Mr. Lewis apparently feels that the best way to celebrate a birthday is to support a measure which, if enacted, will contribute, as he says, to the well-being of "each member of our union, his family, his neighbors, and his fellow citizens."

Transforming Social Security

In giving wide distribution to reprints of an article by A. D. Marshall, manager of the Employee Benefits Department of the General Electric Corporation, which appeared in the December, 1952, issue of *American Economic Security*, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has laid down the opening propaganda barrage in its campaign to transform the present social-security program. The chamber's plan is cleverly baited. Old-age federal insurance coverage would be immediately extended to include not only all the gainfully employed but the aged destitute, who now receive locally administered old-age relief. At the same time federal grants for old-age relief would be eliminated. The catch in the plan consists in the proposal that current benefits and the taxes required to pay these benefits should be brought into approximate balance. Under the present form of financing, payments into the fund currently exceed withdrawals, but the amounts withdrawn are certain to increase in the future as more and more persons reach the eligible age for pensions. The effect of the proposal, therefore, would be to eliminate the current reserve fund and the interest it earns, with the consequence that the rate of future contributions would have to be increased. The chamber is thus endangering the stability of the whole social security system.

Two-Punch Attack

Two articles in this issue (Fritz Sternberg's on page 183 and Bruce Catton's on page 187) present fascinating complementary aspects of the new G. O. P. fiscal policy. Taking the long view, Mr. Sternberg argues that within a few years there will be a decline in the high current levels of both defense spending and private capital investment. This, he says, will bring about a threat of depression which an unimaginative G. O. P. is likely to try to avoid by again stepping up the dangerous business of gun-building. Mr. Catton, watching day-to-day developments in Washington, in effect says that Mr. Sternberg is already proved right in at least one respect: the stage is being set for a reduction in private investment through an increase in interest rates.

It is, of course, too early to draw conclusions, but it looks as if the Republicans were in there again with their aggressive two-punch attack: *wham*, deflation; *wham*, inflation.

Colorado Bucks the Tide

It is encouraging to note that at least one legislative body has turned thumbs down on a proposal to investigate the schools. Under pressure from the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Legion, the Colorado School Protective Association, and a handful of individuals including the ever-busy Robert Donner, millionaire "angel" of countless ultra-rightist causes, the Colorado state senate recently adopted a resolution calling for an investigation of textbooks and teachers. The vote was close—seventeen to fifteen. Of the eight senators from Denver—five Democrats, three Republicans—only one, a Republican, voted for the probe. In the lower house both Democrats and Republicans condemned the proposal as a "needless costly witch hunt," voiced annoyance with groups that blame the schools for every evil in society, and pointed out that under the state constitution local school boards, not legislative committees, are responsible for the selection of textbooks and teachers. With only one legislator speaking in favor, the resolution was overwhelmingly defeated.

We're Entitled to the Title

The best type of propaganda, of course, is the partisan pill coated with the sugar of objectivity. Thus William A. Eddy, in a letter to the New York *Times* chastising Israel for various alleged offenses against the United Nations, signed himself as "Former United States Minister to Saudi Arabia." Mr. Eddy was indeed minister there from 1944 to 1946; what he neglected to mention was that he has since become a consultant on Arab relations with the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO). ARAMCO owns the Saudi Arabian oil concession and the pipe lines which originate there and run through Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, all of which depend for their smooth operations on the good-will of three of the four Arab countries which immediately adjoin Israel.

Put into this perspective, Mr. Eddy's disapproval of Israel is altogether understandable, even if it bears little relation to the facts. The ethical question remains whether anyone has the right to attach a former government title to opinions expressed in the interests of a commercial firm. Or does Mr. Eddy believe, after the pattern set recently by another distinguished American, that what is good for ARAMCO is necessarily good for the United States?

The Last Mile

Nothing that President Eisenhower said in his statement denying clemency to the Rosenbergs has convinced us of the wisdom or justice of his decision. Apart from certain weaknesses in the case, even their assumed guilt does not, for reasons we have previously pointed out, justify the death penalty. It has lately been argued in various quarters that the Rosenbergs deliberately forfeited the opportunity to win commutation of their sentence by refusing to "cooperate" with the government. Had they "talked" they could have saved their lives. In our view this is a bargain that should not be offered once a trial is over and the sentence pronounced. For a doomed couple to be put under such pressure to force confession savors of totalitarian justice in a peculiarly cruel form. Either the circumstances justify execution or the penalty should be reduced.

As Judge Kaufman stayed execution again pending another appeal to the Supreme Court by defense counsel, the White House, in the course of a single week, received nearly 15,000 letters protesting the penalty. Many of them were from Western Europe. It is too easy to dismiss such letters as Communist-inspired when even the soberly conservative *Gazette de Lausanne* of Switzerland speaks of certain "disturbing facts" in the case, including what it terms the "scanty content of the treason" charged against the defendants.

If the sentence is carried out, we predict that the President will live to regret his decision.

Perjury or Heresy?

THE motion recently filed by Owen Lattimore's counsel to dismiss the seven-count indictment charging him with perjury raises, with remarkable clarity, a major public issue: the perversion of the judicial process through the attempt to punish political beliefs, opinions, and attitudes as crimes against the state.

A perversion of the judicial process is implicit in the circumstances which finally resulted in Lattimore's indictment. Senator McCarthy's privileged statement that Lattimore was "one of the top Communist agents in the United States" had, in the atmosphere of the times, the effect of a grand-jury indictment. The Tydings committee investigated the charge and found it to be "a fraud and a hoax perpetrated on the Senate of the United States and the American people"—in effect a verdict that Lattimore was "not guilty" as charged. One might have thought that this would end the matter, but the principle of double jeopardy has of course little relevance in political prosecutions. So the McCarran committee, after a five months' study of the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations, summoned Lattimore and questioned him at great length in executive session.

The committee then held a series of open or public hearings which lasted from July 25, 1951, to February 21, 1952. During this period, while the press was being fed a carefully timed and spaced collection of "sensational" disclosures, Lattimore vainly sought an opportunity to get his side of the story before the public. When he was finally given a chance to testify, six months after the open hearings started, the committee prevented him from making the same effective presentation he had been permitted to make before the Tydings committee. He was cross-examined for twelve days—the longest interrogation of one witness in the history of Congressional inquiries—and was hardly able to get in a word of direct uninterrupted comment. He was told to answer questions, not to think, and his counsel was repeatedly instructed that he was not to speak until spoken to. At no point was Lattimore given a chance to confront or cross-examine the witnesses against him or to examine documents on the basis of which he was being minutely questioned. He was asked about letters, events, and conversations dating back over a period of fifteen troubled and chaotic years. Although there was no perceptible order or sequence to this interrogation, the questions had been carefully written out in advance, so one must assume that the purpose was to trap him into possible perjury rather than to bring out the facts. At the end of the hearing the committee solemnly found Lattimore "guilty," though not of the offense originally charged by Senator McCarthy, and this "verdict" precipitated his indictment.

BY ANY common-sense reckoning, therefore, Lattimore was tried twice and twice acquitted of being a Communist, a Communist spy, or a Soviet agent before he was finally indicted for perjury. Both "trials" took place before presiding officers who were not judges and were conducted by committee counsel who have yet to be designated prosecuting attorneys. No jury was ever sworn or questioned as to its competence to hear the case. Should Lattimore actually go to trial on May 11, the original charge will long since have been forgotten. Thus his third "trial" will be for the curious purpose of determining which of the Congressional committees that heard the case reached the correct conclusion.

But the perversion of the judicial process is more strikingly revealed in the nature of the counts upon which Lattimore stands indicted. In a prepared sworn statement to the McCarran committee he had said that he was not and never had been a Communist, a Soviet agent, a sympathizer, or any other kind of promoter of communism or Communist interests. He is now charged with having falsely denied that he was ever "a sympathizer or any other kind of promoter of communism or Communist interests." Perjury, of course, consists in testifying to the truth of a fact that the accused does not believe to be true. But the first count raises an issue of opinion rather than fact. The issue it raises is literally incapable of objective proof or disproof for it turns, in the last analysis, on the integrity of Lattimore's judgment of his own beliefs and attitudes. It might more properly be determined by a psychoanalyst than by judge or jury. If the count is not dismissed, it will mean that for the first time since the heresy and witchcraft prosecutions of another day American citizens can be tried, in a criminal case, for statements of opinion and belief. It will also mean that anyone in public life who has advocated policies or expressed opinions with which a Congressional committee does not agree can be questioned concerning his opinions and then indicted for perjury because the committee does not believe that he has honestly described his own state of mind or, more crudely put, because the committee thinks he should be punished for believing what they think he believes. As his counsel pointed out, what the government is seeking to accomplish by Lattimore's indictment is its right to enforce the power of a Congressional committee to make "an unrestrained, abstract, and limitless inquiry into an individual citizen's political frame of mind."

The perversion of established judicial procedures is even more obvious in the light of the Sixth Amendment's requirement that "in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right . . . to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation." What is a "sympathizer"? What are "Communist interests"? Did President Roosevelt promote Communist interests when he furnished Lend-Lease to Russia? Did General Marshall promote Communist interests when he criticized Chiang Kai-shek's government? No bill of particulars could possibly cure the vagueness of the indictment's first count. As well anticipate what Senator McCarthy is likely to charge next as to try to anticipate what kind of evidence will be offered to support a charge as vague as this one.

The other counts in the indictment are based on trivial discrepancies, of which two examples will have to suffice. Lattimore had denied that he knew that one Ch'ao Ting Chi was a Communist. In drawing up an indictment on this count the grand jury not only rearranged the order of his testimony but ignored this significant passage: "Whether Dr. Chi is a non-Communist expert working under the Communists, or whether he is a Communist, I don't know." The committee kept insisting that anyone who "collaborates with Communists for the furtherance of Communist purposes" is a Communist; Lattimore as steadily insisted that this definition made little sense. Another count has to do with his indentification of one "Asiaticus" as a "left-winger," perhaps a Socialist, when the committee insisted that, by their standards, Asiaticus was a Communist. Pressed to give a yes or no answer on the basis of the committee's definition, Lattimore reluctantly but clearly stated: "*I think* the answer would be 'No'." Apart from their triviality these and similar discrepancies are not shown to have been "material"—in the sense of having a bearing on any legislation which the committee might have recommended.

But the pettiness of the discrepancies and the failure to demonstrate their relevance is of minor importance; what is serious is the manner in which the indictment perverts the purpose of perjury prosecutions. The perjury sanction, as Dr. Clark Byse has pointed out,* is not an end in itself; it is a means to an end, which is to protect the investigatory process. The current fashion, however, is to use perjury prosecutions as a means of avoiding the difficulties of proving a charge of espionage where no evidence of espionage exists or, as in this case, as a means by which statements of political belief can be punished although they could not be constitutionally proscribed.

On the outcome of the motion to dismiss the indictment against Lattimore hinge issues of fundamental importance. If the indictment is dismissed, it will mean that the attempt to punish political beliefs has been momentarily halted at a shadowy and uncertain ideological frontier on the other side of which the defendants in the Smith act cases are imprisoned. But should the indictment stand, it will mean that it is no longer safe for anyone to express his political views at a Congressional hearing.

**University of Pennsylvania Law Review,* January, 1953, p. 485.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

A European "Legion"

THE latest idea for defeating Stalinist Asia is to let the Asians do it by creating an "Asian Legion." Various American specialists in Far Eastern affairs have estimated the forces which can be drawn upon for such a body at some 19,000,000 in the non-Communist Asian countries. A "European Legion" would be both smaller and more difficult to achieve, but the idea has been gaining in popularity.

There will be no lack of money. A 1951 amendment to the Mutual Security Act, sponsored by Representative Charles J. Kersten of Wisconsin, was the first official step taken toward financing political organizations to fight communism both inside and outside the Iron Curtain. The amendment earmarked $100,000,000 for aiding people who escape or wish to escape from the Soviet Union and other Communist countries and enrolling them in the defense system of NATO. Provision is also made, though less explicitly, for aiding active subversion behind the Curtain. In the most violent speech he made at the Sixth Assembly of the United Nations in Paris, Vishinsky asked the Assembly to condemn the amendment as an "aggressive act." Then and on other occasions the Soviet Foreign Minister presented evidence intended to show that the real aim of the amendment was "to finance and encourage the formation of 'battle formations' within the Soviet Union and the countries of its orbit."

Official aid is, however, only half the story. Large grants have been made by private American organizations to carry on both open propaganda and secret, conspiratorial activities. Such agencies as the National Committee for a Free Europe and the East European Fund are functioning in broad daylight. The East European Fund is a subsidiary of the Ford Foundation; it gives scholarships to refugees and helps them find homes, jobs, and so on. The Fund considers itself "non-political"; however, it has contacts with other "friendly organizations" which may be less so. The National Committee for a Free Europe, with headquarters in New York's Empire State Building, is a voluntary group formerly headed by C. D. Jackson, publisher of *Fortune,* who has recently been appointed by Mr. Eisenhower as Presidential adviser on psychological warfare.

Some of these agencies have offices throughout Western Europe and organize conferences and rallies. According to information put out by the Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, the following organizations took part in a large conference held in Wiesbaden, Germany: the League of Struggle for People's Freedom, the National Labor Alliance, the Russian People's Movement, the Union of Struggle for the Freedom of Russia, the Georgian National Council, the North Caucasian Anti-Communist People's Alliance, and the Byelorussian Democratic Republican Council—all national and political in character.

The political leaders of the embryonic European Legion are given abundant opportunities to present their views through the Voice of America and other American radio stations broadcasting from Europe, such as RIAS (Radio in the American Sector) in Berlin and Radio Free Europe in Munich and Frankfurt. Radio Free Europe, which is financed by the Crusade for Freedom, has specialized in broadcasts to Eastern European countries other than Russia. At first Moscow did not take the Voice of America broadcasts too seriously. But as can be seen from the Department of State *Bulletin* for December 22, 1952, American propaganda has become a much more potent weapon since those days. In December, 1952, "60 per cent of our total radio effort and a good two-thirds of all our facilities" were devoted to "the European countries east of the Iron Curtain and to China." The Voice makes considerable use of reports by refugees from Communist areas, presented as interviews or as direct broadcasts. These may be stories of personal sufferings or appeals for desertion and rebellion. The Voice naturally regards it as a victory that, according to H. Wilson Compton, recently resigned head of the International Information Administration, in Bulgaria "Communist government officials had to turn off electricity in rural areas" to prevent the people from listening, while in "Albania and elsewhere those who have radios are under constant surveillance."

It is not easy to estimate what actual part the Voice of America has played in the thousands of escapes from Iron Curtain countries reported monthly by Western intelligence services. But there are some cases which prove its claims. Thus the twelve Polish seamen who stormed the bridge of their minesweeper, locked up their officers, and brought their ship into the Swedish port of Ystad, told port officials that "their mutiny was inspired by United States broadcasts."

However, in the opinion of European leaders of the anti-Communist crusade, the Voice of America is the most innocent and ineffectual part of it. They are placing their hopes on the "active groups" working within the various countries. Some of these are doubtless recruited from disaffected native elements; members have also been smuggled across the frontiers in disguise, or have entered illegally, by parachute or other means. The leaders regard the present period as one of training and preparation; "active groups" are to intensify their operations and become a true underground when the international situation grows more critical.

It is true that the efficiency of many of these groups is impaired by the cold war which they are waging among themselves and which has sorely tried the patience of Admiral Kirk, General Bedell Smith, Mr. Allen Dulles, and others who have tackled the herculean task of creating political harmony among them. They are united only in their anti-Communist passion. Apart from that they represent innumerable conflicting tendencies, ranging from old-fashioned monarchism through fascism to the many minute subdivisions of the anti-Communist left. In most of the national committees, however, the extreme reactionary, intransigent elements have come out on top. In the context of cold war this was inevitable. Unreconstructed Nazis, Iron Guardists, fascists of every vintage give tone and impetus to the movement. Many committees are nothing but fronts fabricated to draw off American money for the benefit of the people in charge. None the less, it would be a serious error to underestimate the contribution of these groups to the anti-Soviet crusade or their capacity to turn the American people into enthusiastic supporters of such a crusade.

I attended last summer the Annual Conference on American Foreign Policy held at Colgate University. The panel that attracted the greatest interest was devoted to examining "Soviet vulnerabilities at home and the possibilities of exploiting them." The star of the day was Alexander Kerensky, who, even when speaking English, fully justifies his fame as an orator. In fact, such was the confidence with which he and other speakers discussed ways and means of destroying "from within" the Soviet government and its satellites that the former American Minister to Hungary, Nathaniel P. Davis, felt called upon to pour cold water on the exalted hopes of speakers and audience. And this happened last summer, before President Eisenhower had made his American Legion speech and before Secretary Dulles had described the "peaceful" methods—including sabotage and weapons dropped by parachute—available for restoring the freedom of the "enslaved lands."

As for the actual "liberation" of the Red satellites, James Burnham, who has assumed the role of major strategist of the crusade, has presented his views in a new book, "Containment or Liberation." Mr. Burnham declares himself in favor of decisive action by America to destroy Communist power regardless of the reluctance or opposition of the other members of the Atlantic coalition. "The leader of the coalition," he writes, "should be ready to welcome every ally but should not depend on one." Still, he maintains that an active policy of subverting and undermining the Communist strongholds can be carried out without the risk of a general war. "Those strong actions that have been taken since 1947 have not brought on a general war, though some of them, as in Greece, Korea, and Turkey, have been in themselves *undeniably provocative* [italics mine]. From Moscow's point of view, a mass revolt in a part of her empire, capable of spreading like fire in the dry season, is hardly a happy moment for starting a general war."

Needless to say, the Germans occupy

a position of honor in the plans of all the promoters of a European Legion. Last October the West German authorities became alarmed at the activities of "a rightist radical underground organization whose members were trained as partisans to fight the Russians"—but who were more privately prepared to liquidate German Socialists, liberals, and Communists. According to the Associated Press, Dr. Wilhelm Högner, Bavarian Minister of the Interior, stated that the organization "had contacts with the Americans." More recently and more sensationally, the arrest by the British of the Naumann group, based on the Ruhr city of Düsseldorf, revealed the proportions which the Nazi conspiracy was assuming. The magnitude of the help given to the new Nazis by the Ruhr magnates was especially surprising.

Some people, I know, think that if the West fails to enlist these Germans to fight on its side against Russia, the Russians may get them to fight against the West. This, of course, is possible. But I was living in Germany in the early twenties, and I can remember the German right's successful flirtation with Russia at that time—it was carried on by the pro-Russian aristocrats grouped around Count Reventlow and the officers grouped around General von Seekt. Nobody felt happier about this flirtation than the Machiavellian leaders who directed the destinies of the German Communist Party; but some of them lived long enough to see the German army invade Russia in 1941 to the applause of those Germans who had used their overtures to Moscow as a form of blackmail to force concessions from the West.

Whatever the future may hold for the European Legion, its actual and potential members and their activities today are one more obstacle to a peace by negotiation and one more factor working for war.

DEPRESSION

Can the G.O.P. Block It? . . *by Fritz Sternberg*

TWO factors are primarily responsible for our current prosperity: the increase in military expenditures and the continued high level of private capital investments. Forecasts differ in detail, but most business men and economists agree that it is unsafe to assume that both factors can continue to operate indefinitely.

It is on the basis of this calculation that some quarters expect an economic recession as early as the second half of 1953. Others set the date at 1954 or even 1955. Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., chairman of the board of the General Motors Corporation, for instance, declared recently that "while armament will determine the levels of work and employment to a degree, other factors indicate a period of economic adjustment in 1954 or 1955. . . . Business cannot continue its vast spendings for capital goods." On this point Mr. Sloan finds support among several economists who for a long time worked closely with President Truman's economic advisers. One of these economists, Professor Gerhard Colm, states in his unusually readable book, "The American Economy in 1960":

> If defense spending should level off or contract at the same time as business investments are on the downgrade of the cycle, a serious recession would develop. . . . It is possible that an economic downswing might begin even *before* defense spending is reduced, if business should begin to curtail inventories and reduce investments. . . .
>
> Thus we have no assurance that a further rise in defense spending may not lead to renewed inflation (unless counteracted by a stronger stabilization program). Nor have we any assurance that a contraction in defense spending may not coincide with, and aggravate, a downturn in the business cycle (unless counteracted by an effective recovery program).

Some circles brand as false or exaggerated the fear that a decline in military spending may lead ultimately to a crisis. The following argument is adduced: In 1953-54 military expenditures will presumably not decline more than $15,000,000,000; in 1945 at the war's end, they fell by many times that amount. If no crisis eventuated in 1945-46, why should it now?

To refute this argument it is necessary to emphasize the differences between the present situation and that which existed at the end of the war. True, military spending did decline severely then; Professor Colm points out that between 1945 and 1947 federal spending was reduced by $110,000,000,000 (in 1951 dollars), and production declined by $50,000,000,000. Despite these drops, unemployment rose by only 1,600,000. This relatively small effect on employment can be explained by the extensive use of overtime during the war and the retirement from the productive process of several million war-time workers—old people, youngsters, and women. Today the situation is entirely different. There is less overtime, and the young, the old, and women are not utilized nearly so much as during the war. Professor Colm rightly states: "If total production should drop from 1952 to 1954 by 14 per cent—that is, the same percentage by which production dropped from 1944 to 1946—a considerable rise in unemployment, probably beyond the margin of an acceptable rate, would be inevitable."

There are other points in which the situation today differs materially from that at the end of the war. At that time the decline in military expenditures was to a great extent made up by increased

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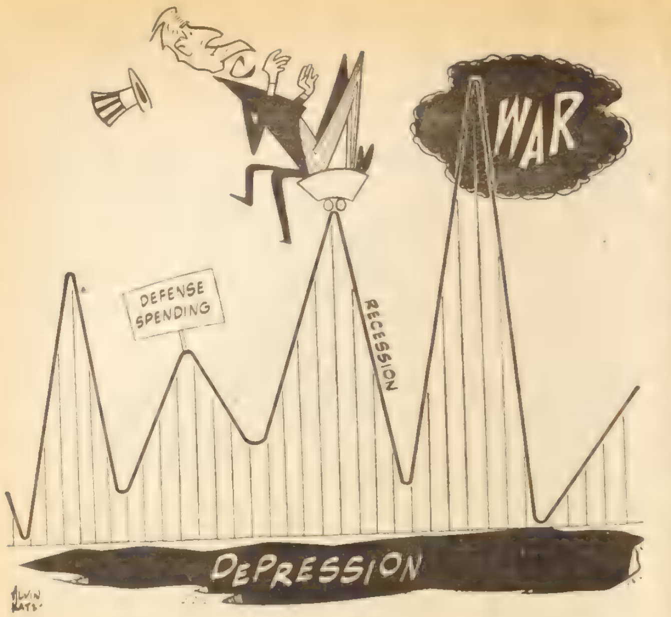
FRITZ STERNBERG is the author of the widely discussed book "Capitalism and Socialism on Trial." It is soon to be published in France, Yugoslavia, and Japan.



But What If We Get off the Track?

expenditures for consumer goods and by a rise in private investments. Today the danger lies precisely in the possibility that there may be a simultaneous decline of military spending and private investment. It was this danger that persuaded two economic advisers to the Truman Administration, Messrs. Keyserling and Turner, to devote considerable space in a recent report to policies which they said would be needed to sustain prosperity. "Some time beyond the horizon of the immediate outlook," they wrote, "the predominant economic risks to be counteracted may be deflationary rather than inflationary." To combat an impending recession they propose what is in effect another New Deal program.

However Mr. Clark, the third economic adviser to Truman, has gone on record against Keyserling's and Turner's interpretation, rejecting outright the substance of their proposals and declaring that it was not yet necessary to deal with the question. Considering the make-up of the present Administration and of the Congress, it is entirely possible that no serious effort will be made to prevent an economic recession.

Once a recession starts, however, it is clear that the government will have to do something. "There is today a general recognition," writes Professor Colm, "that in case of a serious recession the government would have to adopt positive counter-measures. While there can be no insurance that such measures would be adopted promptly enough to prevent a recession, at least they can be expected to prevent a recession from developing into a deep depression." Similarly, Mr. Sloan has said, "It is clear that the people will never again accept the hardships of a severe depression ... they will, in desperation, demand something different—sound or unsound."

International as well as domestic considerations will probably impel the government to take counter-measures sooner than it did during the depression which started in 1929. Unlike the Russia of 1929, the Russia of today ranks second in the world as an industrial power, and any sustained weakening of the United States would automatically strengthen it. Moreover, to the countries of Western Europe, an American depression would be a body blow whose effects would be much more severe than those of the 1929 depression. There was no such thing as a dollar gap then, nor was all Western Europe, including England, in debt. Today the area's debts exceed all its capital assets beyond its borders, and it has been suffering a dollar gap since the end of World War II. Thus a depression now would hit a Continent incomparably more vulnerable than it was in 1929, a Continent which is able to maintain its foreign trade and balance of payments only with American aid.

One must reckon, too, that in the event of a recession the American foreign-trade sector would itself be particularly sensitive. "The Economic Cooperation Administration has estimated," writes the London *Economist,* "that when United States consumption falls by 4 per cent, its total imports fall by about a quarter and its imports from the sterling areas by about a third. According to a recent United Nations estimate, a fall of only 4 per cent in the level of American employment might increase the world dollar gap by as much as $10,000,000,000 a year." Britain has larger gold and foreign-exchange stocks than, say, Germany, but even Britain's position is much more vulnerable than it was before World War II, as the United Nations "Economic Survey of Europe" for 1951 clearly showed:

> . . . there are several reasons why even minor disturbances now have serious repercussions on international payments . . . one important reason is that exchange reserves have not yet recovered since the war to a point commensurate with the great increase in international prices and the volume of international trade from the pre-war to the post-war period.
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> Thus during the 1938 recession exports of the sterling areas as a whole to the United States fell by more than one-third in volume and by almost 50 per cent in dollar value, compared with the 1937 levels. . . . These movements, however, gave rise to no serious alarm; even after this decline the United Kingdom's gold and dollar reserves were still almost equal to the total imports of the entire sterling areas from the dollar area and from Western Europe during the year 1938. By contrast, at the end of 1951 the gold and dollar reserves of the United Kingdom, although still well above the low point reached in September, 1949, were equal to only about one-third of the total value of the sterling area's imports from the dollar area and Western Europe during the year.

Granted, then, that a sustained American recession could bring grave danger to Western Europe—and to Japan, too—and thus deal a serious blow to our foreign policy, the question arises: How shall a recession be combated? Or, to use Mr. Sloan's phrase, how will an "adjustment" be brought about?

A government in the Roosevelt tradition would presumably answer with a new New Deal which would reach even more deeply into the American economy than the original did. For the original was never able to liquidate unemployment entirely. A new New Deal would no doubt attempt to meet the challenge set forth by Professor Colm:

> . . . in the transition from an economy of rising defense expenditures and rising defense investments, consumption must rise not only in absolute terms but also percentage-wise. . . . As about two-thirds of personal income consists of wages and salaries, the adjustment to the lower level of defense spending and defense-supporting investments requires that the aggregate wage and salary receipts increase in this period slightly more than the rate of growth of the economy.

The employment of state powers to increase wages and mass consumption, however, is not likely to be the path which the Eisenhower Administration will follow. In theory two other possibilities remain: first, expansion of the Point Four program; second, another increase in military expenditures.

It is virtually impossible, as things stand, to expect a Point Four program which will be large enough to counterbalance a strong recession. Present plans call for an annual reduction of $15,000,000,000 to $20,000,000,000 in military expenditures; in contrast, Point Four expenditures for 1953 amount to only a few hundred million dollars. There is nothing to indicate that either the Administration or Congress is ready to expand Point Four spending by the ten or twenty times that would be necessary to take up the slack. Even if the will were there, it would be simply impossible to increase the Point Four program suddenly from a few hundred millions to the necessary billions.

Yet intervention in any world economic crisis would have to be quick, and, to repeat Mr. Sloan's comment, "the people will in desperation demand something different—sound or unsound." Thus pressure will undoubtedly arise for a renewed increase in military expenditures.

Reasons for such a policy would not be hard to find. When military spending began to climb with the advent of the Korean war, it was argued that negotiation with the Russians was possible only on the basis of our own military strength, and that in any case we must catch up militarily with the Russians. Some experts believe that we shall attain military equality with the Soviets in 1954 or thereabouts. But advocates of renewed military spending will argue: why should we stop with a fifty-fifty ratio? Why not create a sixty-forty ratio which would give us overwhelming military advantage? After all, the United States today produces more than three times as much steel as the Soviet Union. With this steel we could build up military production to the point where we could increase our strength in both Europe and Asia.

These could be persuasive arguments when backed by increasing unemployment and decreasing wages on the domestic front. Certainly they will sound more persuasive to the policy-makers of the present Administration than would any New Deal measures, which they would put into effect only reluctantly and on a small scale if at all.

The dangers of such a policy are obvious. For one thing, it could lead us another step nearer to war. The long-range economic effects could be disastrous. It is difficult enough to shift away from a military budget of $50,000,000,000 or more; it would be much more difficult if military spending were to rise to $80,000,000,000 or more.

It is not impossible that the first signs of an economic recession will become perceptible during the months immediately preceding the 1954 Congressional elections. Those who oppose renewed military spending as a cure for a recession must lay their plans now. The New Dealers among the Democrats, the trade unions, the economic experts who have already recognized the dangers which lie ahead must avoid the error of waiting for the recession to come. It will be too late then. In contrast to what is likely to be the Eisenhower policy, the opposition must plan not merely to combat a recession but to prevent it.

ASIA EYES FORMOSA

Ike Worries His Allies . . *by W. Macmahon Ball*

Melbourne, Australia

GENERAL EISENHOWER'S decision on Formosa may not produce any quick or dramatic change in the local military situation, and it may have wider consequences of a sort that he can hardly desire. It seems likely to obscure or obliterate the moral credentials of the United Nations in East Asia, to deepen suspicion and hostility between East and West, to put new strains on Western friendships, to increase the risks of a third world war.

As a security organization, the United Nations was founded on two simple and clear principles: that its decisions would be joint decisions and that they would have only one aim—to prevent or resist aggression. The U. N. was not established to suppress any particular ideology or to promote the strategic interests of any one nation. On Formosa General Eisenhower clearly made a unilateral decision, without consulting his allies in South Korea. Yet it is ridiculous to contend that what the United States does about Formosa is entirely its own business, while what it does about Korea is the United Nations' business. Whether operations are carried out from Korea or from Formosa, they are part of the same campaign, and every country supporting the United Nations in Korea is directly implicated in America's Formosa policy.

Here, then, is the basic question for the U. N. Is the U. N. to be restored to its original design—to act only after consultation and agreement, to work only for collective security—or is it to take a different shape? Is it to become a power bloc made up of nations driven by the fear of communism to identify their own national interests with those of the United States and to accept and support Washington decisions on all major international issues? There need be nothing illogical about such an arrangement. If you believe that militant communism is an immediate threat to everything you treasure, dwarfing all other dangers, that your only defense is

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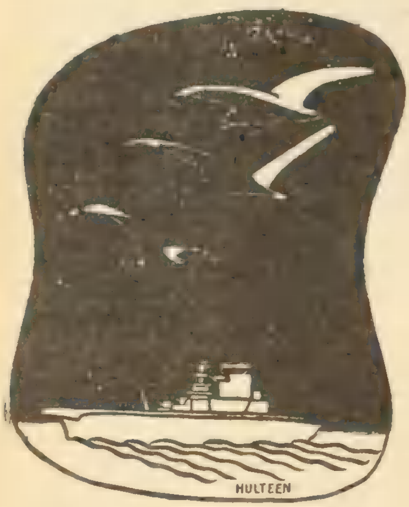
W. MACMAHON BALL, a contributing editor of this journal, is professor of political science at the University of Melbourne.

the possession of superior physical force, that America is the only country able to maintain or acquire this superior force, then it is doubtless sensible to subordinate everything else to increasing the force at America's disposal. In these circumstances the strategic interests of the United States and of the new United Nations will be identical.

The fear of communism has been the main factor keeping so many nations aligned with the United States. But it is doubtful whether this fear by itself could long supply the United States with sufficient reliable allies. For American political leaders the fear of communism is the master fear. For some of the peoples whose support America desires it is hardly a fear at all; for others it is only one fear among others. Despite the repression, the executions, and the imprisonments in Communist China, it is doubtful whether the Chinese people could be brought to fear Mao Tse-tung more than the return to power of Chiang Kai-shek. It is doubtful whether the Annamese could be brought to fear permanent victory for Ho Chi-minh more than a permanent victory for the French. The masses of East Asia cannot be easily excited about the need to defend the democratic freedoms from Communist tyranny. They want only food and shelter and peace.



This, perhaps, is the most important consideration of all: that for many millions in Asia and Europe the fear of war is greater than the fear of communism, whereas for many Americans the fear of communism is greater than the fear of war. Asians and Europeans are not interested in the promise of liberation after the next war; they are only interested in averting war. They must accordingly be convinced that each step in America's policy, besides strengthening America's military position in the event of war, will increase the chances of averting war. And from the purely military standpoint it should always be remembered that the force available consists not merely of weapons and bases but of men who are ready to fight and die. And men will be ready to do that only if they believe in their cause. Moral leadership is not less important than material leadership. It may be unwise to ignore the conscience and the judgment of your friends, to count too confidently that fear and want will always bind them to you. If henceforth critical international decisions are to be taken by the United States alone and not by the United Nations, the military position of the non-Communist world will hardly be strengthened.

The decision to enable and encourage the Chinese Nationalists to strike at the mainland is an application of General Eisenhower's principle that if fighting has to be done in Asia, Asians should fight Asians. The trouble about this policy is that the regimes backed by America—regimes dominated by Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee, and Bao Dai—are regarded everywhere in Asia as Western puppets drawing their nourishment not from the soil of Asia but from American dollars. In the eyes of an ordinary Asian it is one thing for a Western country to send a gunboat or an airplane to enforce its will—Asians are used to that; it is another thing to try to set brother against brother, father against son. That is to assault the soul as well as the body of Asia.

The tragic conflict between Asia's need for America's economic help, combined with its fear of communism, and its need for solidarity is perhaps nowhere so stark as in Japan. Japan's business leaders, who control its political leaders, not only fear communism but would face something like immediate economic disaster if American procurements, part of America's "positive" military policy in East Asia, should dwindle or disappear. Yet they know that, in the long term, Japan's economy is hardly viable without trade with China and Manchuria. And they know that, in the short term, the best they could hope for from a war would be American "liberation" after all their cities had had a stronger taste of what Hiroshima and Nagasaki experienced in 1945. That is why Japan is such a reluctant ally.

If the Chinese Nationalists in Formosa launch hit-and-run attacks on the mainland, if they try to blockade the mainland ports, Peking can be expected to retaliate. And it is reasonable to assume that the Communists could hit Formosa harder than the Nationalists could hit the mainland. What then? Are the Chinese Nationalists to be considered expendable in the interest of the "free world"? Such a policy would not encourage other allies. Presumably American forces would do all in their power, by sea and air, to protect "democracy's stronghold" in Formosa. My own country is directly concerned here, since under the ANZUS pact any attack on American shipping or aircraft in the Pacific is to be considered a threat to Australia's peace and safety and we are obliged "to act to meet the common danger."

It may well be that General Eisenhower does not plan any assault on the China mainland by American air or sea forces but hopes to restrict the new operations to Nationalist raids that will divert Communist forces from Korea and the Indo-China frontier. This surely is to underestimate the intelligence of Chiang Kai-shek. He will not make attacks on the mainland just for the fun of it or out of gratitude for American aid. Chiang will regard these attacks merely as the first steps toward overthrowing the Communists and reinstating himself in China. He knows that he could never conquer the Communists with his own forces, that only America has the military power to shake Peking. It is therefore clearly to his interest to widen and deepen the conflict, to exploit every chance to involve America in full-scale war in China. In no other way could he conceivably be returned to power. Chiang's attitude toward war and peace has been clearly revealed in his official utterances during the last eighteen months. Whenever there has seemed a chance of the truce talks producing an armistice, the Kuomintang has shown acute anxiety.

To help and encourage a man whose future depends on extending the war seems an odd way to try to end the war.

G.O.P. MONEY

Will It Be Hard or Soft? . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

YOU always have to look around a corner to see where this Administration is going, and even then you can't be quite sure. Right now, for instance, government policy seems to be moving in two directions at once—toward deflation and also toward a new round of deficit-financing inflation.

The deflationary signs are the clearest and the most ominous. Take the Treasury Department's recent decision to increase interest rates in the refinancing of its short-term bonds. About $9,000,000,000 of one-year certificates are maturing. These are held largely by banks, insurance companies, and other big investors and serviced at present at 1⅞ per cent. Under the Treasury program they can be exchanged for securities with longer maturities bearing interest of from 2¼ to 2½ per cent.

As an immediate effect, this will increase the government's interest payments by something between $40,000,000 and $50,000,000 a year. As a secondary effect, because the rise in the annual debt-servicing charge will have to be offset, it will necessitate either higher taxes—in a regime sternly pledged to cutting the tax rate—or counter-balancing reductions in government expenditures elsewhere. Such reductions will obviously be made in the welfare sections of the budget. Since it is the lower-income brackets of the population that benefit from the welfare expenditures, and the higher brackets that benefit from the bond-funding program, this adds up to a neat redistribution of income in favor of the well-to-do.

In addition, it could very easily happen that the rise in government interest rates would raise rates in other fields—specifically, in the view of many competent judges, in the field of housing. At the present time the Federal Housing Administration insures mortgages carrying an interest rate of 4¼ per cent. When one-half of one per cent is added as an insurance charge, the rate is 4¾ per cent. F. H. A. participation in the mortgage market is now up to about one-third of the total, and in general the rest of the market follows the F. H. A. rate fairly closely. Incidentally, it could quite logically be argued that F. H. A.-insured mortgages are in such demand that rates ought to be lowered. Mortgage bankers and home builders, however, have been pressing for higher rates, on the plea that it is hard for the consumer to get financing under present rates and that this fact is a serious block in the way of a bigger building program. Mortgage interest rates are now likely to follow the example set by the bond-funding operation and increase approximately one-half of one per cent.

The Eightieth Congress, which was not given to radical judgments, estimated that the country needed a million new homes a year for at least a ten-year period. Since then, private building has proceeded on just about that level, which means that the country still needs from four to five million new homes. A rise of one-half of one per cent in the interest rates on enough long-term mortgages to build five million homes could add up to a fairly sizable piece of change.

Republican Economy

Though nothing has been printed about it, the Republicans moving into Washington are complaining bitterly about the low government salaries, high cost of living, and niggardly expense and travel allowances. This is true of everyone from high officials and Congressmen down to the smaller job-holders. Men accustomed to normal business expense accounts find their new $9-a-day travel allowance ridiculous. Look for pressure to change all this. —*Newsweek,* February 9.

It could also add up to a heavy load on the building industry—enough of a load, taken in connection with other factors, to start a real slow-down in private building, which is a key element in maintaining the general level of the national economy. Coupled with this is the fact that farm income is seriously off, and that the new Administration appears to be driving for a general shake-down that would encourage a continuation of the decline. As an added factor, the rising curve of military expenditures is flattening out.

The situation is further complicated by the enormous pressure for substantial tax reductions, pressure which the Administration was unable to block on the first round; the House Ways and Means Committee triumphantly voted a 5 per cent cut in individual income taxes. However, in his first press conference last week the President reiterated his opposition to any tax cut this year. But the pressure is there, and the situation is worth a little study. The excess-profits tax is due to die by mid-year, and the most anyone has suggested to date is that it be extended for another six months. An Administration as much influenced as this one by the boys who would gain by the lapse of the excess-profits tax is not too likely to keep it. It should also be remembered that the 11 per cent income-tax rise voted because of the Korean emergency is due to die at the end of the year, and it is all but impossible to imagine a Congress letting the excess-profits tax die and keeping the rise in general income taxes.

If all this happens—and it is a fairly good bet, as of now, that it will—something like $5,000,000,000 will be lopped off of the government's income. That could mean open and avowed deficit financing, despite Republican campaign

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BRUCE CATTON is writing a series of articles on the new Washington Administration.

pledges. It is perhaps worth noticing that some of the economists most concerned about the prospect of a general downswing of the economy are ready to welcome such a step. Whatever else might be said about it, they argue, it could offset the deflationary trends.

The most likely outcome, however, would be ferocious pressure on the welfare sections of the national budget. Significantly enough, on the same day that the House Ways and Means Committee voted to cut individual income taxes the House Appropriations Committee knocked out a request for $24,000,000 for federal aid to schools. Practically the whole sum was subsequently restored by the House, but the committee's action shows what will be tried.

One of the Eisenhower Administration's first acts, it will be recalled, was an order calling for close review of all federal construction projects and specifying that any not crucially necessary or substantially under way should be cut off short. A number of things could be affected, notably Bureau of Reclamation undertakings in the West amounting to $300,000,000. The fact that Congress may have authorized a project and voted money for it makes no difference. The pruning knife is out and is certain to be used if the present drift away from a balanced budget continues.

Beyond all of that, of course, there would be a revival of neo-isolationist pressure for sharp curtailment of foreign aid. A really serious drop in governmental income would give that pressure tremendous power.

Unfortunately, the Administration really believes its campaign propaganda, down to the last inspired syllable. It really believes that enormous savings can be made by cutting from the government pay rolls the people whom Secretary of Commerce Weeks recently referred to delicately as "dead wood and poison oak" and that business methods can bring lower taxes, a balanced budget, and no particular cut in any important government operation. Because it believes these things, it can start down the paths of inflation and deflation at the same time with a light heart. Where it will finally land cannot even be guessed.

I'M STILL WAITING

Four-Year Loyalty Case . . *by James Kutcher*

THE wheels of justice turn slowly in "loyalty" cases. In 1948 I started out to regain the government job I had lost under the "loyalty" program. Proceeding through the designated channels of appeal, my case went successively before a branch loyalty board, the head of my government agency, the federal Loyalty Review Board, which covers all government agencies, a federal District Court, and a Circuit Court of Appeals. All ruled against me except the last.

The United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia ruled unanimously on October 16, 1952, that my discharge from a clerical job with the Veterans' Administration in Newark four years before was improperly effected and must be reversed. The American Civil Liberties Union, which had entered a brief in my behalf as *amicus curiae*, called the decision a "notable victory." And so it was, for this was the first time any court had ever ruled against the government in a "loyalty" case. Nevertheless, I am still barred from my job, and it may take another four years of litigation and appeal to obtain a final legal settlement. Laymen who wonder why I was not automatically reinstated by the court's decision do not understand the obstacles encountered by people fighting for civil rights. Let me explain a few things about the process.

In asking the court to restore my job with back pay, my lawyers had raised a number of basic questions: (1) Is President Truman's "loyalty" program, set up by Executive Order 9835 in March, 1947, constitutional, or does it violate government employees' rights of free speech, press, and association? (2) Does the Attorney General have the power to issue a list of "subversive" organizations? (3) Can such a list legally be issued without affording the organizations concerned a chance to answer whatever specific charges are brought against them? (In 1951 the Supreme Court, in ruling on the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee case, rebuked the Attorney General for putting organizations on his list without a hearing.) (4) Does the Socialist Workers Party, membership in which was the sole reason for my discharge, properly belong on such a list?

In addition, my discharge was challenged on the technical ground that it violated the standards of the President's executive order. One part of that order stated that membership in a blacklisted organization was to be regarded as "simply one piece of evidence" in determining the loyalty of employees, and that the decision was to be based on "all the evidence." The branch loyalty board on whose recommendation I was suspended in October, 1948, asserted that it had considered all the evidence, although it had refused to hear any argument on the question of whether or not the Socialist Workers Party was actually subversive. I appealed this ruling to General Carl Gray, Jr., head of the Veterans' Administration. Before he acted, the Loyalty Review Board issued Memorandum 32, informing all government agencies that it was "mandatory" for them to discharge all members

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THE CASE of James Kutcher, legless veteran of World War II, has been making news for the past four years. The Socialist Workers Party is a fusion of Trotskyite groups which split off from the Communist Party in 1929; it is bitterly opposed to the Stalin regime.

of the Socialist Workers Party and of four other organizations declared to be seeking "to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means." General Gray then ruled against me, saying the memorandum left him "no choice." The Loyalty Review Board, to which I appealed, affirmed General Gray's decision. Unlike the original branch loyalty board, it made no pretense that it had considered "all the evidence." When I appealed to the federal District Court in Washington, Judge Edward M. Curran held that the reason General Gray gave for ruling as he did was "immaterial," and I had been fired in a proper way.

The Circuit Court of Appeals based its opinion largely on this procedural question. It decided unanimously that Memorandum 32 was invalid because it conflicted with the provisions of the "loyalty" order. It told General Gray that he had no right to discharge me on the sole ground of my membership in the Socialist Workers Party, and that he was required to consider "all the evidence." But the court's reversal of my discharge did not automatically mean my reinstatement, since it simultaneously left standing, pending further action by General Gray, the order that had suspended me in October, 1948.

On the bigger issues the court either refused to take a position or favored the government. It expressed no opinion on the constitutionality of the "loyalty" program, evidently taking that for granted. It ruled that while membership in a listed group could not be cited as the sole reason for discharging a federal employee, it might serve as the basis for "disbelief in the loyalty of an employee," justifying his discharge when the authorities stated they had considered all the evidence. It also reaffirmed its previous decision in the Dorothy Bailey case—upheld by a four-to-four vote by the Supreme Court—that the Attorney General's list was "competent evidence" and that loyalty proceedings "do not require the constitutional and traditional safeguards of a judicial trial."

And so, after four years, I am still suspended and facing the possibility of going through the same arduous process all over again. General Gray can no longer fire me solely for my membership in the Socialist Workers Party. But he can fire me on this ground if he accompanies his decision with the statement that he has considered "all the evidence," even if all the evidence consists of nothing more than my membership. The voiding of Memorandum 32 is a notable but by no means complete victory in this fight for civil rights.

I have been able to carry the fight this far because my case has received exceptionally widespread support from the American people. Shortly after I was suspended, a number of prominent citizens formed the non-partisan Kutcher Civil Rights Committee to help me. Through this committee and the national speaking tours it arranged for me, nearly 800 labor, liberal, civic, religious, veterans', and minority groups were enlisted on my side. With their aid I was able to raise the almost $5,000 already used for legal expenses alone. (This figure, I should explain, is the absolute minimum necessary for such expenses; my lawyers, believing that important principles are at stake, have charged only what they had to spend.)

Unhappily many persons are not so fortunately situated. Some accused government employees are reluctant to air their case in public by reason of their personal or family position. Others have not succeeded in obtaining financial aid and have not had such public-spirited lawyers to handle their appeals. Is it any wonder that most of them resigned when first accused, and that virtually none carried their appeals beyond the administrative stages and into the courts? Is there any doubt that the prolonged and costly procedure in "loyalty" cases has worked hardship on many innocent persons? A favorable decision in my case will help them.

Four years ago I said that I was appealing my discharge not only to regain my job and clear my name but because I feared that the "loyalty" purge, unless militantly opposed, would spread far beyond the confines of government employment. These fears have been confirmed by the growing effort to impose thought control on the American people; many who were then complacent about what was happening to government employees have since themselves felt the blows of McCarthyism and McCarranism. The need for all believers in the Bill of Rights to join in defense of the civil liberties of all becomes more acute every day.

Proposals for Peace

VIII

BY LORD CECIL

ALL civilized mankind hates war, and most of its governments desire peace. Therefore an institution like the United Nations to foresee and avoid international misunderstanding should be of great service, and we should all support it. But the Charter, as settled at San Francisco, went farther than this. It set up a kind of super-state, with elaborate machinery to enable the five chief powers which won the Second World War to enforce its decrees. That was going too far, even if the chief powers had been unanimous. But as we know they were not, since Russia has adopted a materialistic philosophy inconsistent with Christian civilization. We have merely to look at such a farcical horror as the recent trials at Prague to see how far Russia has drifted away from the principles which have guided the rest of the civilized world for so many centuries.

What, then, must be done? I think we must give up the idea of an international body with power to force all nations to accept its decisions and substitute the conception of a body which will make, by majority, recommendations in international matters, it being understood that all who voted for such recommendations would do their best to see that they were carried out.

That may seem to some a retrograde step. But I believe it is the best we can do at present. Joint action by sovereign nations can only succeed so far as they are agreed. In other words, international peace can only be attained by enabling the peace-loving nations to take the steps necessary for it and not by trying to force them to do things which they do not believe will make for peace. In the meantime it is no doubt necessary to carry through such rearmament as may be needed to prevent successful aggression by the materialists.

LORD CECIL has made the establishment of peace the dominant purpose of a long and distinguished career. He was president of the League of Nations Union from 1923 to 1945 and is honorary life president of the United Nations Association. In 1937 he won the Nobel peace prize.

BOOKS

Evolution Has Evolved *by Joseph Wood Krutch*

EVOLUTION IN ACTION. By Julian Huxley. Harper and Brothers. $2.75.

THAT the grandson of Charles Darwin and the grandson of Thomas Huxley should have published almost simultaneously very different books about evolution is a picturesque coincidence ("The Next Million Years," by Charles Galton Darwin, was reviewed in *The Nation* for January 24). It is also something more, for it illustrates very neatly the whole paradox of the present status of the famous theory which one grandfather put scientifically on its feet and the other forced down the throat of an unwilling generation.

In so far as it is merely "a description of what happened" or a mere statement that plants and animals did "evolve," that theory is so firmly established that there is little risk in calling it not a theory but a fact. On the other hand, the "how," "why," and "in what manner" are all very disputable indeed, and the moral, philosophical, social, and political implications of what we know or think we know become more so with every passing year. As scientists the grandsons may—and as prophets they certainly do—disagree more violently than the grandfathers could have imagined. Evolution is far more firmly established but a great deal harder to understand than it seemed in their day.

This is partly because many of the detailed facts which have been accumulated since 1859 make it impossible to believe that the mechanisms and processes involved are as simple as they once appeared to be. On the one hand, the inheritance of acquired characteristics has come to seem impossible, and that catch-all "sexual selection" not so capacious as was assumed; on the other hand, the whole concept of mutation, unsuspected by Darwin, as a source of usable variations, has acquired more and more importance. If Lysenko's "Michurinism," like the Lamarckism so exuberantly championed by Bernard Shaw, is, as Huxley puts it, definitely "out" on the basis of solid evidence, quite a number of subtle hypotheses are dubiously but at least possibly "in"—including Lloyd Morgan's "organic selection," which may produce phenomena that could easily be mistaken for the inheritance of acquired characteristics. To bring the reader up to date in such matters as these is one of the two main purposes of Huxley's book; and there is no writer for the general public who can be more safely trusted to be, himself, well abreast of the most recent work in his field. The other main purpose is obviously to explore as cautiously as is compatible with holding any opinions at all the metaphysical as well as the practical implications of what seem to be the facts.

By way of background the reader should remember that "The Origin of Species" had hardly appeared before the most portentous imaginable of such inferences began to be insisted upon with all the dogmatic assurance which the new prestige of science encouraged. Pretty continuously ever since, the phrase "evolution proves" has been used to demand acceptance for such remote inferences as the benefits of violent, unrestrained, wholly egotistical competition and the inevitability of "progress" under such conditions or, alternately, the almost magical efficacy of social cooperation—*vide* the ants—and, as in Sir Charles Galton Darwin's book, the impossibility of any significant "progress" within at least the next million years. In the heady excitement produced by the new field opened for speculation few stopped to ask even for a definition of terms or noticed, for instance, that in the magic formula concerning "the survival of the fittest" it was assumed that "fittest" meant "fittest to survive" and that therefore the whole phrase was reduced to the empty statement, "Those survive who survive."

Perhaps partly because the orthodox defenders of religion and morality attacked the whole theory so vehemently, the first philosophical conclusions which its proponents drew were frequently the most brutal possible. Evolution was supposed to prove not only that the law of the jungle was the only law of progress but also that, since its processes were completely fortuitous, random, and mechanical, nothing could possibly change them. Thus a sort of Calvinism to which dialectical materialism merely supplied a supplement was reestablished by the authority of science, and the whole concept of "meaning," as well as the whole concept of "purpose," was relegated to the realm of myth. The brilliant but also egregious Haeckel formulated "laws" quite recklessly and described the history of the universe with the assurance of an eyewitness to everything which had happened since the earth first cooled. Evolution was rapidly becoming not a theory, or even an established theory, but a dogma.

Against all this, various neo-Lamarckian heresies attempted to protest, often, as in the case of the Bergsonians, in the name of metaphysics rather than by the methods of what had become orthodox science. Meanwhile, however, science itself was becoming a little less sure that the final word had been spoken. The process of evolution was turning out to be so much more complicated than was first supposed that at a very minimum science had to admit that we do not know exactly how they work, that possibly, even, we might have to confess, much as the physicists are now confessing in connection with their problems, that the very adjectives "mechanistic" and "determined" become meaningless when used to describe certain processes so complicated and so subtle as to lie now, if not forever, beyond the human mind's powers of analysis.

From the beginning of his distinguished career as a biologist Huxley has been acutely aware of doubts and unsolved problems. A generation ago the title of his little book "What Dare I Believe?" revealed clearly enough a positive desire to escape from the dismal grip of materialistic determinism if it was possible to do so by any method less drastic than a pure act of faith in defiance of all available evidence. With the years he has become, if anything, more cautious, more careful not to rely

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MR. KRUTCH, former drama critic for The Nation, *is now living in Tucson, Arizona. He will continue to contribute book reviews and other articles to the* The Nation.

on speculation rather than the methods of physical science, or at least to be fully explicit in distinguishing between the two. Nevertheless, in this most recent summing up a principal stress is again upon the incompleteness of our knowledge and upon those aspects of what we do seem to have learned which encourage optimism and in one way or another suggest that the mechanism of evolution —if you still insist upon calling it that —is one which transcends the limitations of what we generally mean by the term "mechanism."

Some of the dangers which Huxley sees ahead are the ones emphasized by Sir Charles Galton Darwin. He believes it to be, for instance, an established fact that "industrial civilization favors the decrease of the genes concerned with intelligence" or, to put it bluntly, that the average intelligence of the population is definitely sinking. Like Darwin also he believes that, as he phrases it, "human fertility is now the greatest long-term threat to human standards, spiritual as well as material." But unlike Darwin he believes also that human purpose may prove possibly effective when it intervenes in the evolutionary processes.

To believe that, you must of course first believe that "human purpose" is or can be something distinct from what the random processes of evolution have made inevitable, that "free will" is real in some sense, however difficult to understand that sense may be. And the freshest part of his whole discussion is that which is concerned with this possibility. "We have often been guilty of the fallacy of mistaking origins for explanations. . . . We have tended to misunderstand the nature of the difference between ourselves and animals. We have a way of thinking that if there is a continuity in time there must be a continuity in quality."

Though he never uses the once popular term "emergent evolution"—perhaps because he is anxious to stay as closely as possible within the limits of orthodox biology—he does nevertheless speak of the "emergence of new properties" even in matter, and his intention is obviously to suggest that in man himself powers which include some kind of autonomy have definitely emerged and are novelties either in the sense that they never existed before or at least in the sense that they were never before fully effective. "The development of animals is always closed; their evolution is always restricted. Man's individual development, on the other hand, is potentially open."

It is this last affirmation which Sir Charles Darwin denies most categorically or at least categorically declares to be meaningless unless one thinks in terms of time longer than that represented by a mere million years. For the pros and cons the two books might well be read together.

New Books in Brief

Watch Miss Cicellis

NO NAME IN THE STREET. By Kay Cicellis. Grove Press. $3. A first novel of penetration and power by a young Greek writer whose short stories have appeared in a number of British *avant-garde* publications. Miss Cicellis, by her own admission, learned her parents' tongue at the age of nine, "but by then it was too late for Greek to become *my* language." It is as well, for new writers who have something to say and try to say it with sincerity and a grasp of the métier of the novelist are rare in English and American fiction today.

The story of a few crucial days in the life of her hero, Gregory, a middle-class Athenian youngster about to be sent to Germany to make his way in industry, is taut and meaningful. Gregory's desperate desire to identify with some group, some family life, some memory, even, evokes the bewildered, bitter harassment of youth. Kay Cicellis is not limited, however, to delineation of characters near her own age. One of her finest and most believable creations is the elderly exiled bank clerk, Richter. A writer of compassion who has both style and conviction, Miss Cicellis's work should find a growing audience.

Academic Tragi-Comedy

THE STONES OF THE HOUSE. By Theodore Morrison. The Viking Press. $3.50. Urbane, witty light novel of academic life by the fifty-year-old Harvard professor and poet. The story concerns the tragi-comedy of a college president who is not sure that he wants, or likes, his job. Supporting cast includes an ugly secretary with an insatiable yearning for love; a neurotic professor of philosophy who is attacked as a Communist; a perennial undergraduate, now an alumnus and would-be trustee, who is dreadfully normal. The series of small academic dramas which keep the story moving are set in that decade of history when the Republic has fathered "an Oriental proconsul" and a stubborn little President has just cashiered him. But the novel's expression, sensitive and mature, is superior to its content, which is a trifle unreal throughout. The academic types are viewed as perfect prep-school gents. The feminine portraits are used either for purposes of satire or a brand of domestic mysticism in which the sexual urges of Mr. Morrison's hero have conquered even the tedium of a perfect marriage. If the early tone of the story is reminiscent of Ellen Glasgow, the conclusion is straight out of J. P. Marquand's romances, and too glossy for anything but pleasant reading.

The Story of One Prisoner and Her Friends in the Federal Penitentiary for Women

INSIDE

by Helen Bryan

***Inside* is the only firsthand account ever published of a term in the federal women's penitentiary at Alderson, West Virginia. It is written by Helen Bryan, a Presbyterian minister's daughter, college graduate and social worker, who was serving a three months' sentence. Her report is not only a moving description of an overwhelming experience, but also a unique contribution to the literature of penology.**

$3.00 HOUGHTON MIFFLIN CO.

James Boyd's Stories

OLD PINES AND OTHER STORIES. By James Boyd. North Carolina. $3. Known chiefly as a writer of historical novels, in particular that excellent novel of the American Revolution, "Drums," James Boyd was also a poet and a short-story writer of solid merit. The stories in this volume are sharp, pungent, revealing. They are also "old-fashioned" in method; each one, with a firm grip on realism, develops a believable situation to a logical end. Boyd was not afraid of horror and suspense, nor did he dodge sentiment. The stories in "Old Pines" were well worth bringing together both for their general interest and as a representative sampling of the work of a talent that was cut off much too soon.

Oceans and Moth Eggs

WATER. By Thomson King. Macmillan. $3.50. Here, in condensed and readable form, is all you want to know about this indispensable and all-pervasive element, from the ocean and its inhabitants down to dowsers and dew ponds. Although the book touches too lightly on too many subjects, it can be recommended for the many curious items of information the author has collected, as, for example, that the carpet moth which drinks no water lays eggs with an 80 per cent water content.

Actor in the Grand Style

PRINCE OF PLAYERS, EDWIN BOOTH. By Eleanor Ruggles. Norton. $4.50. An unusually lively account of the greatest of "the mad Booths" with something about his eccentric father, Lucius Junius, and about his assassin brother, John Wilkes. Edwin himself was probably the last of the long line of actors in the grand style who carried on a tradition never wholly broken as it was passed from Burbage to Betterton, to Garrick, to Kean, and so on down almost to our own day. He was certainly a more colorful figure than his English rival, Henry Irving, and he had more fire. Miss Ruggles assures us that the faint wax record of his voice is enough to prove that the magic was real, and she does a good job of convincing the reader that the old-timers who still boast they "saw Booth" really did have a unique experience. Besides being vivid, her narrative is based on extensive research and includes some new material. Probably the best as well as the most entertaining life of a man who was enough of a person to make a book much richer than the usual biography of an actor. But it is odd that the author, who does not usually avoid the colorful, should identify the man for whom Lincoln's assassin was named merely as "the parliamentary reformer." This is surely the mildest designation ever applied to that rake-hell and radical, the original John Wilkes.

Poe and Baudelaire

BAUDELAIRE ON POE. CRITICAL PAPERS. Translated and Edited by Lois and Francis E. Hyslop, Jr. Bald Eagle Press. $4. It is generally admitted that Edgar Allan Poe's international reputation and influence were both launched by the translations and critiques published by Baudelaire in the fifties and sixties. The present volume is the only one in which the critical articles are available in English, and it includes a valuable introduction recounting the strange story of Baudelaire's conviction that the American poet had somehow anticipated the processes of his own mind. Actually of course the two men were not quite so nearly identical as Baudelaire imagined, since Poe was as much Victorian as he was decadent and might well have been shocked by the "Fleurs du Mal." But what Baudelaire found in him was really there and Poe in fact was the inventor of the *frisson nouveau.* To this day Europeans see him largely through Baudelaire's eyes, and it is probably for that reason that they assess him without making the discounts which American critics usually do. If Poe had lived in Europe and therefore in a different literary atmosphere, he might possibly have founded the decadent school. As it turned out, Baudelaire founded it for him, in his name and with his aid. The phenomenon is one of the most curious in literary history, and it cannot be documented without the material in the present volume.

Theater

Harold Clurman

PAUL OSBORN'S "On Borrowed Time" (Forty-eighth Street) is a folksy fantasy about the old man who decoyed Death up an apple tree. The play achieved considerable success here in 1938 and was a surprising failure in London. The failure in London was a puzzle to everybody—the play being genial and tender.

Finding myself rather less amused at the revival than the first time I saw the play, and not at all touched—though by no means bored—I wondered whether there wasn't a difference between the American and the English attitude toward death. Americans in the theater are willing to be saddened by thoughts of death when death is softened with kindly tears or shrouded in heroic cerements, but our audiences dislike thinking of death as a fact of life. For us death must be something romantically spectral, sepulchrally noble, or something so friendly and nice as not to seem to exist at all.

In the Osborn comedy death is a gentleman who means no harm, doing his slightly mysterious job like a decorous process server. If one is clever enough one might elude him, but when one yields to the necessity of letting him do his duty, one finds that one has been summoned to a realm more ineffably sweet than life itself.

I probably would not have thought of the play in this light—no one else does or should—if the playing of it in the present revival were more poetic, charming, tongue-in-cheek, or frankly sentimental. But it is only plain. Victor Moore is perfectly cast as to "type." He is, moreover, a consummately sure and effortless performer. His is the acme of "naturalness." In short, he is everything but interesting. We get very little from him here except the impression of his deftness. Dudley Digges, who played the part originally, worked harder and was not as authentically small-town American, but he had a complete artistic

objective in view, whereas Moore simply plays the "notes," but the "notes," even perfectly delivered, do not add up in this case to a captivating spirit.

Some years ago Ben Hecht wrote the scenario for a picture called "Nothing Sacred." It was praised by certain sophisticates, but it was a box-office flop. The reason for the praise was the picture's satirical intent aimed at the crass commercialism of our publicity makers. A country girl who is reputed to be dying of radium poisoning is taken up by a big magazine and sensationally displayed for public pity. The reason for the flop was that a dying girl as the central figure of a lampoon shocked the picture audiences—even though it found out that the girl was taking advantage of her supposedly morbid condition to have herself a good time. The picture was a failure because—aside from the audiences' revulsion at its suggestion of horrid death—its satire was just as crude and unfeeling as the thing it was presumably deriding.

Someone conceived the idea of making the story into a "rowdy" musical. The resultant show, "Hazel Flagg" (Mark Hellinger), is sick to the core. The work of the talented show people involved in its making is deficient in all departments. I found no mitigation of the misery in the material in any of the performances, tunes, lyrics, dances, costumes, girls—though I felt that in his manner and appearance Jack Whiting brought on with him a certain air of the twenties that was almost nostalgic.

I approve of the performance of Stephen Vincent Benet's "John Brown's Body" (Century) without really caring for it. The French have their *matinées poétiques* at the Comédie Française where verse masterpieces are simply recited. Why shouldn't we give our poems more elaborate dramatic readings? Such readings must take on added stature when the poem, as in this instance, is related to our country's history. Most Americans—those who go to the theater at any rate—seem to have very little genuine feeling for our national past. There is something worthy and dignified, therefore, about the unconscious aspiration which is satisfied by the performance of such a work as "John Brown's Body."

As a poem it is craftsmanlike, intelligent, honorable, and easy to take. But it lacks personality and point of view. It is a highly respectable literary gloss on traditional memories and ready-made reactions. It has no real story and no true characters. Its pathos depends on its associations, not on what it creates itself. There are narrative passages which—apart from the distinction of the writing—are reminiscent of old-time Civil War movies. The outstanding bit in the first section is a literal quotation from John Brown, and another excellent piece which describes the anguish of Lincoln's self-doubt is also partly quotation.

When "Don Juan in Hell" was read with naked directness, it struck us not only as dramatically cogent but in every sense good theater. The special effects, offstage noises, and choral aid repeatedly used in "John Brown's Body"—like the sound of marching feet when they are mentioned in the text—are so naively illustrative that for a moment I feared when there was a reference to the smell of a girl's hair that the aroma was going to be wafted through the theater by some novel device.

Though "John Brown's Body" attempts to picture fateful events and evoke epic sentiments, the effect of the whole is mainly genteel and basically conventional. I should have been happy to respond to a bid for raw patriotic emotion, but here I felt as if the inspiration of a high-school assembly were being made palatable and fashionable through the use of the sleek skills of Tyrone Power, Judith Anderson, Raymond Massey, and director Charles Laughton.

Films

Manny Farber

HUSTON'S "Moulin Rouge" is packed with crunchy songs, French taste in clothes, and picturesque people, but the quality of its color is its most striking attribute. The dramatic use of filtered camera effects and off-key tonalities re-creates on film the heated, hazy quality of French Impressionist painting. When the dwarf Toulouse-Lautrec painfully picks his way out of a Montmartre bistro, the scene is the studied abyss of a blue-green interior, with hot accents (geranium red, acid yellow) in the foreground and scrubwomen carefully spotted for a dash of human content. In some instances actual paintings are "staged," reproducing everything but the vein of casual objectivity that lay at the core of Lautrec's work. Other shots capitalize on canvas-worthy things like Zsa Zsa Gabor's spun-glass skin next to the starchy texture of her white and orange costume, the paint-spattered derby Lautrec wore while painting, the ambling grace of a Negro dancer who seems to move on nothing more solid than space, and the can-can girls who dance with their whole bodies instead of just their legs. In this fascinating visual arena the heavily blurred atmosphere seems to have drained the characters of realistic personalities, leaving the decorative details of the composition to compete for interest. In fact, Huston has crowded such an attractive world around the subject of this biography—such surging impressions of Parisian activities—that you never get a good line on the artist himself.

Mainly, this is the fault of an unworkable script in which the double dose of romance given Lautrec fails to become credible before reaching a sudden and definitive conclusion. It fumbles past its hero as a real figure to feed him such explicit literary dialogue as "The streets of Paris have taught you to strike fast and draw blood first," and moralizes on the topics of love, alcoholism, and appreciation of art.

Lautrec was a wealthy nobleman, grotesquely misshapen and a chronic drunkard. After his first affair with a prostitute (Colette Marchand) who is too warped to value Lautrec's love but who wields a devastating power over him, the crippled count takes up with a virtuous dress model (chinless beauty Suzanne Flon). You see them sightseeing in Parisian settings until, incomprehensibly, she decides the smitten Lautrec will never love her and leaves him with a torch to carry the rest of his days. Meanwhile, the picture of Lautrec as an artist has been built up by such disintegrated maneuvers as having the camera travel down to his flying pencil on a cafe's tablecloth, dance over the paintings that cover his studio walls, document the production of a poster, dart about kiosks, and peer over shoulders at his *vernissage*.

Lautrec's personal drama might have been more absorbing if Ferrer had not been incarcerated in his make-up, which involved the binding of his legs to make him as short as the four-foot-eight painter, as well as elaborate facial changes. On those occasions when the camera digs into his face it unearths nothing more informative than a highly inscrutable expression. Certainly Huston as director and co-author compensated for the fact that his main character couldn't zip around on his stunted legs with avid camera movement and prodigious exuberance on the part of the other performers. Marchand, for instance, literally dances through her role —jerking, slouching, making eccentric patterns with her arms as though she were playing to a spastic nickelodeon piano. As for Miss Flon, I've seldom seen an actress with greater presence or stature in a role remarkable for its unimportant activity.

The big bone I pick with all this entertainment is that it attempts to idealize Lautrec for his deficiencies and to simplify the tale of the artist by implying that genius in painting is a by-product of painful experience. And despite the iron discipline of Huston's direction, it frequently becomes too brightly emphatic; one feels that the charming groups of blondes and redheads who bounce about with such hilarious gaiety are afraid to relax for fear the movie will run down like a clock that needs winding.

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Music

B. H. Haggin

AT THE Boston Symphony's first New York concert under Cantelli's direction one heard a beautiful instrument beautifully used by a conductor with not only the required technical powers but other qualities that made him especially well suited to this orchestra. Refinement is the Boston Symphony's distinctive characteristic—the refinement of sonority and execution that Koussevitzky brought to a point of breathtaking virtuosity; and Koussevitzky himself couldn't have produced a more dazzling performance of Stravinsky's "Jeu de cartes." But the performances this time had in addition Cantelli's refinement of musical conception—this in Tchaikovsky's Fifth no less than in Haydn's No. 93, in Rossini's "Semiramide" Overture no less than in the Stravinsky piece. Each work came out as something clearly and beautifully shaped; and this was exciting to hear; but there were also the youthful freshness and purity of intention and taste that shine through and move one in Cantelli's performances. In all, a great occasion.

A few days earlier I heard a "Rigoletto" at the Metropolitan that also turned out to be something of an occasion. I discussed the new production last year after a performance with a substitute cast; but this time there were two of the original cast, Hilda Gueden and Leonard Warren, and a substitute, Jussi Bjoerling, better than the original tenor; and I expect it to be a long time before I again hear this opera sung as it was that night. I have in mind not only the beauty of the voices—of Gueden's silvery soprano, Bjoerling's lustrous tenor, Warren's sumptuous baritone—but the way they were used in the phrasing of the music, particularly in the duets of the second act.

With all this to delight the ear there was a good deal that disturbed the eye. Some of it resulted from Bjoerling's and Warren's ineffectiveness and ineptitude on the stage; some from the fact that Bjoerling was having to find his way about in an unfamiliar production; some possibly from the fact that Warren by this time may have been doing things of his own devising rather than of the director's; some undoubtedly from Herbert Graf's original direction; some even from Eugene Berman's wonderful sets. And some, of course, initially from the blatant inconsistencies and improbabilities of the libretto. I'll grant that a "Rigoletto" which makes coherent sense throughout is beyond human powers; but not a "Rigoletto" that would make sense at some points where Graf's production offers nonsense.

This has occurred to me to add to what I said recently about Schnabel's playing: that the performer's job is to make the listener aware of what happens in a piece of music—which he can do only if he is aware of it himself; and that from their performances it is evident that Schnabel is aware of things happening in Beethoven's music that Solomon is wholly unaware of.

Chopin's great Sonata Opus 58 is played by Kapell, on an RCA Victor record, not just with the traditional distorting rubatos but with an additional extravagance in the distortion that gives the impression of a throwing of emotional weight around. And his playing in a group of Mazurkas also is excessively mannered.

Together with an excellent LP transference of Rubinstein's 1947 performance of Chopin's Sonata Opus 35—in which there is occasional blurred execution as well as the usual distortion—Victor gives us his newly recorded performances of Debussy's "Poissons d'or," "La Cathédrale engloutie," "La Fille aux cheveux de lin," "Masques," "La Terrasse des audiences au claire de lune," and "Ondine." Having heard "Poissons d'or" played with sharply flashing sonorities and figurations that evoked images of its subject, I find unsatisfying a performance in a delicate rubato style suitable for a nineteenth-century salon piece; and this style is no more suitable for the other Debussy pieces.

Norman Dello Joio's Symphony "The Triumph of St. Joan" is performed well on a Columbia record by Robert Whitney with the Louisville Orchestra which commissioned it. In the first movement, *The Maid,* and the third, *The Saint,* the elaborately discordant writing has no expressive relation to the titles that I can hear nor any intrinsic interest; but it produces a recognizable battle soundtrack for the second movement, *The Warrior.* Villa-Lobos's "The Erosion" is on the reverse side.

Even if the summary of the action of the ballet "Punch and the Child" on the envelope were accurate it couldn't be sufficiently correlated with the point-to-point invention in Richard Arnell's excellent score to give this the coherence it doesn't have when heard by itself. On the other hand the Suite from Lord Berners's music for "The Triumph of Neptune" offers pleasantly inconsequential pieces that are complete entities. Beecham's performances with his Royal Philharmonic on the Columbia record seem good.

Some of the music from Virgil Thomson's fine opera "The Mother of Us All" that he has arranged in a suite for orchestra also needs the stage action. It is played well on the Columbia record by the Werner Janssen Orchestra. Thomson's Cello Concerto, on the same record, is a good-humored piece which characteristically repeats rather than develops its engaging hymn tunes. Luigi Silva's playing is dry-toned but otherwise excellent; the orchestra is occasionally distant and barely audible behind the cello.

Letters

Toward Peace

Dear Sirs: The conclusion of Robert S. Lynd's article Whose Wars? in *The Nation* for December 27, 1952, raises the question of a democratic nation's right to wage imperialist wars and to conscript young men for such wars. In an age when conformity is so generally taken for granted, it is refreshing to have an educator of high standing openly suggest that in given circumstances refusal of military service may be a politically useful and efficacious, as well as conscientious, act. As Dr. Lynd says, the citizen must "brace his feet" and ask why he should become a soldier unless the government convinces him that "more war in the present state of the world is intelligent and democratically responsible." He must also take the further step and refuse to serve until the question is answered to his satisfaction. Governments, and in particular the military, are notoriously inattentive to academic questions.

The question then arises: What would result from such a stand by democratic youth and their elders, and what policy would be substituted for one which involves us "in a rapidly broadening counter-war against the long overdue colonial revolution," in which, as E. H. Carr points out, Russia is by no means the prime mover though it profits from the clash between Asia and the Western world. . . .

The great value of Dr. Lynd's query addressed to American youth is that it brings into the open the need to make a drastic choice at this point: in other words, what might be called the need to develop a "peace" movement which accepts the fact that in the present period such a movement must be radically anti-militarist—as all European, and to some extent American, Socialist, and labor forces were before 1914; must be on the side of the great popular revolutions and therefore independent of both the Russian and American power blocs; and must recognize that since the situation in the world today is a revolutionary one, peace cannot flow from reactionary policies. Is it not possible to bring together for serious discussion various elements, first here and then also in other countries, who start from some such basis as this?

New York A. J. MUSTE

Disagrees with Farber . . .

Dear Sirs: Last night I went to see the South African movie, "Pennywhistle Blues," at the recommendation of your movie critic, Manny Farber, who listed it among the best pictures of 1952 in your January 17 issue. I was amazed and disgusted to find some of the most vicious racist propaganda I've seen on the screen—an hour-long development of the Negro stereotype from which Hollywood seems finally to be getting away.

At the opening we are shown a few scenes in Johannesburg. A serious, cultured voice tells us that the natives have flocked to the white man's city to do his heavy labor and menial tasks. And then when he tells us they have brought with them many tribal costumes and customs, we see Negroes wearing zoot suits, jitterbugging on sidewalks, and shooting craps in doorways.

Most of the film is laid in Alexandra, an all-Negro community of shacks outside Johannesburg. The narrator informs us that Alexandra has a population of

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60,000, of which 40,000 seem to be children. The people are pictured as a naive, irresponsible, happy-go-lucky lot who never walk when they can shuffle or run when they can gallop and who break into mass singing and jitterbugging at the drop of a hat. They would be happy in their poverty, we can see, if it were not for the few exploiters among them. Frustrated by their ghetto existence? Don't be ridiculous.

Nor is the film directed exclusively at Negroes. The greedy money lender is named Isaac and has the exaggerated features used in caricatures of the Jew in American hate propaganda.

Was Mr. Farber sleeping? This is not merely a disagreement over taste or the artistic merits of a movie. The point is that it is shameful for *The Nation,* usually in the vanguard in the fight against bigotry and prejudice, to recommend a picture of this kind. Any *Nation* writer who fails to brand this film for what it is—an effort to introduce Malanist race propaganda into the United States—is not worth his salt.

Minneapolis, Minn. WILL HERTZ

. . . Who Replies

Dear Sirs: This kind of criticism of my criticism displays a mentality already familiar to me in those who deplore "Birth of a Nation" on the one hand, and "Limelight" on the other. At this stage in the development of the film medium I am no longer inclined to cope with interpretations of the type Mr. Hertz offers, and will only say that "Pennywhistle Blues," a film which I listed as "Also Placed," has a loose-jointed freshness not elsewhere found this year. It was not, so far as I can see, contaminated by or in any way related to the "bigotry" Mr. Hertz chooses to read into the film to the exclusion of all else. MANNY FARBER

New York

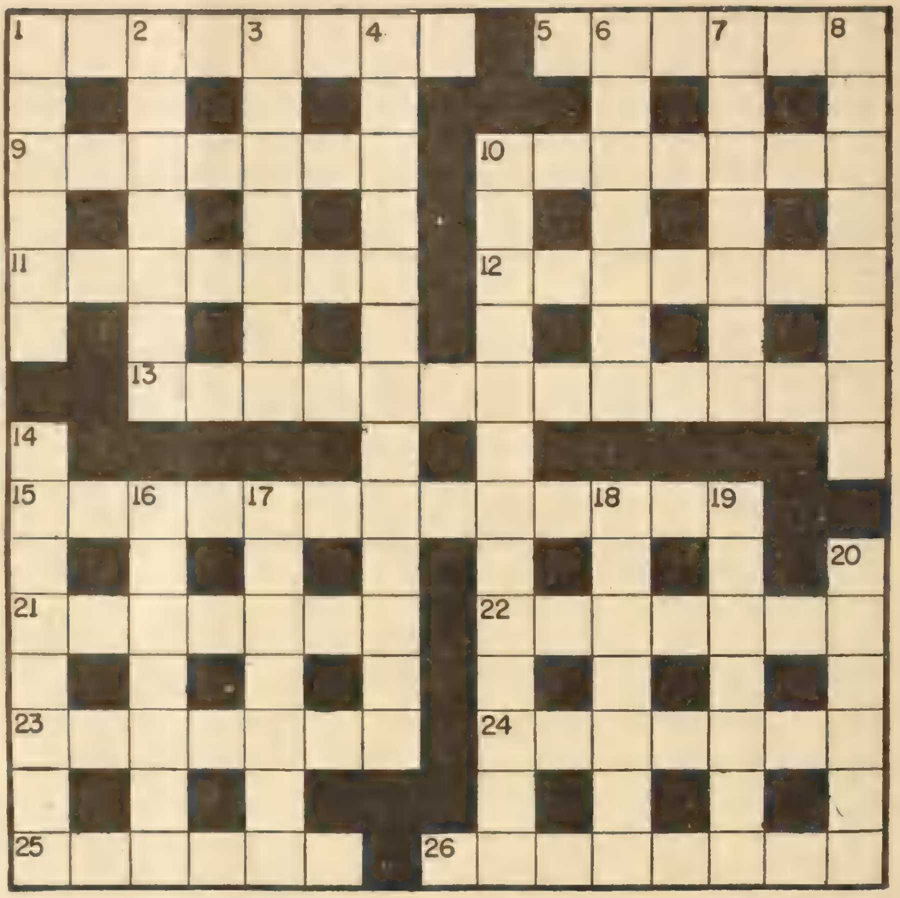
Mile-High Hysteria

Dear Sirs: I am a thirteen-year-old boy who is just starting high school. Since my Dad has a subscription to *The Nation,* I read most of it, in addition to the comic books and other "literature" which I read.

Last month I went down to the newsstand and purchased a *Captain Marvel Comics* magazine. The first story was about an ugly Communist evil genius in Korea who by means of his hideous inventions destroyed U. N. soldiers like flies. Last week my ten-year-old brother

Crossword Puzzle No. 505

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Where to win turkeys? (Some can't find the plate with them.) (8)
5 A thing like the one Tennyson suggested we follow? (6)
9 A same sort might be similar. (7)
10 Does it suggest not quite 12 inches of stalk? (7)
11 See 6 down.
12 The way whoever wakes in England sees things in leaf, according to Browning. (7)
13 2, perhaps but then it wouldn't be material! (4, 3, 6)
15 Praises a famous English house with a sort of date in the middle. (13)
21 Where even uprights could be knocked down. (7)
22 Might be exemplified by dnomaid. (7)
23 This is one pier replaced by the engineer. (7)
24 Figurative description. (7)
25 An explorer does to get disguised. (2, 4)
26 A trouble-maker is slightly more than restless in the orchestra. (8)

DOWN

1 The way you might attribute things looks like the devil to an Indian. (6)
2 The celibate sort aren't full of 13. (7)
3 Omnipotent, or just singular apparel for the working man? (7)
4 He doesn't necessarily cultivate pick-ups! (5, 8)
6 and 11 Not a supplication made during German financial crises. (3, 4, 3, 4)
7 Sort of clean an afterthought up with it. (7)
8 Artificial harbor, tree, or bush. (8)
10 Do silversmiths, when their best efforts are beaten? (5, 8)
14 Old ships (and sometimes the treaties covering them) might be. (8)
16 They makes letters sound long. (7)
17 Pressing. (7)
18 Shakespeare alone bewept his state, when it was like this. (7)
19 Able to pay for an opening with a note first. (7)
20 Petition, or one who makes it. (6)

• * •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 504

ACROSS:—4 MARJORAM; 10 and 19 DIPLOMATIC; 11 and 1 A PRETTY PICKLE; 12 LOTUS; 14 STALL; 15 and 31 RUN-OF-THE-MINE; 17 NECKTIES; 21 SPARERIB; 23 and 26 COMIC STRIP; 28 and 13 WANTON; 29 and 30 PEDAL PUSHERS; 32 TUSKEGEE; 33 YEASTY.

DOWN:—1 PEDDLERS; 2 CAPSTAN; 3 LOOPS; 5 AGAIN; 6 JERKS; 7 RETRACE; 8 MAY FLY; 9 FASTENER; 16 and 27 FUR PIECE; 18 CABINETS; 20 SCULLERY; 22 PERUSES; 24 MIDDIES; 25 ASHPIT; 28 WASTE; 29 PLEBE.

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purchased a *Marvel Family Comics* magazine. This time the villain was a "Commie"—to quote the book—who again killed off "Yankee dogs" like flies. He was a mile high.

It would seem to me that the publishers (Fawcett Publications, Inc.) are simply copying the Communists because they try to create horrible impressions of us Americans. It also helps to contribute to the mass hysteria we are in.

Chicago, Ill. MALCOLM SHERMAN

Aid for Adlai

Dear Sirs: At the request of Harold R. Wolfe, chairman of Dollars for Sense, I am writing to thank you for calling my attention to the movement and making it possible for me to contribute to it.

Since the new Administration has promised to take us places, I believe Governor Stevenson, who conducted his recent campaign in such a dignified manner, should go on the air from time to time and tell us just whither we are being taken, a matter in which all of us are interested in these critical times.

Sedona, Ariz. L. B. WOODCOCK

How the Press Can Help

Dear Sirs: This is to advise you that the Loyalty Security Appeals Board has reinstated Frank Grzelak, with full pay, to his position as draftsman at the Jeffersonville, Indiana, Quartermaster Depot.

Robert W. Zollinger and I, his attorneys, would like to express our thanks to you for your article in his behalf [Who's Your Wife? Around the U. S. A. June 21, 1952].

Louisville, Ky. GROVER G. SALES

Busy Little Busbey

Dear Sirs: According to the Chicago *Tribune* of January 30, Representative Busbey of Illinois had this to say concerning the death of John C. Montgomery, head of the Finnish desk of the State Department:

> It may be no more than a coincidence that he worked in a government agency where Communists, Communist sympathizers, and poor loyalty risks have plagued our security. . . . In view of the fact that Montgomery brought his own life to an end, we should not assume that he was innocent of such associations.

It appears that the late Mr. Montgomery is to be given no peace, even in his grave.

Evanston, Ill. RICHARD MORGAN

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Lodge Sets the Tone *J. A. del Vayo*
No ABC's on TV *Saul Carson*
Revolt Against McCarthy? *Editorial*

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

Around the U.S.A.

The Cherokee Drama

Knoxville, Tennessee

UP A curving black-top road a few hundred yards above Cherokee, North Carolina, is the Mountainside Theater, built in a natural bowl with the Great Smokies for a back drop. Next summer a huge outdoor pageant called "Unto These Hills" will begin its fourth season there, having already played to an international audience of more than a third of a million. The theater seats 2,900 and has been packed each season. More than 107,000 tickets were sold in 1950; 159,000 in 1951. All seats were reserved in 1952 and cost from $1.50 to $3. The season lasts from July 1 to September 1.

Kermit Hunter, a young English instructor at the University of North Carolina, wrote this "Cherokee Drama" in 1949 for his thesis in dramatic art. Harry Davis, technical director of the Carolina Playmakers, directed it. A cast of 115 is headed by the Playmakers and includes forty-eight Cherokee Indians.

The story begins with Andrew Jackson being saved from death by a faithful Cherokee scout; he is then seen in the White House selling the Cherokees' homeland out from under them. Next General Winfield Scott with 7,000 troops rounds up the Cherokee people, herds them like cattle into stockades, and marches them a thousand miles west over the Trail of Tears. An old Cherokee, Tsali, kills a drunken soldier to save his wife from a prodding bayonet and then gives himself up, together with his two sons and his brother-in-law. They are shot by a firing squad but gain the right for the scattered and broken remnants of the tribe to remain in the fastnesses of the Smokies.

A few years ago, under the inspiration of an Ashville attorney, Francis Heazel, the Western North Carolina Associated Communities was organized in the eleven counties of Clay, Cherokee, Graham, Macon, Swain, Jackson, Haywood, Transylvania, Buncombe, Henderson, and Madison to promote the general welfare of the area. To produce and manage the proposed "Cherokee Drama" the Associated Communities set up a non-profit organization called the Cherokee Historical Association, with a Hendersonville theater man, Harry E. Buchanan, as chairman. Buchanan barnstormed for a year trying to raise funds to build the theater and produce the show. Interested whites and Negroes in eleven counties contributed $20,000. The Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians gave $5,000 out of tribal funds. But these donations were not half what was needed, and as a last resort a committee of whites and Cherokee went before the North Carolina legislature and put their cards on the table. By a unanimous vote in both houses $35,000 was appropriated for the venture.

Even with this backing "Unto These Hills" opened with a deficit of $30,000. Imagine the elation of its producers when the debt was paid off the first month! At the close of the 1950 season there was a surplus of $70,000. All this and $15,000 more was plowed back into desperately needed improvements—theater seats with backs, black-top drives, a caretaker's house, presentable office space and equipment, and so on.

■ The 3,000 members of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians live on a 57,000-acre tribally owned tract surrounded on the north, east, and west by the Great Smoky National Park. They receive no money dole from the government. They would spurn anything that looked like a handout, and they are receiving nothing on a platter from the Historical Association. But by legitimate work, alongside their white associates, the Cherokee are earning roughly $100,000 a year in connection with the pageant. Some 150 are directly on its payroll. Sales of handicrafts before the Cherokee Drama attracted visitors ran about $75,000 a year. Counting in the proceeds from garden and farm products and other tourist attractions, the Cherokee are now doing an estimated half a million dollars' worth of business a year.

Out of the red and with surplus funds the association has inaugurated other projects that were written into its charter. It has awarded its first four-year college scholarships for Indian boys and girls in the fields of dramatics, anthropology, medicine, dentistry, and homemaking. It has appropriated $5,000 for looms, spinning wheels, and other tools that will enable the Indians to step up their production of arts and crafts. It will award $750 in cash prizes annually to encourage the beautifying of highways, homes, yards, gardens, community centers, and the like throughout the six Cherokee villages. Cash prizes totaling $2,400 will be awarded for the best products in woodcarving, basketry, weaving, pottery, agriculture, and forestry.

The association has built a roadside market in Cherokee where the Indians display and sell their wares and opened a "live museum" on a forty-acre forested tract a few hundred yards from the Mountainside Theater. The museum is an authentic reconstruction of a 200-year-old Cherokee village. Typical Cherokee families occupy the dwellings and weave cloth, plait baskets, chip arrowheads, fashion bows, arrows, and blowguns, cultivate corn, beans and squash, and carry on the rituals and customs of their ancestors, just as they were doing when Hernando De Soto visited them in 1540.

Probably the most significant long-term project of the association is the development of a superior summer school of fine arts, arts and crafts, and dramatics at Cherokee. When expanded according to plans, the school may operate the year round and will be open to any boy or girl of any race who can qualify.

The production of the pageant was the work of white men. Most of its patrons are white men. It is a rare thing to see one race stage a confession of its wrongdoing toward another race in the heart of the wronged people's homeland, for all the world to see. Few experiments in interracial relations can equal this. MARLEY COLE

[*The author is a student of Appalachian folklore and has written on the subject for various publications.*]

Volume 176, Number 10
New York, Saturday, March 7, 1953

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Sanctioning Indecency

Trygve Lie's newest directive to the United Nations staff raises the interesting question: Has he decided to abandon his Norwegian citizenship along with his post as Secretary General and join the McCarthy wing of the Republican Party? Nothing short of this would seem sufficient to explain his action, on the eve of a U. N. debate on personnel problems, in authorizing non-American members to inform on their American colleagues. The fact that the directive stipulates that they should not discuss the "professional" operations of United States employees but only their personal lives merely adds to its indecency. Mr. Lie's action, which became public last week, was taken several weeks ago in connection with the loyalty investigation of Americans being held on U. N. territory, and obviously represents an effort to present the Assembly with a *fait accompli* when it comes to discuss this most controversial subject.

Elsewhere in this issue we present a challenge to Lie and the report of his panel of jurists by the distinguished anti-Communist Belgian senator and international lawyer, Henri Rolin. An authority on the U. N. Charter, M. Rolin underscores the point that the Secretary General is completely outside the jurisdiction of the headquarters state. But his behavior makes it clear that Mr. Lie can no longer be regarded as the protector of the sanctity of the Charter. It remains to be seen whether the member states will have the courage to recognize this fact, accept his resignation, and instal personnel standards which are worthy of the world's most important international body.

Sauce for the Shrimp

Messrs. McKay and Dulles ought to get together. The Secretary of the Interior has told the Senate that Texas and Florida should be given title to off-shore land within their "historical boundaries" stretching 10.5 miles seaward. Simultaneously the State Department has told the Mexican government, which recently seized a number of American shrimp boats as poachers, that it does not recognize Mexico's claim to a sea frontier extending 10.3 miles from the coast. The high seas, it declares, begin at the usual international three-mile limit.

Actually, there is no universally accepted limit to territorial waters. The claims of Texas and Florida appear to be derived from Spanish law; if they are sound, so is that of Mexico, which has the same origin. But in any case the State Department seems to have forgotten that the United States abandoned its historical position on the three-mile limit on September 28, 1945, when President Truman issued two proclamations. The first asserted United States jurisdiction over the mineral resources of the continental shelf contiguous to the United States beyond the three-mile limit. The second established fishing conservation zones in areas of the high seas contiguous to the coasts of the United States where fishing activities on a substantial scale have been developed and maintained by United States nationals alone or by them and nationals of other states. The proclamation, which expressly recognized the right of other states to take similar action, was particularly aimed at protection of the Alaska salmon fisheries, which were formerly threatened by Japanese fishermen operating well outside the three-mile limit. We would think that sauce for Alaskan salmon is also sauce for Mexican shrimp.

Peron's Double Deal

Hailed by the Argentine government press as an "epoch-making event in Latin American relations," Perón's state visit to Chile does not seem to have lived up to expectations. The real purpose of the rendezvous in Santiago was to strengthen the bargaining position of Latin America's three "strong men" vis-à-vis the United States. But one of the three, and not the least important, was conspicuously absent. Getulio Vargas of Brazil apparently had not the least desire to assist in building up his Argentine colleague as the leader of a new and powerful continental bloc.

Vargas had another reason for staying away from a meeting that could be construed as an anti-United States demonstration. After a conference between President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles, the Export-Import Bank recently favored Brazil with an extension of a three-year $300,000,000 credit. It would have appeared distinctly ungrateful of Vargas, with the credit in his

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pocket, to have showed up at Santiago. Instead his War Minister, General Cardosa, was despatched to the United States on an official visit.

Actually the anti-Yankee position assumed by Perón and President Ibañez of Chile need not be taken too seriously. Both need American dollars. It is reasonable to assume that were the United States to extend to Argentina the same generous economic cooperation it has been giving Brazil, Perón would find it convenient to temper his animosity.

But even so Perón would like to negotiate with Washington from a position of strength, with a solid group of Latin American states behind him. So far he has failed to win over Brazil, and though he is apparently prepared to exchange one "B" for another, Bolivia will never prove a satisfactory substitute.

Witch Hunt Plus Job Hunt

A measure of light is shed on the current friendship between Secretary Dulles and Senator McCarthy (see editorial comment following) by the sad and belated Republican discovery that only 150 of 42,000 State Department employees serve at "the pleasure of the President." Mr. Dulles, it appears, had been bewitched by visions of lavish Republican patronage. What, then, to do? The always-candid John O'Donnell, in his column of March 2, provides the answer: "Let McCarthy tear the boys apart in the State Department. They had it coming to them. Then, after the facts are in and the Congress and people are behind the clean-up, come in with a White House-backed bill for a complete reorganization of the State Department."

Revolt Against McCarthy?

THIS is the year of the snake in the old Chinese almanac cycle, and it could turn out to be a year of the snake here too if McCarthy, Jenner, and Velde continue to rack up bloodless triumphs as easily as they did this last fortnight.

By a succession of swiftly executed and typically bold maneuvers Senator McCarthy forced the new leadership of the State Department to knuckle under in the most ignominious fashion. "No greater series of victories," reports William S. White in the New York *Times,* "by a Congressional body over a senior Executive department in so short a time is recalled here." Such seasoned observers of the Washington scene as Doris Fleeson, Thomas L. Stokes, the Alsop brothers, and Marquis Childs were stunned by the ease with which McCarthy, with a few cracks of his circus-master's whip, brought John Foster Dulles, Walter Bedell Smith, and Donald Lourie into line. It used to be thought that Mr. Acheson was easily intimidated by Congressional bullying, but his behavior looks downright gallant in comparison with the craven manner in which the new Republican chiefs have capitulated to the town tough and prize soy-bean speculator of Appleton, Wisconsin. "In the days of Truman and Acheson," reports John O'Donnell in his syndicated column, "McCarthy was on the outside trying to storm stubbornly defended official walls. Now he's invited inside as an ally."

After only a month in office the Eisenhower Administration is being warned from all sides that a day of reckoning with the "radical" right-wing Republicans cannot be avoided much longer. But the chance for a reckoning may have come and gone. Now that he has been invited into the State Department, with carte blanche to look around, examine files, cross-examine employees, and encourage his bevy of informers, McCarthy will not easily be kicked out. Not more than eight votes could be found in the Senate, Mr. White estimates, for any attempt by that body to discipline McCarthy. In the House only two Congressmen, Emanuel Celler and Roy Weir, had the courage to vote against the latest appropriation for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Nor will the Administration be successful in its attempts to appease McCarthy, for his price will prove to be too high. Lord High Executioner of the Senate in 1953, McCarthy hopes to be in the White House in 1956. He cannot be reasoned with; he must be opposed. The question is, by whom? "Taking their cue from President Eisenhower," reports William V. Shannon in the New York *Post*, "political leaders here are keeping under cover as far as Senator McCarthy is concerned. The question of who, if anyone, is going to do anything about McCarthy is more up in the air than ever."

McCARTHY, it must be emphasized, is a clever and resourceful demagogue, though he is not so powerful as he appears to be. He has an uncanny ability, as Hitler and Mussolini did, to bluff his opposition. Each time he wins a handsome stake by making a reckless bid which no one cares to call, he acquires still more political chips to support his next bid, which is always higher. Thus he seems invincible when in fact he is only lucky and bold. He can afford to take long chances since he has good reason to believe that his bluff will not be called, at least not by those who can afford to call it. In this country as elsewhere the respectable conservative elements cannot summon the will—it is not a question of courage—to oppose the anti-Communist demagogue, however much they may dislike his methods. Sensing this weakness, the demagogue is able to command the active support of some (see the list of those who have contributed to McCarthy's —and Joe Ryan's—secret "anti-Communist" funds) and the worried and guilt-ridden acquiescence of the others. When Mr. Eisenhower failed to speak out against McCarthy during the Wisconsin primary last year, it appeared that he either lacked the courage, which was unthinkable, or that he did not understand what McCarthy was up to, which was incredible; now it seems more likely that he actually approves of McCarthy's objectives if not his methods. That means the fat is in the fire. Noting the ease with which McCarthy occupied the State Department without firing a shot, Senator Jenner boldly tells off Senator Taft, and the President, instead of rallying to the support of Taft, takes a position on the loaded question of Communist teachers which is indistinguishable from that of McCarthy, Jenner, and Velde. If this is to be the pattern of his relationship with these demagogues, the President is already their captive.

Jenner

In no small measure McCarthy's power is based on a failure of leadership. As long as "anti-communism" rather than some affirmative purpose is our dominant political concern, leadership will continue to be a competition in demagoguery. The opposition exists, but it cannot find effective expression without leadership. Once the right sentiments are voiced, the response is seldom disappointing—witness the extraordinary chain reaction to Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer's brave and dramatic indictment of the "inquisitors" before the 17,000 teachers, superintendents, and top educators at the recent Atlantic City meeting of the American Association of School Administrators.

When in the wake of this superb speech Representative Velde attempted to smear Mrs. Meyer, she charged him with being "a man who is conscienceless enough to use a deliberate lie," and Velde was forced to issue a retraction, albeit tardy, whining, and unapologetic. Incensed by the Velde smear, Senator Morse in a fine speech joined with Senators Lehman and Kefauver in demanding a change in Senate investigatory procedures. A few days later Senator Taft, speaking in Chicago, went out of his way to say that he "would not fire anyone for being a Communist unless it was certain he was teaching communism and having some effect on the development of the thought of students." Senator Jenner promptly labeled the statement "naive."

THESE strange goings-on prompeted others to speak up. The Very Reverend Francis B. Sayres, Jr., dean of the Washington (Episcopal) Cathedral, charged that McCarthy, Jenner, and Velde were "demonstrating that they believe God and the nation are best served by the frightened and credulous collaborators of a servile brand of patriotism." In a sermon called " Study in Tyranny," Dr. A. Powell Davies of Washington's All Soul's Unitarian Church, denounced McCarthy, Jenner, and Velde as "pretended patriots . . . men of tyrannous purpose," and called for their repudiation. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam attacked the same tyrannical trinity. "Our freedom and our faith," he said, "are in jeopardy. . . . Men who say that in every little red schoolhouse there is a little Red teacher lie. . . . How long are we to tolerate former conspirators, men who admit they sought the overthrow of this government and who by their own admission were traitors, now coming as respected witnesses with amazingly adaptable memories?" In Princeton, George F. Kennan pointed out that the witch hunts were "whipping our established institutions about like trees in a storm," and in New York, Edward R. Murrow lashed out at "these pompous, posturing practitioners of terror, who would ride down those who are searching for truth." What is significant about these statements is not so much the credentials of the speakers as the new political diction in which they are couched. These are not statements of the sick and frightened but of the angry and aroused.

IT IS significant, too, that these interesting reactions stemmed from the announcement that the witch-hunters were preparing to investigate the schools and colleges. Few public interests are of deeper concern to more citizens in this country than the freedom and integrity of American education. It is one thing to stage a heresy trial of ten Hollywood writers; it is something else again when, six years later, professors are tried for the same offense. In 1947, when the Hollywood writers were being mercilessly grilled, few persons would have thought that 1953 would produce the headline: "Harvard Group to Study Policy on Red Quizzes." When the President's Committee on Civil Rights fatuously concluded in the fall of 1947 that civil liberties were firmly safeguarded, who would have thought that 1953 would bring the headlines: "Ford Fund Allots $15,000,000 for United States Civil Liberties Survey"? When a few—and a lonely few they were—reporters charged that the Pasadena School Board incident of 1949 foreshadowed a desperate struggle for control of American education, it was said that they were the victims of hallucinations and nightmares. But the 17,000 educators who listened to Mrs. Meyer's fighting speech in Atlantic City did not treat what she had to say as fantastic.

There is a cloud on the horizon today no larger than a man's fist but it is growing fast and moving faster, and it is moving in the direction of Washington. For the first time since the start of the current witch hunt a significant protest is being voiced against it. A partial eclipse of the sun marked the advent of the Year of the Snake in China, where eclipses are regarded as a portent signifying the "anger of heaven." If we are not mistaken, the ancestral American deities are beginning to be angered too.

"Young Bob"

BY WILLIAM T. EVJUE

Madison, Wisconsin

FEW men have carried as heavy a burden of public responsibility at such an early age as "Young Bob" La Follette. He was only thirty when he was first elected to fill the unexpired term of his father, who died in 1925. His task was not only to prove himself as a Senator in the seat that his great father had occupied but to carry on the tradition of progressive insurgency. His worst political enemies will not deny that from the beginning he discharged these responsibilities with honor and in a way that would have made "Old Bob" proud of him. He did it with simplicity, humility, and courageous dedication to the cause for which his father had fought all his life.

For almost a quarter of a century Bob carried on the fight for progressive reform. In the dark days of the early thirties, when the bread lines were lengthening, the banks closing, and farms and homes going under the auctioneer's hammer, he took the floor of the Senate again and again to implore the federal government to act. His pleas went unheeded as just the braying of one of the "sons of the wild jackass." But with the advent of the New Deal, Bob saw the things for which he had fought become a reality. Through the formative years of the New Deal he helped to shape and to give the force of law to many of the reforms which his father had brought to Wisconsin and struggled in vain to extend to the nation.

It is one of the bitterest ironies of politics that a man who achieved so much for organized labor by his work on the Civil Liberties Committee should have been defeated in 1946 with the help of some of the labor leaders in his home state. At that time the Wisconsin C. I. O. was controlled by Communist elements out to get La Follette because he had raised his voice in the Senate to warn of the aggressive intentions of the Soviet Union. Deliberately and maliciously they distorted and misrepresented his record. When the votes were counted, it was found that the strong labor wards of Milwaukee, traditional La Follette strongholds, had cast a large enough vote to give the Republican nomination to circuit Judge Joseph R. McCarthy.

The monumental achievements of Bob La Follette remain as a tribute to his memory. Thousands of words of praise have come from men and women of all political beliefs. But the real proof that he steered a course of true American progressivism was his defeat. The era of the La Follettes was ended by an alliance between the McCarthyites and the Communists.

MR. EVJUE is editor of the Madison Capital Times.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

Lodge Sets the Tone

United Nations, February 27

THE second session of the seventh Assembly opened in a mood no more cheerful than that in which the first session closed. Again Korea is the dominating and vexatious subject. A new leading actor made his debut—Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., in the role of United States chief delegate. He speaks well, has an attractive personality, and was greeted with a burst of applause from the visitors' gallery which the chairman of the Political Committee silenced with a polite reminder that public demonstrations were not permitted. Mr. Lodge's brief address was clearly intended to prove beyond doubt that it was no mere successor of Mr. Dean Acheson who took the floor. Less finished in style, more vigorous and challenging, his remarks could not be called conciliatory. In the old League of Nations days such a speech would have been possible only as the first step toward a charge of aggression and the imposition of sanctions. In the United Nations both effect and consequences were much less serious.

Ambassador Lodge challenged Foreign Minister Vishinsky to deny ten specific points, stated one after another by the speaker, which showed that the Soviet Union was "actively assisting the aggressors in Korea." He served notice that the United States would not at this session present any new Korean proposal, that since "the rulers of the Soviet Union can stop the war whenever they want to—and Mr. Vishinsky knows it"—it was up to them to change their position on the last approved Indian resolution. It was evident that any additional steps, following the authorization already given to Chiang Kai-shek to undertake military operations against the mainland — intensive air action, a blockade, or a total embargo on commercial relations with China—would be decided independently without asking for the Assembly's approval.

No important item was added to the agenda. Ambassador Eban of Israel indicated that he would doubtless have something to say later on the issue of racial discrimination in the Communist states. A more explicit reference to the subject by Mr. Lodge confirmed the expectation that before the Assembly adjourns a large debate will develop around the attitude of the Communist governments toward Zionism and Jews.

With a not very inspiring session ahead it was natural that any exciting news from outside would be welcomed and magnified. On the second day of the Assembly no one spoke in the Political Committee, but the corridors were full of rumors and speculation based on President Eisenhower's announcement of his readiness to meet Prime Minister Stalin at a halfway point between here and Moscow if it would aid peace.

Lodge

At least one group that includes some Western Europeans and the Indians attributed considerable importance to the statement. In their opinion it fits into the theory that a new possibility for negotiation has been created both by the latest developments in Russia and the Soviet orbit and by the presence of Eisenhower in the White House. The campaign slogan of the Communists that it made no difference whether Eisenhower or Stevenson was elected—that in foreign policy they would go the same road—is already discarded. There *is* a difference and a very important one, and Moscow will be the first to realize it and avoid partisan over-simplification.

But it is especially what has taken place in the Communist world during recent months that induces this group of mild optimists to believe a better atmosphere for negotiation is in the making. They consider the Prague trial, the doctors' arrest in Moscow, and the anti-Zionist drive the final incidents of a long ideological struggle inside Russia. Some go even to the extreme of comparing this period with the dramatic era of the first conflicts between Stalin and Trotsky. This time the forces in conflict, according always to these delegates, were Stalin on the one side, opposing any move that could lead to World War III, and the extreme faction of Zhdanovites on the other, urging action before the American-led coalition had finished its military and atomic plans and was in a condition to strike. They considered Stalin the victor, but only after a longer and more difficult process than was realized outside.

Now that Stalin has established his position, a new chance for negotiation has been created. That, these delegates argue, puts the Stalin reply to James Reston of the New York *Times* in its real light; and the counter-move is the assignment to Moscow of Mr. Bohlen, known in the State Department as a consistent advocate of an "exchange of views." Perhaps Kennan wanted to be the man, but he arrived in Moscow in the midst of the crisis, was received by Vishinsky but never by Stalin, and it was not the moment. Bohlen, they say, will find a different climate.

This theorizing is completed with comments on the double Indian interview, the recent still optimistic statement by Nehru, the Churchill-Gromyko meeting in London, and many other items. Unfortunately those who argue along these lines are in the minority.

CAMUS-SARTRE DEBATE

Rebellion vs. Revolution . . *by J.-M. Domenach*

THE rupture of a friendship between two famous writers is an exciting event in the literary world. But the personal aspect of the controversy between Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus, however sad, is of secondary importance. What has taken place is a debate in the great tradition of French intellectual life. Politics has been blended with philosophy, and the polemics of Sartre and Camus have touched on some of the basic political and ideological questions of our time. Curiously, despite the confusion and impotence of contemporary French political life, these ideological battles have lost none of their vivacity; on the contrary, they have taken an even more intense and tragic turn now that Europe, after having experienced the horror of Nazi occupation, finds itself divided and confronted by Soviet power.

The prestige of both Sartre and Camus dates from the Resistance, in which both men fought against Nazism. After the Liberation they exerted a powerful influence on many young people in France. No abstract libertarians, they participated actively in the great post-war political struggles, although as *francs-tireurs*—working outside the political parties. Camus wrote editorials for *Combat;* Sartre took part in a new Socialist movement and with other non-Communist intellectuals founded in 1948 the Rassemblement Démocratique Révolutionnaire. (This collapsed after a few months as a result of dissension somewhat like that between Sartre and Camus today.) Both writers were existentialists; both were revolutionaries. Now these two left-wing intellectuals have split violently. Why?

At the beginning of last year Camus published a book, "L'Homme révolté," which despite its philosophical tone had an immense popular success. In earlier works he had described isolated man struggling against the "absurd." How, he asked, could man combat the absurdity of his fate and the injustice of misery and death? In his mythological novel, "The Plague," he seemed to supply the answer: man resists blind pestilences by establishing conditions of human solidarity. But how can one reconcile the tragic situation of isolated man with the pity and sense of fraternity aroused by injustice and oppression? To this Camus replies in his last book—by rebellion. "Rebellion, in the case of men, means refusing to be treated as things or objects or to be reduced to simple history. It is the assertion of a nature common to all men who escape from the world of power." Imitating the famous Cartesian formula, Camus proposes the logic of collective action: "I rebel, therefore we are."

According to Camus, rebellion creates the basis for human solidarity. In "L'Homme révolté" he describes the perversions of revolt. First, there is the metaphysical nihilism that demands of God absolute freedom for the individual and defeats itself in a "mystifying dandyism"; second, the abstract declaration of democratic values that produced the revolutionary tyranny of 1793; third, the Hegelianism that identifies rebellion with history and enslaves man in dialectic; fourth, the "irrational terrorism" of fascism; and finally the "rational terrorism" of Stalinism. Thus Camus pursues the history of a tradition of rebellion ultimately destroyed by a dehumanizing revolution. In the end the rebellious author, disillusioned by the long, murderous, and deceptive history, retires, so to speak, to the shore of the Mediterranean, there to rediscover justness and proportion in the full light of noon.

SEVERAL months after the appearance of "L'Homme révolté," Francis Jeanson, a young Sartrian philosopher, reviewed the book in the May, 1952, number of *Les Temps Modernes*, of which Sartre is editor. Jeanson attacked Camus as a "noble soul" who evaded history while claiming to have discovered "transcendental principles." Camus replied immediately with a "Letter to the Editor," published in the magazine's August-September issue, in which he challenged his critics. In particular, he accused *Les Temps Modernes* of following the Stalinist line by calling every criticism of Marxism reactionary and identifying revolution with communism, while at the same time it feared to defend Marxism openly or to discuss its present political form and tragic consequences, especially the Soviet concentration camps. According to Camus, the existentialists of *Les Temps Modernes* do not admit employing the Marxist-Stalinist dialectic because it contradicts their own philosophy, whose aim is to restore man to absolute freedom. He wrote: "To free man of every restraint only to trap him subsequently in 'historical necessity' amounts to depriving him of his reasons for struggling for freedom and leaving him to the mercies of any political party operating by the rules of expediency. This means proceeding, according to the law of nihilism, from absolute freedom to extreme necessity; it implies nothing else but dedication to the enslavement of man."

Sartre answered Camus in an extremely vigorous article, undoubtedly the best he has ever written. He set himself, not like Camus on the heights, but at the level of the present struggle. He refused to be intimidated by the "virtuous violence" of Camus or to be embarrassed by the dialectic of an impotent protest. He wrote: "Yes, Camus, like you, I consider the concentration camps intolerable, but the constant exploitation of them by the bourgeois press is just as intolerable. I do not say that the case of Madagascar is more important than that of the Soviet Union. I say that we must not exploit suffering in the Soviet Union in order to justify measures we have taken to suppress the natives of Madagascar." He went on to describe the futility of a pro-

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JEAN-MARIE DOMENACH is editor-in-chief of Esprit, *one of France's most important political monthlies.*

Camus

test that refuses to distinguish between different acts of violence or between different "oppressors." The rebels of Vietminh, he observed, may be considered former French "slaves," but according to Camus, they are also "slaves" of Stalinist totalitarianism. For him, Sartre, the only way to fight against oppression all over the world is to join forces with your own victims first.

Sartre then passed to the counter-attack. He described the writings of Camus as the work of a man who piously evades history. For man's oppression of man Camus has substituted the oppression of man by the absurd; in short, he replaces history with fatalism. In consequence, the rebellion Camus preaches exhausts itself in an impotent aesthetic of revolt and diverts the oppressed from their real battle. In Sartre's view it is not against disease and death that one must struggle but against the injustices and tyranny that make life so tragic and liberty so hard to attain not only for the natives of colonial empires but for proletarians everywhere.

TWO questions, it seems to me, pervade this controversy—as they have dominated French intellectual preoccupations since the Liberation. The first is philosophical and concerns the "meaning of history"; the second, more political, concerns the "engagement" of the left intellectual. Both are affected by Marxism, its ideological form and the political form given it by Stalinism.

Does history have a meaning on which one can depend? More precisely, does Marxism give us the key to history—conceived as the triumph of the proletariat in a classless society? The question of historical determinism is a thorny one for the existentialists, who do not recognize a self-fulfilling "human nature" and for whom man, in a state of freedom, shapes his own destiny. It would seem that on this point Camus has discovered the Sartrian existentialists in a hopeless contradiction. He asks: "If there is no goal that man can pursue according to some scheme of values, how can history follow a perceivable direction? If it does follow one, why is not man able to achieve his goal? And if he does achieve it, how can he be in the terrible and perpetual state of freedom you talk about?"

To this Sartre replies that he does not know the meaning of history but feels that it is up to men to give it a certain design—a design created in every act of striving for freedom: "Today our freedom is nothing else but the free choice of struggling in order to become free." It is here that one would like to bring Sartre back to the concrete situation and ask him: Who has this free choice? Do the masses have it? If so, under what conditions? Does historical materialism grant proletarians this freedom that Sartre claims for them—"the freedom to orient history according to their means"? More precisely, does the Stalinist system permit its subjects this freedom? Sartre himself, in earlier works, answered no on many occasions. Evidently there is now a contradiction between his philosophy and his political views.

THIS contradiction can be more easily understood when one recognizes the dilemma in which French left-wing intellectuals find themselves. (A similar contradiction may be observed between the faith of certain Christians and their sympathy for the Communists.) The left-wing intellectual, however, is divided between protest and "engagement." If he wishes to maintain the purity of his protest he must denounce capitalist oppression in the West as well as police oppression in the East. But his protest will be completely futile, since the cause of the under-dog in France is defended by the Communist Party alone.

Camus, rejecting collaboration with the Communists—guilty by association with oppression in the East—finds himself cut off from the French working class; he must limit himself to protests against the tyranny of Franco and the excesses of French imperialism since he is unable to find any other pure cause. Sartre, on the other hand, is convinced that the major threat is offered by American power—guilty by association with the sufferings imposed on the French proletariat and on natives in the colonies; consequently he joins sides with the Communists and goes off to the Vienna Peace Congress to discuss means of preventing war. Anxious to deal with immediate dangers, Sartre took this step in the honest spirit that has always characterized him.

Politically, Camus is in an untenable position; philosophically, Sartre is in an untenable position. I do not wish to reduce their quarrel, which involves fundamental human problems, to mere political terms. However, their split and the contradictions in which they both find themselves are directly related to the situation of the French left, whose intellectual resources are richer than ever but whose capacity for action is practically nil. It would be an exaggeration to say that Camus has passed into the "American camp" and Sartre into the "Soviet camp." Camus has chosen intransigent protest against all forms of terrorism; Sartre, without capitulating, has decided to fight beside the Communists against the immediate threat of fascism and war. I am not so bold as to judge the merit of their opinions. I say simply that if in France there existed a non-Stalinist revolutionary party which could offer the working class an alternative to absorption by Stalinism, Sartre and Camus would both be in it. Their dispute enables us to evaluate both the tragic consequences of the collapse of Social Democracy in France and the work that remains to be done before the spirit of rebellion can embrace revolution without regret.

Sartre

FOREIGN POLICY

Behind the Scenes . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

SOONER or later you have to pick up the tab for all that free-and-easy campaign talk. It comes hard, and the psychological effects can be confusing, and there is always the danger that somebody will take advantage of your good nature while you are doing it. But it has to be done before a new political Administration can come of age.

The necessity of making glowing promises square with hard realities is now bringing pressure on two important sectors of the cold-war front—the Korean fighting and the much-talked-of repudiation of "secret agreements." At the moment it seems likely that Eisenhower will finally settle for a new look on a couple of old policies inherited from the preceding Administration.

The campaign turned pretty largely on the Korean situation. General Eisenhower promised that if he was elected he would go out there at once and take a first-hand look at it. Campaigns being what they are, this was immediately interpreted as a promise to get the Korean war off dead center and end it. After the election the trip was duly made and reported. Presently the new President delivered his State of the Union message. With all that campaign talk waiting to be redeemed, he announced that the Seventh Fleet would no longer keep Chiang Kai-shek's forces immobilized. It would cease to "shield Communist China"; there "is no longer any logic or sense," he said, "in a condition that required the United States navy to assume defensive responsibilities on behalf of the Chinese Communists."

This was pretty much an empty gesture, since the Seventh Fleet for some time had been mostly in Japanese waters, and Chiang's forces were in no condition to make a serious invasion of the mainland. Nevertheless, the tab had been picked up and the talk began to flow. Senator Wiley, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, promptly announced that the order to the Seventh Fleet was designed to "open the way to Nationalist bombing of the 2,000-mile railroad running from Manchuria to the frontier of French Indo-China." General Wedemeyer expressed the hope that the "new Formosa policy" would lead to economic and naval blockade of the mainland and eventual invasion. Senator Knowland urged the United States—alone, if necessary—to impose a blockade of Red China. Senator Taft remarked that if Chiang's troops did effectively invade China, "why, we'll undoubtedly help." Within a week Senator Bridges was suggesting the use of atomic weapons in Korea. What had been taken as a campaign pledge to end the Korean stalemate seemed about to be implemented. The Administration immediately took steps to put out the fire.

In Paris, Secretary of State Dulles, according to the Associated Press, assured anxious French officials that the United States did not intend to support Chiang in any "reckless action" against the mainland. Later he called talk of a blockade "premature," and soon he was explaining to Congress that many people had been reading into the President's speech things not really in it. All that was happening, he said, was that "increased attention" was being given to training South Korean troops and the fleet was being pulled away from Formosa, thus removing our "defensive responsibilities."

The real cooling-off dose, however, came from General Bradley. In a closed session with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee he is understood to have made it clear that any win-the-war offensive in Korea would require a huge step-up in the American mobilization program and entail very heavy casualties. One Senator said he got from Bradley's testimony the implication that the number of United Nations troops in Korea might have to be doubled; worse yet, the degree of mobilization at home would also have to be doubled. This, of course, would mean higher taxes and the quick reimposition of stiff economic controls, which are now being thrown out the window.

It seems clear, therefore, that the "new, positive foreign policy" implies, in Korea at least, an effort to redeem campaign talk rather than a sudden right-about-face. The Administration is discovering that Truman simply told the truth when he warned that there is no quick, easy solution of the Korean problem.

On the heels of this came the business of secret agreements. In his State of the Union message the President also promised to ask Congress for a forthright resolution making it clear that the United States will repudiate any secret agreements with Russia which brought about the enslavement of peoples. This part of the message drew rousing applause, for it is an article of Republican faith that past administrations—largely through the machinations of Alger Hiss—sold Poles, Chinese, and others down the river at Yalta and other places. But when the Administration requested Congress to frame such a resolution, it bumped into the hard fact that the peoples in the satellite states were enslaved not by infamous secret agreements but by Russia's failure to live up to its pledges. In consequence, the draft suggested by the President was one any good Trumanite could indorse. It simply stated that this country opposes the enslavement of peoples and that the enslavement was the result of the Soviet Union's violations of international agreements.

Senator Wiley immediately declared that this was very disappointing—as well he might, since it draws a bead on the bad faith of Red Russians instead of domestic Democrats. Study would be needed he said, to frame a resolution which would "more clearly and accu-

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BRUCE CATTON is contributing a series of articles on the new Washington Administration.

rately set forth the sentiments of the American people."

In the House, where the mavericks are under fairly good control—except in the matter of income-tax reduction—the Eisenhower resolution is not expected to run into much trouble. Things look different in the Senate, however, and the odd thing here is that if the resolution is to be saved—if, that is, it finally goes through in a form that does violence neither to the truth nor to the prospect of preserving the peace—the Administration will need the help of the Democrats. And as things look now, it will get it. For the resolution actually says nothing that the Democrats have not been saying all along. Once more the Administration is discovering that Truman knew what he was talking about: it is a hard and rocky road to real collective security and a world order in which international agreements are properly observed, so that free peoples can survive.

That simple fact lies behind the current dust-up over foreign policy. The Administration is learning the facts of life. It is learning that the business of paying the check for loose campaign talk is dangerous because there is always a chance that in the confusion the go-it-alone boys may somehow get their own way. Also, the whole business unsettles other nations by which the ways of American politics are imperfectly understood. Basically, what is happening is that a valiant effort is being made to fit a new face on an old policy which has been denounced from heaven to breakfast but will be very hard to change materially.

NO ABC's ON TV

Education Takes a Beating . . *by Saul Carson*

JUST as educational television seemed to be in the bag, a commission controlled by New York's Governor Dewey took a long step toward a blackout. The state's Temporary Commission on the Use of Television for Educational Purposes, after a good deal of obvious political flimflam, suddenly whipped up a report paying lip service to the "desirability" of educational TV but advising the Legislature not to spend a dime for the purpose. As a bitter minority of the commission said in a dissenting note, the cost of putting New York State into the business of building and operating a network of ten TV stations would have amounted to "the equivalent of one-half mile of county road." Behind the commission, and behind Dewey, were forces which have consistently opposed educational TV. Unless counter-measures are punched back, immediately and vigorously, the enemies of educational TV are likely to win in other states as they have won in New York.

The fight started in Washington about three years ago before the Federal Communications Commission. The F. C. C. was debating ways to lift a "freeze" which it had imposed on new construction of television stations. One of the commissioners, Frieda B. Hennock of New York, a Democrat and a Truman appointee, insisted that in the allocation of TV channels educational needs must be taken into account. Miss Hennock asked that 25 per cent of the channels be reserved for non-commercial educational broadcasters when the F. C. C. got around to designing a national pattern of potential TV transmitters. The man who was chairman of the commission at the time, Wayne Coy, backed Miss Hennock; so did the present chairman, then the No. 2 man, Paul A. Walker.

With Miss Hennock's blessing and encouragement, state universities, land-grant colleges, and leading educational "trade" organizations got together, organized a Joint Committee on Educational Television, and started lobbying for the Hennock plan. Last April the F. C. C. finally completed its studies and issued its official list of TV channel allocations. Spectrum space was set aside for 2,000 television stations—only 107 were on the air at the time. Of the 2,000, 242 would be reserved for non-commercial educational broadcasters. But there was a catch in this decision. The reservations would be held open until June, 1953; after that time channels that had not been snapped up by educators would be vacant—which would mean that the broadcasting industry could go after them.

Except for the Joint Committee—which was a lobbying outfit and not prepared to go into the broadcasting business—there were no immediate bids for these educational channels. State participation in educational TV, in one form or another, became therefore an urgent necessity. California, to which eight channels were allocated, found seven left on its hands, one having been picked up by a group of educational institutions aided by private philanthropy. In New York the Board of Regents applied for the eleven reserved channels and got ten of them promptly. The necessity of such action by the state was made clear by the situation in New York City, where Fordham University was the only one of thirteen institutions of higher learning with enough gumption to want the city's sole available license. Fordham bowed out when the state stepped in.

Unfortunately the assignment of the licenses to New York State did not assure the construction of even one transmitter. For that, money was needed—not much, only about $350,000 per station, but it had to be appropriated by the Legislature. In Albany, as in Sacramento and other state capitals, there was stalling.

Governor Dewey then appointed a commission to study the entire matter; so did Governor Warren of California. Hearings and conferences were held. In

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SAUL CARSON has been a radio and TV critic for many years. He is now writing for both mediums.

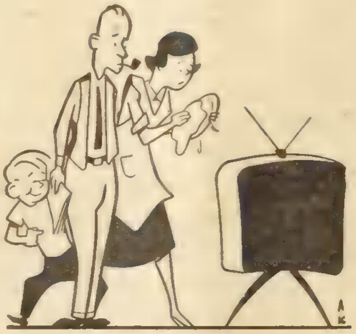
New York 102 persons favoring the state's entry into educational TV appeared before the commission in one day, among them such disparate types as Winthrop Rockefeller and Arthur Schutzer, executive secretary of the American Labor Party; William Jansen, city superintendent of schools, and Rose Russell, the Teachers' Union's legislative representative.

"How much more unanimous can you get?" whispered one of Dewey's commissioners. The California hearings revealed similarly extensive agreement. When legislation is introduced and appropriations are proposed in Sacramento, California politicians may remember that among the proponents of educational TV were Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, a brother of the President, and Marion B. Folsom, treasurer of the Eastman Kodak Company.

AMONG the forces that do not want educational TV to become a fact and that are working quietly and efficiently to defeat it are two that really count. These are the advertisers, nearly all of them, and many of the most powerful radio-TV broadcasters. Having held down and nearly killed education by radio, they are hopeful of doing the same for television. The last thing they want is to see their domain threatened by state-owned or university-operated stations independent of sponsor control. In addition, various organizations of taxpayers, real or trumpery, are against state participation on the ground of economy. They are joined by free-enterprise tub-thumpers who raise the cry of "socialism," ladies who think TV hurts their children's eyesight, and people who oppose state "meddling" in education on grounds made familiar by opponents of the public-education system a hundred years ago.

Advertising and broadcast executives with a feeling for public relations do not say that they oppose educational TV *per se*. They have two arguments: first, commercial broadcasting is able and willing to do the educational job; second, it can do it better than the dreamy educators. Commercial TV, they contend, is already doing an educational job—although, if pressed, they might concede that they "have only just begun." The answer to the first argument is that commercial broadcasting, though able, has not proved itself willing; to the second, that on the basis of past experience the commercial station or network cannot be expected to supplant the educator in the job for which the latter has been trained and hired.

It is true that commercial television is doing a certain amount of educational work. Courses are conducted over the air by the University of Michigan, Northwestern, and Syracuse University, by the Board of Education in New York and in Philadelphia, and by school systems in Chicago and Minneapolis. There are some good programs emanating from museums. The ABC-TV network in cooperation with Columbia University conducts a program called "Seminar" in which graduate students under the guidance of a professor discuss important works by serious authors. We may applaud these programs, but we should remember that the broadcaster is obligated by his license to perform certain functions. The F. C. C.'s acknowledgment of the need for educational TV reminded the industry that the existence of educational stations will not absolve the commercial stations of their duty to continue serving "the public interest, convenience, and necessity."



Most of the so-called educational programs on commercial stations are anything but educational in the real sense. They may supply information—as did the broadcasts of the political conventions. They may have cultural overtones, sometimes even cultural value—one thinks of CBS-TV's "What in the World?" which originated at the University Museum in Philadelphia, and of NBC-TV's monthly operas. But very little education is on the air now, and not much can ever be expected from the commercial side of the broadcasting industry. Certainly there is less risk in trusting the educational job via television to the educator than to the broadcaster—and the advertiser who subsidizes him—who made a failure of the job in radio. For twenty-five years, until TV became a force, radio temporized, insisting that it was able and ready to do educational work—but never getting around to it.

THE Dewey commission in New York could have been told something about that shameful failure by one of its members, Dr. Paul A. Lazarsfeld. In 1947, when radio was at the height of its power and profits, the National Association of Broadcasters conducted a national survey among radio listeners to learn their opinion of broadcasting. Lazarsfeld and Patricia A. Kendall analyzed and interpreted the data gathered and published the results in 1948 in a book called "Radio Listening in America." There we find the following interesting comment: "At the time when radio was first developing as a mass medium there was great hope that it would usher in an era of adult education. . . . But this hope was never realized. . . . It seemed that radio education was not here to stay."

This conclusion was drawn seven years after the formal dissolution of an organization of outstanding citizens and educators who in 1930 had organized the National Committee on Education by Radio because they "feared that education [by radio] would be dominated and tainted by the profit incentive" if left entirely in the hands of commercial broadcasters. In its eleven years of existence the National Committee on Education by Radio had seen commercial broadcasting chop down one educational station after another and had acquiesced because it believed the arguments of the radio men, the same arguments that their TV successors are advancing now. In 1941 the National Committee, according to its final report, had thought its "objective attained." The verdict of Lazarsfeld and Kendall shows that afterward someone managed to put the kibosh on their hopes.

The organizations backing educational TV will not be hoodwinked a second time by the commercial broadcasters. They are in the fight—and in the broadcast business—to stay. If they are licked, it will be the fault of the civic spokesmen, educators, women's-club leaders, and trade-union officials who flocked to the hearings in New York and California, indorsed educational TV, but failed to carry through by watching the legislators in the back rooms of the state capitols.

There is danger that Dewey's shenanigans with educational TV, responding to the pressure from commercial broadcasters and advertisers, may set a pattern for the rest of the country. They can be countered, however, not only in New York but in other states. The F. C. C. can help by extending the June, 1953, deadline—even Dewey's commission expressed that pious hope. More important is identification of educational TV's real, behind-the-scenes opponent. The educators should unveil their hidden enemy, then apply counter-force to the fullest. They have lost one round, but they need not lose the fight.

LIE'S U. N. PURGE

A Belgian Senator's View . . *by Henri Rolin*

[*The controversial United Nations personnel policy which has led to the "loyalty" purge of American employees is on the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly. The following article is by a member and former president of the Belgian Senate who has many times represented his country at the United Nations. M. Rolin is also a professor of international law at Brussels University. The article is an abridged version of an address made recently before the Belgian Senate.*]

WE ARE all attached to the idea of world-wide international cooperation. The United Nations has brought disappointment, but it remains a hope and a necessary effort. It is the only place where we can hope to have some day, if not reconciliation, at least conciliation. While in the present political crisis the attainment of this goal seems far distant, the possibility must be kept open and the instrument maintained; and when I speak of the instrument, I am thinking above all of the U. N.'s internal mechanism, the Secretariat.

The draft of the Charter drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks and submitted by the great powers to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco contained nothing about the status of the Secretariat and no guaranties for its independence. It was on the insistence of the smaller powers and especially of the Belgian delegation and several British dominions that the provisions which now appear in the Charter were introduced.

In 1945 I was the representative of Belgium on the First Commission of the conference. I have therefore some right to be concerned today about how the provisions we drew up are being applied. Those relating to the question before us are Articles 100 and 105. Since 1952 the Staff Regulations adopted at the sixth session of the Assembly have also been in force.

The basic principles of the provisions and regulations are not contested. The independence of the Secretary General and of his staff is recognized as total. Member states have a correlative obligation to respect their independence. The inviolability of the building and the archives is unquestioned. The Secretary General is completely immune from United States jurisdiction, and as to the staff, that immunity extends at least to their official acts. The Secretary General's right to renounce that immunity is recognized, as is the international character of the staff, who, in the words of the Staff Regulations, are not to be inspired in their actions by any other interest than that of the United Nations. Finally, it is laid down that they cannot be asked to renounce their political or religious beliefs.

Since the Korean war the Americans have been especially concerned, and it is certainly their right to be concerned, with tracking down foreign agents in their country. The United States Senate has set up a Judiciary Subcommittee which is engaged in extensive inquiries into the loyalty of officials, great and small, and into their attitude toward the Communist Party or groups connected with it. On the opening day of the last session of the Assembly this subcommittee had the singular idea of summoning before it twenty American citizens on the Secretariat staff without first officially informing the Secretary General. Several of the persons summoned believed it was their right as American citizens and Secretariat officials to refuse to answer the questions put to them.

Now, the Constitution of the United States contains a provision, the Fifth Amendment, which declares that in a criminal case no one can be compelled to bear witness against himself. This right to silence is a corollary of the principle that an accused person is presumed to be innocent until he is proved guilty. Any person who believes that his answer to a question could place him in jeopardy has the right to refuse to reply.

The Fifth Amendment was invoked by some of the staff members on October 13. On the fifteenth the chairman of the Senate investigating committee made a vigorous protest. The Secretary General, who at about the same time had reminded his staff that it was their duty not to reply to questions concerning their official functions, was embarrassed and decided to consult a panel of jurists. It soon appeared that he had gone rather far in the direction of concessions, for on October 29 the New York *Times* disclosed that he had made a secret agreement with the State Department to rid the Secretariat of Americans who were or had been Communists.

Disquiet mounted in the staff. Not only Americans but their foreign colleagues felt the growth of a threat to the freedom of opinion which had been guaranteed them. They were, to be sure,

Extracts from Relevant Documents

UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

Article 100: (1) In the performance of their duties the Secretary General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the United Nations. (2) Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

Article 105: (1) The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfilment of its purpose. (2) Representatives of the Members of the United Nations and officials of the Organization shall similarly enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions. . . .

STAFF REGULATIONS

Regulation 10:2: The Secretary General may impose disciplinary measures on staff members whose conduct is unsatisfactory. He may summarily dismiss a member of the staff for serious misconduct.

forbidden to engage in political agitation but not to maintain intact opinions which previously they had been able to express legally.

SEVERAL weeks later, on November 29, the three jurists consulted by the Secretary General submitted a report which became the point of departure for a number of wholly regrettable decisions. On receipt of the report, the Secretary General decided to conform to it and notified the various American officials concerned that he would terminate the appointments of those who in the future refused to reply to questions put to them by the committee of inquiry. On December 5 he carried out the threat and dismissed all who had not given the required assurances. It was only then that he felt obliged to communicate the report to the delegations.

At a meeting of the Fifth Committee of the Assembly on December 16 many delegates, including those of the Netherlands and Belgium, voiced their dissatisfaction. Some went farther and stated clearly that they had serious doubts about the validity of the conclusions reached by the three jurists. At that meeting the Secretary General appeared to be planning a retreat, for he declared that if any measures he had taken were contrary to the Charter or to the Staff Regulations the Administrative Tribunal could annul them.

Unhappily, this did not end the matter. One of the last orders of President Truman's Administration, issued in January, 1953, lays down the procedure to be followed in communicating to the Secretary General information concerning American citizens employed in the Secretariat. I have no objections to the principle of the order. Every government has the right to communicate all the information in its possesion to the Secretary General. What disturbs me is that in the preamble the President of the United States took account on the one hand of the conclusions of the jurists and on the other of the Secretary General's expressed intention to make use of those conclusions in carrying out his responsibilities for the recruitment and dismissal of United Nations personnel. It seems to me that this intention cannot be upheld.

The three jurists consulted by Mr. Lie were an American, an Englishman, and a Belgian. The American is a member of the New York Bar who held high positions under Presidents Coolidge and Hoover. The Englishman was formerly in charge of censorship in the Ministry of Information. The Belgian is an eminent lawyer and a professor at the University of Louvain, where he taught private law.

None of these three jurists has ever belonged to any international organization whatever, or even had to do with the foreign affairs of his country. None of them has ever exercised the functions of judge or arbitrator between states or been a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration; and I may add that none of the three has ever taught international law or written a line about it. None of them belongs to the Permanent Court or the Institute of International Law, or even to the International Law Association, which has dozens of members in Belgium and hundreds in Anglo-Saxon countries.

Now, when I think of the many internationalists in the United States and England whose opinion would have been received with respect and consideration, when I think that the Secretary General two or three years ago drew up a list of all the persons qualified to be designated by the Security Council for international missions and included not one of the men to whom he appealed this time, I confess that I cannot understand what dictated Mr. Lie's choice or rather the choice of the governments to which he turned. In any case, I stress that the signatures to the report ought not to impress the Assembly.

According to the report, officials are responsible to the international organization, but the organization, not possessing sovereignty, cannot claim their allegiance. There is no question of an official's loyalty to the United Nations since the loyalty relation exists only between an official and his country of origin. In my opinion this dictum loses sight completely of the first article of the Staff Regulations, which in formal terms directs officials to exercise their duties with the interest of the United Nations alone in mind.

The jurists forget an opinion on responsibility and protection delivered by the International Court of Justice in 1949 apropos of the assassination of Count Bernadotte in Israel. On that occasion the Secretariat believed the U. N. should exercise its right to protect its officers and not allow Sweden to act alone. The International Court of Justice gave full approval to this attitude.

I COME now to the essential part of the jurists' report, the opinion expressed on the three principal questions put to them: (1) What should be the attitude of the Secretary General toward U. N. officials condemned by the country of nationality or of residence for an act involving a lack of loyalty? (2) What should be his attitude when officials, invoking the constitutional guaranty, refuse to answer the questions of the American authority? (3) What should be his attitude when there is reason to believe an official is engaging, has engaged, or is likely to engage in activities implying a subversive purpose?

I agree with the jurists on one point. If it is established by the courts that a U. N. official has engaged in political activity against the institutions of any country, his own or another, the fact must be considered *res adjudicata.* The official has therefore been guilty of grave misconduct and must be dismissed. But the legal experts proceed on the assumption that in criminal matters the judgment must be respected by the whole world. They seem to have forgotten that this authority of *res adjudicata* extends no farther than the sovereignty of the state, especially in criminal matters. If, for example, I am condemned in France for any crime whatever, the verdict has not the authority of *res adjudicata* in Belgium and is not susceptible of execution there. If we accept the opinion of the three jurists, it would be enough to stage a Slansky trial and to implicate international officials. We would then be obliged, since the affair was *res adjudicata,* to abide by the decision of the tribunal and reap the consequences—namely, permit the dismissal of the condemned officials.

With regard to the second question, the three jurists declared categorically that the Secretary General must dismiss anyone who refused to say whether he was engaged or had been engaged in espionage or other subversive activities in the United States or whether he had ever been a member of the Communist Party or any other organization declared to be subversive. Not overlooking the Fifth Amendment to the American Constitution, they admitted that the persons questioned had a legal right to refuse to reply but held that this right did not bar the infliction of disciplinary sanctions. This interpretation makes a farce of the Fifth Amendment.

Refusal to reply may be inspired by a host of considerations. Many of us if interrogated concerning our opinions on this or that matter by a judicial authority would reply, "That's none of your business." I remember that during the war some of us were invited to fill out declarations as to whether we had Aryan or Semitic grandparents. If we refused to reply, was that an acknowledgment that our grandparents were not Aryan?

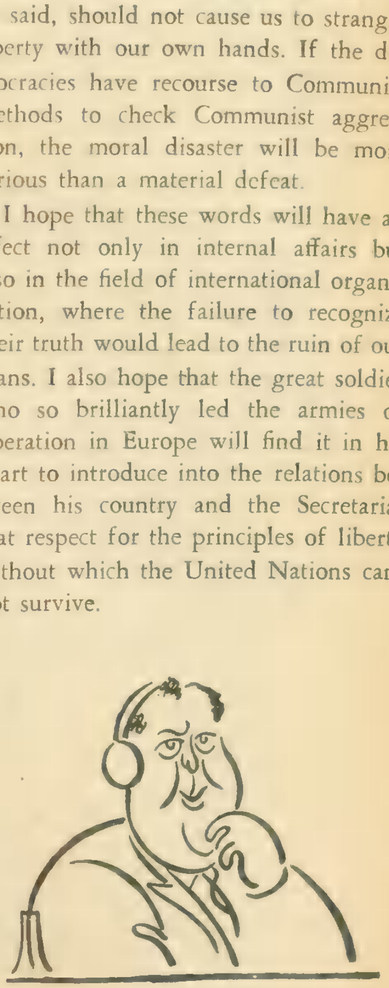
The question put to the jurists is connected with a controversy which has been going on for more than a year in the United States between liberal minds who wish to protect civil rights and the witch hunters. The judicial authorities were at first hesitant, but for some time they have been coming out in an impressive way against the demands of the witch hunters. In April, 1951, the United States Supreme Court heard an appeal by three organizations named as subversive on the Attorney General's list. They had applied in vain to a lower court to obtain their removal from that list. The Supreme Court reversed the decision which had refused to receive the complaint. More recently, on December 15, 1952, the Supreme Court by eight votes to none held unconstitutional an Oklahoma law which required government employees to take an oath that they did not belong to any organization alleged to be subversive. But if the Secretary General follows the opinion of the three jurists, the protection of the courts will not be available to the officials of the U. N., who will find themselves without any effective recourse against dismissal.

ON THE third point the reply of the jurists was at once the most ominous and the most unintelligible. Asked what action the Secretary General should take if he had reason to believe that an official was engaging or had engaged in subversive activities, the three jurists replied that dismissal was required in the second case as well as in the first, and that dismissal should also take place if there were sufficient grounds to believe that an official was likely to engage in subversive activities, that is, if he was what they called "potentially disloyal." This notion that potential disloyalty is ground for dismissal is in contradiction to the Staff Regulations, Article 10 of which says very clearly that the Secretary General can dismiss officials summarily in case of grave misconduct. Potential disloyalty can hardly be equated with grave misconduct, especially if all that is shown is that there are "serious reasons for believing" in that potential disloyalty.

It is not surprising therefore that some of the most authoritative organs of the American and English press have expressed surprise at the conclusions of the jurists. The New York *Times* said on December 2 that it did not see how the Secretary General could be asked to dismiss an employee solely because the latter had refused to say whether he had at some time in the past been a member of a certain party. The London *Times* of the same date declared that it was proper to raise the question whether the advantage of having the headquarters of the United Nations in the United States was not gained at too high a price if the great principles on which the organization had been erected must be sacrificed.

Some weeks ago the outgoing President of the United States, Mr. Truman, opening an exhibition of the American Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights, declared that the idea of liberty was being threatened not only by communism but also by those who wanted government to exercise influence over the minds of citizens. The external threat to liberty, he said, should not cause us to strangle liberty with our own hands. If the democracies have recourse to Communist methods to check Communist aggression, the moral disaster will be more serious than a material defeat.

I hope that these words will have an effect not only in internal affairs but also in the field of international organization, where the failure to recognize their truth would lead to the ruin of our plans. I also hope that the great soldier who so brilliantly led the armies of liberation in Europe will find it in his heart to introduce into the relations between his country and the Secretariat that respect for the principles of liberty without which the United Nations cannot survive.



Trygve Lie

BOOKS

Too Big *by T. K. Quinn*

BIG BUSINESS: A NEW ERA. By David Lilienthal. Harper and Brothers. $2.75.

WHEN this book was serialized in *Collier's* a few months ago, in somewhat different form, liberals and progressives were surprised and disappointed to find that David Lilienthal had gone overboard for Bigness. It might have reminded them how close the extreme forms of our collectivized capitalism are to totalitarianism, though Mr. Lilienthal himself appears to believe that one can be as individualistic, free, and creative in any huge organization—the army, the government, or a sub-sub-division of General Motors—as in a personally owned enterprise. To his own satisfaction and perhaps to that of many a favorably disposed reader, Mr. Lilienthal has accomplished in 209 pages the impossible task of reconciling individualism and economic collectivism.

To make his case, he denies, as he must, our great liberal political leaders—Jefferson, Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson, both Roosevelts, John Sherman, Charles Evans Hughes, and Justice Brandeis. He rationalizes concentrated economic power and passes lightly over the danger of trusting the welfare of the nation to a select few. He nobly proposes that "these matters, controversial as they are, need to be discussed in the open air of reason." Of course no series of articles expressing an opposing view would be likely to appear in *Collier's* or any other popular magazine, since all depend for their very existence on big-business advertising. This is precisely the sinister point—that concentrated economic power has already assumed such gigantic proportions that 80 per cent of our newspapers and all our mass-circulation magazines are under its influence or control.

I suspect Mr. Lilienthal knows that we cannot welcome monster-big, collectivistic business without also welcoming a socialistic solution of our political problems. Karl Marx understood this, and William Ropke makes it abundantly clear in "The Social Crisis of Our Times." Our experience confirms it. As private corporations have swelled into giant industries, we have been driven to ask government for protection against their depredations. Government subsidizes food growing and farming, as well as industry through tariffs. Government subsidizes air and steamship lines. It guarantees bank deposits and 80 per cent of the mortgages on G. I. homes. It provides the funds for slum clearance and billions for defense plants. We have direct government ownership, federal and local, of much of our water and power supply. We have the R. E. A., the T. V. A., and the R. F. C. We have socialized education and public hospitals and clinics. The government has been forced to exercise a high degree of control over commerce, the issuance of securities, banking and public utilities. Government intervenes through income taxes in the distribution of income. We have social security and economic controls.

Mr. Lilienthal welcomes all these measures and argues that they have made Bigness safe, appearing to look upon the process as finished. He decries "negative" criticism and proposes a new affirmative state of mind and attitude toward Bigness. Apparently it does not occur to him that without negative criticism these very measures would never have been adopted.

Big—he does not say Biggest—Business has created, he declares, many thousands of opportunities for small business. Look at the gas stations and hot-dog stands along the highway made possible by the automobile. (It is not at all clear why these small businesses would not have come into being even if General Motors did not own Chevrolet, Pontiac, Buick, Oldsmobile, and so on.) Nowhere did I find any real attempt by Mr. Lilienthal to justify the huge conglomerate corporations. Why should General Motors be in the washing-machine business? Surely not to make its production of automobiles more efficient. Why should General Electric be producing steel, or Chrysler, air-conditioning apparatus? The book does not discuss the effective control exercised by the giant corporations over their tens of thousands of suppliers, dealers, and distributors.

Mr. Lilienthal's objectives are admirable: a changing enterprising society, increasingly productive, efficient, and diverse, big and small business, new products, new competitors, new opportunities for individual development; a stabilized, rational economy; an ethical society responsive to the public will. But can the suffocating bureaucracy of monster-big corporations bring these results any more than Too Big Government? As for the development of the individual, is he not lost in giant private collectivistic organizations? Is he not actually worse than lost? Discussing this subject recently, Chester I. Barnard, retired head of the Rockefeller Foundation, said:

> There has been a greater and greater acceleration of centralization in this country, not merely in government, and not merely in the organization of great corporations but also on the part of labor unions and other organizations. There has been a social disintegration going along with this material development, and this formulation of organized activities implies payment of a price, the amount of which we are not yet able to assess.

I find in this statement more wisdom and a truer judgment than in "Big Business: A New Era."

C. Wright Mills in "White Collar" also presents a true picture.

> The decline of the free entrepreneur and the rise of the dependent employee on the American scene has paralleled the decline of the independent individual. . . . The white-collar man is the hero as victim, the small creature who is acted upon but does not act, who works along in somebody's office or store, never talking

---

T. K. QUINN was formerly vice-president of the General Electric Company, chairman of the board of the General Electric Finance Company, director general of the War Production Drive, and is now president of the Monitor Equipment Corporation. He is the author of "Liberty, Employment, No More Wars," "Labor and Management Manual," "I Quit Monster Business," "Sons of Riches," and of a forthcoming book, "Giant Business: Threat to Democracy."

> loud, never talking back, never taking a stand.
>
> What must be grasped is the picture of society as a great salesroom, an enormous file, an incorporated brain, a new universe of management and manipulation. . . . Here are the new Machiavellians, practicing their personal crafts for hire and for the profits of others, according to rules laid down by those above them.

"Freedom of choice in economic matters means freedom to choose between competing ideas or services or goods," says Lilienthal. "It means the maximum of freedom to choose one job or profession or one line of business against another." But has not this alleged freedom become in actual fact and practice too like the victimization of the white-collar man whom Mr. Wright describes? And to what else must we charge this repression if not to imposing Bigness and our collectivized and centralized economic organizations?

Research by Big Business is presented as the great hope of the future. Space does not permit arguing the case here. One illustration will make my point. Because Mr. Lilienthal knows the electric-appliance industry, as I do, I remind him that not one single distinctively new electric home appliance has ever been created by one of the giant concerns—not the first washing machine, electric range, dryer, iron or ironer, electric lamp, refrigerator, radio, toaster, fan, heating pad, razor, lawn mower, freezer, air conditioner, vacuum cleaner, dishwasher, or grill. All were the original inventions of smaller concerns. The record of the giants is one of moving in, buying out, and absorbing after the fact.

Dr. Clarence Cook Little of the Jackson Memorial Laboratory, former president of the universities of Michigan and Maine, expressed wise preference for the small as distinguished from the big laboratories:

> Scientific research is an intensely personal effort . . . like the artist, the creative scientist must be permitted to pursue his own ideas unhampered by restrictions of organized groups.
>
> The large groups have made extremely important contributions only when an original discovery, made by a single individual, is already available for further technical development.

Mr. Lilienthal has spent his life in huge public organizations. I wish he had started somewhere near the bottom of one of them so that he might have a mental picture of what they are like viewed from the bottom up.

The implication throughout his book that the benefits of mass production and the machine can be made available only by Big Business is misleading. If by Big Business he means a ten-, twenty-, thirty-, forty-, or even a fifty-million-dollar company—large enough, depending on the product, to achieve efficient costs—then he has a good case. But the facts do not begin to justify our billion-dollar corporations, of which we now have fifty-eight. They are the ones, along with another fifty to a hundred runners-up, which are changing the whole organization of our society and jeopardizing our freedoms. It is not too facetious to suggest that a person who is completely enamored of Bigness might well propose one grand giant business organization—the United States Combined All Industry Corporation of America—and that would be something like what Russia has now.

New Books in Brief

Story of Fanny Brice

THE FABULOUS FANNY. The Story of Fanny Brice. By Norman Katkov. Knopf. $3.95. The "fabulous" of this title is a very tired adjective, but Fanny Brice really was more than a good low comedian. With an almost terrifying persistence she saw everything in human life, from the female body to the grandest passions, in terms of the grotesque, and given a ten-minute skit she could reduce a socially significant dancer or a working girl trying to preserve her virtue to embarrassing absurdity. The present so-called biography is hardly more than a long "feature story" based largely on interviews with people who knew her, but it does add up to a believable portrait.

Married first to a barber "because he smelled so good," second to Nicky Arnstein "because he looked so good," and finally to Billy Rose "because he talked so good," Fanny had the broad streak of unassimilated sentimentality which so often goes with exuberant tough-mindedness, and she lived the Damon Runyon myth of Broadway—from rags to riches, or burlesque to the Ziegfeld Follies—in one leap and, if you believe the legend, with a broken heart in the end because her racketeer husband let her down. A Wanamaker brought the Prince of Wales to call, and Waxy Gordon once surrendered five thousand dollars because he was afraid Fanny would call him a welsher. She bought modern paintings, decorated her friends' homes for them, patronized the most expensive dressmakers, and knew as many of the international élite as she did of "the mob." "Fanny, you speak French, don't you?" "No, I don't, George. I believe in talking one language good."

Red Lewis Self-revealed

THE MAN FROM MAIN STREET. A SINCLAIR LEWIS READER. Edited by Harry E. Maule and Melville H. Cane. Assisted by Philip Allan Friedman. Random House. $3.75. From the year, 1904, of his first contributions to the *Yale Literary Magazine* to the last year of his life, 1950-51, Sinclair Lewis was pouring out miscellaneous comment on life, books, and notions; his editors calculate that he wrote some million "non-fictional" words, and have here collected fifty or sixty pieces, coming up through time to his seething indignation over the textile strike at Marion, North Carolina, in 1929, his speech at Stockholm in 1930, and the strident blasts he sounded in the 1940's.

Lewis was not a critic in any formal or even respectable sense; he was incapable of behaving like one. He could not write about Thoreau without putting in the center of his comment Doc Lewis's skinny son dreaming over "Walden" "between the wheatfields and the sultry brook." When not speaking through his characters, this man could speak only through or about himself. For anyone interested in the personality of Lewis, and in the problem of the American artist, there is here self-revelation in abundance.

By rescuing and collecting these pieces the editors have done a service for letters and for social history. One can only regret, therefore, that they saw fit to group them helter-skelter under a series of fancy and meaningless rubrics and so to destroy all logical or chronological coherence. Taken in order, they give a strangely deepening impression of the effect of events and ideas upon an intransigent, fertile, perverse, and always —though sometimes only by intention —generous spirit.

Pragmatic Economics

ECONOMIC STABILITY IN A CHANGING WORLD. By John H. Williams. Oxford. $5. Although Professor Williams of Harvard is usually accounted a conservative economist, the "confessions" that introduce this volume reveal him rather as a skeptic who is no less dubious about the doctrines of the neo-classicists than about those of the post-Keynesians. As one who is frequently called from the lecture room to advise governments and bankers, he believes that "economic theory is pointless unless it is aimed at what to do." But, he complains, many of the great theorists from Ricardo to Keynes, while searching for a basis for policy, merely achieved "rationalization after the event." Thus systems intended to have permanent validity again and again prove a reflection of relatively short-run conditions.

Such questionings do not imply that Professor Williams regards all theorizing as waste motion. Nevertheless, he is so keenly aware of the danger of pursuing the internal consistency of a theory to "a point where contact with reality is lost" that on most occasions he restricts himself to a severely pragmatic approach. This is illustrated by the six papers on the Marshall Plan included in the present volume, as well as by a 1945 essay, Free Enterprise and Full Employment, which, while dated in some respects, has fully enough relevance to current problems to justify republication.

The
SOVIET IMPACT
on SOCIETY

by Dagobert D. Runes

Preface by Harry Elmer Barnes

In what manner has Kremlin-controlled Sovietism raised or lowered human standards? Is man in Soviet society master of his own fate? May he follow unhampered his self-chosen vocation and avocation? Can he express his ideas and feelings as he wishes? Can he join his neighbors in groups, unions and confederations? Are his social or cultural activities dictated by political potentates?

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Lively Miniatures

THE SINGULAR PREFERENCE. By Peter Quennell. Viking. $3.75. Twenty-eight short pieces—mostly portraits of writers—contributed over two decades to the *Times Literary Suplement,* the *New Statesman and Nation,* and other British publications. Mr. Quennell suggests Lytton Strachey by his fondness for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century figures both French and English, as well as by a method which emphasizes the picturesque and eccentric aspects of his subjects. There is, however, less obvious straining after effect, and the result is a collection of brightly colored miniatures which are lively without being at all overdone. The sitters range from Defoe down to H. G. Wells; among them are people as varied as Lord Hervey, Mrs. Thrale, Coventry Patmore, George Borrow, and Swinburne. This is biography —with a little criticism thrown in—at its most diverting, and to those who object that it is cultivated rather than erudite or intelligent rather than intellectual the reply might be that it is also what one of Mr. Quennell's two favorite centuries would have called "rational entertainment." One sentence will illustrate what he learned from Strachey: "Of all the variously horrid forms in which sentence of annihilation has been passed on famous writers, none seems more unjust than that reserved for Matthew Arnold, who, during the spring of 1888, fell dead in a Liverpool street while running for a tramcar."

Sense of Life

THE WAITERS. By William Fisher. World Publishing Company. $3.75. A sometimes awkward first novel by a Negro author who has real power and a mature sense of life. The hero, a waiter, becomes Mr. Big in a City Island restaurant. His motives are convincing, his methods (stooging for the owner, running a numbers game) are natural for him; his rewards are a big Cadillac, and violent death. Mr. Fisher has described the texture of ordinary Negro life very well indeed. The love relationship in the novel is excellent realism in which the woman knows she has been out of her mind "tryin' to make something outa nothing."

Theater

Harold Clurman

ALTHOUGH Bernard Shaw's "Misalliance" (Barrymore Theater) deals with the same middle-class England which he later characterized as Heartbreak House, the earlier play—"Misalliance" was written in 1909-10 —might be called the Good Old Days. The young girl chafing at the inane leisure furnished by her papa's prosperity, turning from her hysterical aristocrat of a fiancé to a handsome brute of an adventurer and asking her father to buy him might be considered something to grow melancholy over. But the facts of "Misalliance" are viewed with confidence, humor, and zest. For in 1910 the English middle class was rich, assured, untroubled about the future, and when Shaw complained that it was burying its head in silly illusions while it talked, talked, talked, he was clearly glad to join in the chorus as a brilliantly knowing interlocutor, because there were still ease, freedom, and good fortune to be enjoyed.

The Shavian optimism of 1910 has a

tonic effect on us today. It is not only great fun to see "Misalliance" because it bubbles with blarney and mental vigor, does all sorts of verbal nip-ups that bespeak health and high spirits, and practically somersaults with vaudeville tricks that are part of the eternal theater, but it is also a comfort to our aching souls because Shaw's world is no longer ours, and we are happy to be reminded that it once existed.

It is not true that the play has no action: every scene is based on a fundamentally entertaining, physically projected situation as old as the hills and therefore satisfying. Neither is it true that the play is not about anything—its theme, I repeat, is that of "Heartbreak House" conceived in a gay key—but what carries it along so buoyantly for us is our sense of release in the delightful moral and social landscape reflected in it. This is happily caught in the City Center production with its "crazy" *art nouveau* setting by John Boyt and the very pleasant cast—Barry Jones is best —which conveys the fun of the play while cutting an hour from its text.

THE young girl in William Inge's new play, "Picnic" (Music Box Theater), like Shaw's "ingenue," is waiting for something to happen. But the environment of the American play—specifically Kansas—is a place where nothing can happen to anybody. The women are all frustrated by fearful, jerky men; the men are ignorant, without objective, ideals, or direction—except for their spasmodic sexual impulses. There is no broad horizon for anyone, and a suppressed yammer of desire emanates from every stick and stone of this dry cosmos, in which the futile people burn to cinders.

If you read my description and then see the play you will be either vastly relieved or shockingly disappointed. For though what I have said may still be implicit in the words, it is hardly present on the stage. I happen to have read the playscript before it was put into rehearsal, and I saw in it a laconic delineation of a milieu seen with humor and an intelligent sympathy that was not far from compassion. What is on the stage now is a rather coarse boy-and-girl story with a leeringly sentimental emphasis on naked limbs and "well-stacked" females. It is as if a good Sherwood Anderson novel were skilfully converted into a prurient popular magazine story on its way to screen adaptation.

In this vein the play is extremely well done. It is certainly effective. Joshua Logan, who is a crackerjack craftsman, has done a meticulous, shrewd, thoroughly knowledgeable job of staging. He has made sharply explicit everything which the audience already understands and is sure to enjoy in the "sexy" plot, and has fobbed off everything less obvious to which the audience ought to be made sensitive.

All pain has been removed from the proceedings. The boy in the script who was a rather pathetic, confused, morbidly explosive and bitter character is now a big goof of a he-man whom the audience can laugh at or lust after. The adolescent sister who was a kind of embryo artist waiting to be born has become a comic grotesque who talks as if she suffered from a hare-lip; the drained and repressed mother is presented as a sweet hen almost indistinguishable from her chicks; the tense school teacher bursting with unused vitality is foreshortened as a character and serves chiefly as a utility figure to push the plot. Even the setting, which—for the purposes of the theme—might have suggested the dreary sunniness of the Midwestern flatlands, has been given a romantically golden glow and made almost tropically inviting.

Having seen the play with this bifocal vision—script and production—I cannot be sure exactly what the audience gets from the combination. Lyric realism in the sound 1920 tradition of the prairie novelists is being offered here as the best Broadway corn. In the attempt to make the author's particular kind of sensibility thoroughly acceptable, the play has been vulgarized.

The cast is good—Kim Stanley is particularly talented, though I disliked the characterization imposed on her—and it follows the director with devoted fidelity. There is a new leading lady, Janice Rule, who besides having a lovely voice is unquestionably the most beautiful young woman on our stage today.

Here at any rate is a solid success. But I am not sure whether the author should get down on his knees to thank the director for having made it one or punch him in the nose for having altered the play's values. It is a question of taste.

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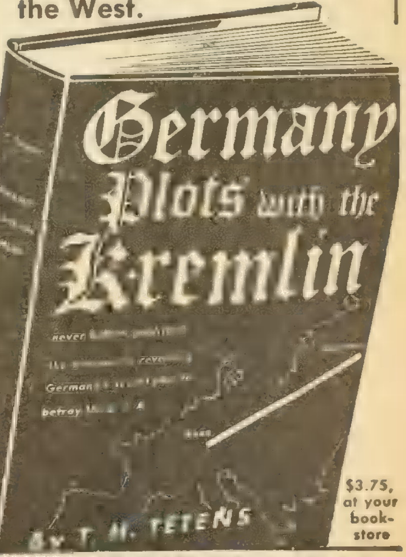

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Records

B. H. Haggin

THE superb pre-war Glyndebourne Festival performance of Mozart's "Così Fan Tutte" has been reissued—dubbed from the old 78s onto three LPs of RCA Victor's Treasury of Immortal Performances. Souez's voice is altered and less agreeable than on the 78s; moreover if I step up the treble to brighten the orchestra her voice has a slight distortion that is eliminated by my moving the treble back that step; and there are times when the greater distortion of the voices from deteriorated masters requires further reduction of treble. But these defects of the dubbed sound—and the fact that two of the breaks occur in the middle of the great arias *Come scoglio* and *Per pietà*—would, for me, be outweighed by the quality of the performance. The Italian text and an English translation—not always accurately correlated with the record sides—are provided.

On two records we get a dubbing of the 1933 recording of passages from Strauss's "Der Rosenkavalier" which documents — though imperfectly — the historic performances in Europe with Lehmann, Olszewska, Schumann, and Mayr. Imperfectly, because what I said about the dubbed sound of "Così" is true of the sound of "Der Rosenkavalier," with two of the passages most cherished by lovers of this opera—the Marschallin's monologue in the first act and the trio in the third act—badly distorted. Luckily the one passage that I cherish—the Presentation of the Rose duet—comes off the record bright and clear. I am aware that many people value the opera more highly than I do; but in this column I speak for myself, not for them; and what I hear is occasional sugary tunes that are expressively inadequate for the ideas of their texts, and long musically arid stretches of mere notes to carry the words. These stretches will be very boring indeed to someone who won't even be able to follow the words—i.e. someone listening to these records with only a summary of the action, and particularly the summary provided by Victor, which is inadequate, misleading, and inaccurately correlated with the record sides. Why the words should be provided for "Così" but not for "Der Rosenkavalier" is something that takes a record-company mind to figure out.

A record called "A Tribute to Lotte Lehmann" offers dubbings of some of the recordings of songs that she made for Victor from about 1934 to about 1940. They reproduce faithfully the beauty of her voice—except for the constricted, shrill high notes—at that time; and they give us some superb performances of fine songs, but not some of her best performances of some of the finest songs—e.g. Wolf's "Anakreon's Grab" and "Heimweh," Schubert's "Im Dorfe" and "Das Wirtshaus"—which would have been better choices than Schubert's "Der Lindenbaum" and the songs by Franz. And the texts of the songs would be more useful than Vincent Sheean's tribute to Lehmann, which contains nothing I can recognize.

A record called "Critic's Choice" has a number of old vocal recordings which Irving Kolodin thinks offer "unforgettable performances," and which do in fact offer the second half of Ivogün's fabulous performance of Zerbinetta's aria from Strauss's "Ariadne" (unbelievable rubbish), Thorborg's superb performance of Wolf's "Kennst du das Land," and beautiful singing by Schipa, Schumann, Maynor, Warren, Tibbett, and others. But Mr. Kolodin's choice from "among a tantalizing variety of Onegin disks" is a monstrosity in which she sings a vocal obbligato with Chopin's Impromptu Opus 29; and his choice for Cebotari is her excessively tremulous singing of *Dove sono* from "Figaro," which he characterizes as "firmly vocalized." Again the texts would be more valuable than the comments.

"Caruso in 'Faust' " offers not only his 1906 *Salut! demeure* but the ensembles that he recorded in 1910 with Farrar, Gilibert, Journet, and Scotti, and Farrar's 1913 Jewel Song—unfortunately without her King of Thule ballad. Her voice is extremely lovely in the 1910 performances, and curiously altered—possibly by the dubbing—in the later one.

As for instrumental performances, we get on one record the Mozart Concerto K.218 that Kreisler recorded in the mid-twenties and the Mendelssohn Concerto that he recorded about ten years later.

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Both exhibit the lyricism that touched every heart with its sweetness and purity—with only an occasional slide or arch inflection to betray the composer of "Caprice Viennois," and only an occasional hint in the Mendelssohn of the technical deterioration that had begun by this time. Surprisingly the London Philharmonic is clearer in the Mozart performance; and when treble is stepped up for more brightness in the Mendelssohn we get the noise of some of the records from which it was dubbed.

On another record are examples of Rachmaninov's excitingly dramatic style of piano, playing in two of the works of his that provided occasions for its exercise. Even the best of these works—which include the Rhapsody on a Theme of Paganini on this record—are trashy; and even with Rachmaninov's playing the early Concerto No. 1 is dull. The Rhapsody, recorded with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Stokowski in 1934, needs stepping up of treble, which makes the end noisy.

Record Notes

Elgar: Introduction and Allegro for Strings, Op. 47 and Serenade for Strings, Op. 20; Collins and New Symphony (London); good performances. (With Vaughan Williams's Fantasia on a theme by Thomas Tallis and Fantasia on "Greensleeves.")

Haydn: Symphonies Nos. 88 and 100; Paul Walter and Weidlich with the Salzburg Mozarteum Orchestra (Remington); abominable performances and recording.

Mahler: Songs of Youth; Felbermayer and Poell with Graef at the piano (Vanguard); beautiful songs in superb performances.

Mendelssohn: Symphony No. 4 ("Italian"); Dorati and Minneapolis Symphony (Mercury); poor performance. (With a poor performance of Mozart's Symphony in G minor.)

Mozart: Country (German) Dances for Orchestra; Litschauer and Vienna State Opera Orchestra (Vanguard), Kloss and the Frankenland State Symphony (Lyrichord); engaging music with wonderfully unexpected details of orchestration; Litschauer much the better in both performance and recording.

Rossini: Overtures: "William Tell," "La Gazza Ladra," "La Scala di Seta," and "Semiramide"; Van Beinum and the Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam (London); good performances.

Schubert: Symphony No. 9; Krips and the Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam (London); a good, unexciting performance, with Toscanini's quick tempo in the slow movement.

Schumann: Symphony No. 2; Schuricht and the Paris Conservatory Concerto Orchestra (London); excellent performance.

Sibelius: Concerto for Violin and Orchestra, Wicks with Ehrling and the Symphony Orchestra of Radio Stockholm (Capitol); soloist forceful to the point of vehemence, orchestra fair.

Strauss: "Josephslegende"; Eichhorn and the Orchestra of the Munich State Opera (Urania); some engaging moments and enough mammoth climaxes for ten ballets; good performance; recording shrill and gritty.

Tchaikovsky: "Romeo and Juliet" and "Hamlet"; Fistoulari and the Philharmonia Orchestra (MGM); fair performance and recording; noisy surfaces.

Symphony No. 5; Dorati and the Minneapolis Symphony (Mercury); poor performance.

Symphony No. 6 ("Pathétique"); Kubelik and the Chicago Symphony (Mercury), Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra (Columbia); Kubelik's performance is much less stolid than Ormandy's, but his orchestra is far inferior.

ROBERT E. GARIS

Gallery Notes

[*Gallery Notes will appear as a guide to current shows, supplementing S. Lane Faison, Jr.'s regular art criticism.*]

YEHOSHUA KOVARSKY, recently arrived Israeli artist, is having his first New York show. Strongly expressionist and using clear colors, he is mainly concerned with Biblical themes.—*Passedoit to March 21.*

HILDE B. KAYN, dancer, pianist, and painter, died in 1950. Her interest in the dance was translated into a series of paintings of folk dances and dance groups.—*Milch to March 28.*

THREE LEADERS of contemporary Italian painting—Afro, Birolli, and Morlotti—all honored by special exhibitions at the Venice Biennale, present distinctive approaches in this small but representative show.—*Viviano to March 14.*

JACK YEATS, brother of the late poet, William Butler Yeats, depicts deserted Irish streets and wind-swept moors in a group of thickly pigmented canvases. *—Saidenberg to March 10.*

FRANCOIS KUPKA, Czech painter now over eighty years of age, was one of the pioneers of geometrical abstraction. Here he is concerned with reproducing motion through dynamic circles and curves.—*Fried to March 14.*

CHALLIS H. DAWSON presents water colors of American landscapes, from Maine to Arizona, painted in a decorative traditional style.—*Wellons to March 14.*

LANDMARKS IN AMERICAN ART is a loan exhibition of more than sixty great American paintings, ranging from an anonymous 1670 canvas to a 1950 abstraction. Many museums and public collections contributed—*Wildenstein to March 28.*

FRENCH DRAWINGS and WATER COLORS is a small but comprehensive show that ranges from sixteenth-century Bellange to present-day Modigliani. These intimate sketches by such French masters as Fragonard, Degas, Chagall, and others capture the French flair for expressive calligraphy.—*Este to March 17.*

IRVIN HAAS

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Letters

A Vote for Morse

Dear Sirs: The Morse Code by Bruce Catton in *The Nation* of February 14 hits the spot. He is all right, and so is Senator Morse. Many thanks to you for your choice of writers with spunk.

New York JAMES B. GUIMES

Ethics and Parity

Dear Sirs: That "sound, long-range programs in a free, democratic society must pass the test of Christian ethical goals as well as the test of realistic economic principles" was the united conviction of forty rural church leaders, economists, sociologists, and farmers at the conclusion of a seminar on Ethical Issues in Farm Price Policy held in Chicago on January 21 under the auspices of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches.

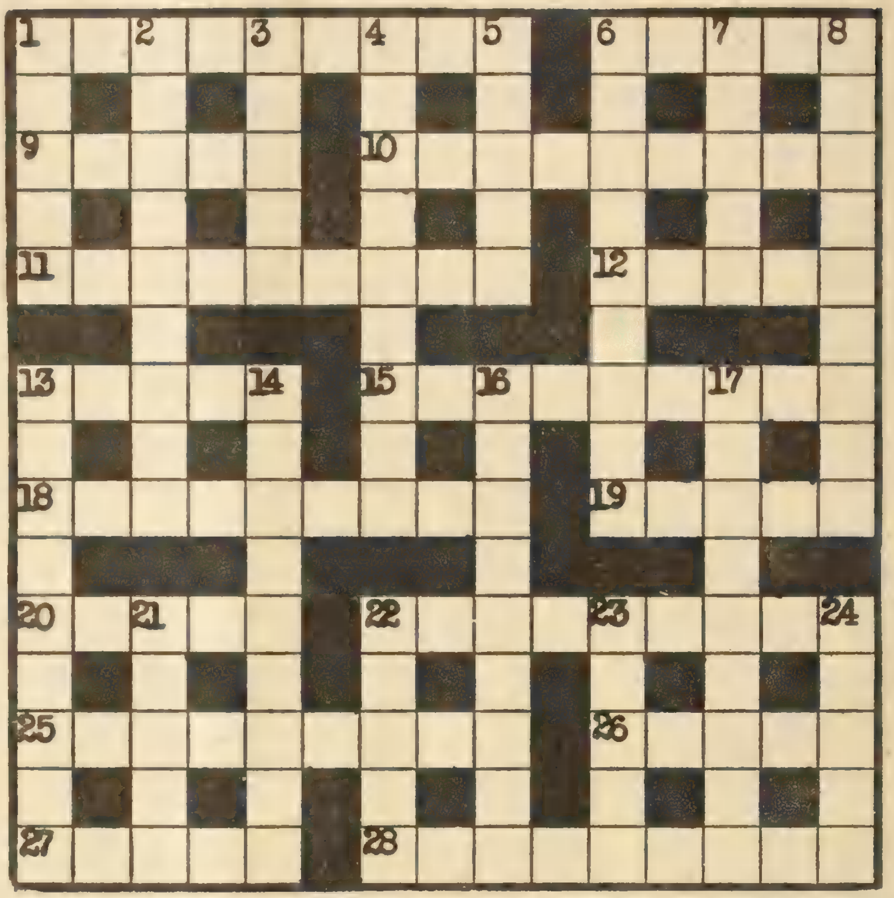
While affirming the necessity of a federal price-support program, the group made clear its views that our present program is less than satisfactory. A particular concern is the failure of price-support programs to solve the problems of low-income farmers, who constitute nearly half our farm population and have little to sell at any price. . . .

Among the major findings of the four working groups which took part in the seminar's afternoon session were these: price-support programs, soundly conceived, will not restrict free enterprise but will stabilize and strengthen it; there is no evidence that price supports have contributed more to faulty allocation of resources than have the wild fluctuations of the former "free market"; the present division between basic and non-basic commodities is indefensible, and livestock and livestock products should be classified as basic; a variety of techniques should be legally available for support of farm prices in order to meet varying situations; price-support benefits should be limited to conform to our American policy of support for the family farm.

A secret opinion poll, taken at the close of the session, gave unanimous support to the continuation of some form of price-support program. Most favored was one designed to "level up the hollows and level down the humps of the farm-income cycle." The production goal most favored was "balanced production of the farm commodities

Crossword Puzzle No. 506

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 20 and 9 This condition shouldn't be conducive to hard thinking! (9, 2, 3, 5)
6 Anna isn't big enough for this, so one pie would be even a smaller portion. (5)
9 See 1 across.
10 Fractured French is a privilege here. (9)
11 Copper band, important at points of stress. (4, 5)
12 and 7 down. A strike might make it lighter near the end of play. (5, 5)
13 Living quarters which suggest inflation might be a good thing! (5)
15 Ruins made responsible for charges. (9)
18 and 28 Proving sex is related to one of the first parts of speech. (6, 3, 9)
19 They don't sound like places for loose living! (5)
20 See 1 across.
22 Dad's hunch might run more to length than height. (9)
25 He gave three cheers for war in general. (9)
26 Never yet found without reticulation (5)
27 An only child wouldn't have one of his own. (5)
28 See 18 across.

DOWN

1 Judgelike, as they say? (5)
2 Sort of 5 for a painter. (9)
3 These birds are not quite big enough for Mr. Hemingway. (5)
4 In short, it sounds drafty; obviously, it's worse than cold. (9)
5 A novel sort of thole would be this big. (5)
6 Those who never lie shouldn't be in such a position. (9)
7 See 12 across.
8 Looks like Orpheus or Dante with light shields. (9)
13 An unloved doctor gives an expression of pain to human beings. (9)
14 Paul Gustave's brother Stephen? He might empty the vessel. (9)
16 Introduce a sort of cut. (9)
17 Made Ma a sundae—not intended to affect her this way! (2, 7)
21 State, in a different sense than 23. (5)
22 Wild dog in action! (5)
23 King Lear's Edgar said Child Rowland did the blood of a British man. (5)
24 Act like a senior professional man. (5)

• * •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 505

ACROSS:—1 INSHOOTS; 5 AGLEAM; 9 PLATEAU; 10 PEDICEL; 12 UNAWARE; 13 SALT AND PEPPER; 15 COMMENDATIONS; 21 AUCTION; 22 RATTLER; 23 PIONEER; 24 IMAGERY; 25 DE SOTO; 26 AGITATOR.

DOWN:—1 IMPUTE; 2 SHAKERS; 3 OVERALL; 4 TRUCK GARDENER; 6 and 11 GOD SAVE THE MARK; 7 ENCLASP; 8 MULBERRY; 10 POUND STERLING; 14 SCRAPPED; 16 MACRONS; 17 EXIGENT; 18 OUTCAST; 19 SOLVENT; 20 PRAYER.

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An identification check on the anonymous poll revealed that both Democrats and Republicans were present in all three of the vocational categories—ministers, farmers, and others.

SHIRLEY E. GREENE,
Agricultural Relations Secretary of the Council for Social Action,
Congregational Christian Churches

Merom, Ind.

More on Ruth Crawford

Dear Sirs: One of your correspondents observed that it took courage for you to print the "apologia" of Ruth E. Crawford in *The Nation* of January 24. But it ought, though I cannot be sure of anything at present, to pay off in solidifying the courage of others. Nowhere have I seen such clear, honest conviction of honor and truth, which should be the very core of loyalty in all relations, as Miss Crawford has revealed. If this be subversive, we need a lot more of it.

MARJORIE F. WARNER

Walpole, N. H.

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on the most timely and penetrating article I have seen anywhere, I Have a Thing to Tell You, by Ruth Elizabeth Crawford [*The Nation,* January 24]. This is truly "an appeal to the American conscience," and unless our conscience is sufficiently aroused to stop war and witch hunts (a necessary accessory to war), then we shall surely become the fear-ridden garrison state predicted by the late George Orwell in "1984". . . .

That there is a campaign to destroy two of our most cherished institutions, the public schools and the United Nations, the general public seems not to know or care. The "magic" weapon for the destruction of both is anti-communism. No, it was not Miss Crawford, nor was it the Communists, who are so small in number and prestige as to constitute no danger to the status quo; it was the United Nations which was the real target. There is a nation-wide campaign to "kick out" the United Nations. . . .

American Protestants should be aware that it is and has ever been the Catholic aim to discredit public schools and convert all to the parochial school-idea. . . .

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Around

the U.S.A.

Readin', Ritin', and Retooling

Louisville, Kentucky

THE amount of illiteracy in a state or community is a good indication of the amount of poverty. In Kentucky nearly one-third of the young men who come before selective-service boards are being rejected for educational deficiencies. Distressed educators rank their state forty-seventh in the Union in literacy—although several other Southern states could dispute this distinction. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that per capita income ranges from $307 a year in one Kentucky county to $1,700 in another. In 34 of the state's 120 counties the average income is less than $500 a year. Welfare rolls show a continuous climb upward.

One might hope that the present national prosperity would solve Kentucky's problem, that boom times would boost the underprivileged and their children to the threshold of education, where they might learn enough to take care of themselves. Unfortunately, there is under-employment and unemployment even now in Kentucky's traditional industries.

More than half of the population is rural, and as in other agricultural areas Kentucky farms support fewer and fewer people. In 1935 there were 451,137 farm workers in the state. Census takers in 1950 found 298,140, including both family workers and hired hands. The coal-mining industry in eastern Kentucky is dying. It has been estimated that five years from now not more than ten mines will be operating in Harlan County, and they will have been mechanized so as to require the minimum number of miners. The liquor industry has got itself in a jam. At the outbreak of the Korean war distillers anticipated a ban on production and went into night-and-day operation, despite large inventories. But no ban was applied, and on June 30 last 937,156,000 gallons of distilled spirits were stored in government warehouses. Yearly withdrawals for bottling and sale do not much exceed 75,000,000 gallons.

Hope for an improvement in the economic situation must rest on new industries. A large number are in fact moving in—an atomic-power plant at Paducah, aluminum, chemical, and synthetic-rubber plants, General Electric's home-applance division, and others. But if the native labor force is to benefit by this expansion, it must be "retooled" and taught mechanical skills that presume a degree of literacy. Hence in Kentucky education cannot be counted among the fruits of abundance; it is the vital seed.

• Only one in fourteen children completes high school. Three-fifth of the schools are one-room buildings. One-fourth of the state's 530,000 children attend schools with hand-operated water supplies; 38 per cent must use outdoor toilet facilities. The state Department of Education is working on a minimum program—a "bill of rights" for Kentucky's children. Among the items being considered are a guaranteed school term of nine months, an adequate supply of textbooks, competent certified teachers possessing at least a baccalaureate degree, and a minimum salary for teachers of $2,400 a year.

These are all simple necessities, but action must await the result of a vote next November on an amendment to the state constitution. At present the constitution provides that at least 75 per cent of the state money for schools shall be distributed to the various school districts on a census-pupil basis. Thus the fewer listed pupils who attend in a district, the greater is the state's share of the actual educational costs. Truancy becomes a local financial boon. The proposed amendment, which has the support of Governor Lawrence Wetherby and the state's educational associations, would permit the legislature to decide the allotment of funds; that body, it is hoped, would set the matter right.

• But not all Kentucky's school problems can be blamed on a constitution drafted in 1890. To quote Governor Wetherby: "The practice of assessing property at a fractional part of its fair cash value is damaging the financial structure of local government and schools." The Kentucky Educational Association estimates that the minimum foundation program would cost $100,000,000 a year, of which the state would pay about half. The question is, will the counties do their share? Property assessment in Kentucky, as everywhere else, is pretty much a political football. Moreover, certain influential employer groups have a vested interest in illiteracy.

Another approach to the literacy problem is sought through adult education. A generation ago, as a result of the high illiteracy found by the draft boards of World War I, many "moonlight" schools were started where persons who could read and write taught their neighbors informally. Efforts to revive that spirit of self-help are being made by a group of citizens working with Governor Wetherby. Their aim is to instruct local volunteer committees in the quick and effective teaching and learning techniques developed by Dr. Laubech for the armed forces. Governor Wetherby has called a conference of educators for March 18 to discuss this and other plans.

Kentucky's economic situation is typical of the transitional South. Its educational plight is no worse than that of the region in general. If it will match its efforts to attract new industry with efforts to create a new kind of worker, it will become an example to the whole South.

ALFRED MAUND

[*The author is a member of the staff of the Louisville* Courier-Journal.]

Next Week

Edward Crankshaw, Britain's top expert on the Soviet Union, reviews a book of particular significance at this time: William Appleton Williams's "American-Russian Relations, 1781-1947."

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Circus on the White House Lawn

President Eisenhower's continued unwillingness to interfere with Senator McCarthy on the ground that Congress has the right to conduct investigations as it sees fit, indicates an amazing insensitivity both to constitutional issues and to the requirements of sound administration. The purpose of Congressional committee hearings is the preparation of legislation. Under the McCarrans, McCarthys, and Veldes, this function has been perverted in two ways. On the one hand, the committees are encroaching on the field of the judiciary by punishing people without due process; on the other, they are invading the domain of the Executive by undertaking a general supervision of personnel.

By tolerating these perversions the President is undermining the whole doctrine of the separation of powers. He is also acquiescing in the reduction of the civil service to a demoralized, undisciplined shambles. Can any organization work smoothly and efficiently when its employees are brought before a television camera and encouraged to tattle on each other, and not merely to criticize but to question the motives and good faith of their superiors? What authority is Mr. Dulles going to exercise in his department now that his subordinates have seen that personal security requires them to clear with the Senator rather than the Secretary?

If the President asked himself such questions, he could hardly remain complacent about McCarthyism. He is not going to stop the rot by such reorganizations as the new Voice of America chief is said to be planning, inevitable as that now is. Unless the McCarthy inquisition is stopped cold, no man of integrity will be willing henceforth to serve this section of the State Department.

Eden's Mission

The arrival here of the British mission headed by Messrs. Eden and Butler coincided with an announcement of a further substantial improvement in the sterling area's reserves. But although there is no immediate emergency to be met, Britain's economic position remains basically unstable, as the Committee for Economic Development recognizes in the striking report it has just published. And the problem the British came to discuss was how to reestablish economic relations between the dollar and the sterling areas on a sound basis; how, in short, to expand trade so that aid will become unnecessary.

Mr. Eden had been at pains to make clear that his government was not looking for immediate action but did hope to obtain from the new Administration a promise that it will cooperate in reaching certain objectives, such as the rebuilding of a multi-lateral trade system to which this country is already deeply committed in theory. It was, in fact, a triumph for American policy when the recent Commonwealth Economic Conference rejected proposals for a closed, self-sufficient Commonwealth system and decided to seek means both for freeing and for expanding world trade.

If this ideal, which is now a generally accepted American ideal, is to be achieved, the United States will have to back it by more than lip service. As the most productive and economically powerful country in the world, we shall have to assume the role played by Britain in its days of dominance and open our doors to foreign goods and our financial markets to foreign borrowers. The preponderant weight of informed opinion, including business opinion, now favors bold measures of this nature. As an outcome of the Eden-Butler visit, the Administration has in effect promised that just such a bold policy will be followed. But the Administration promise will remain empty unless Congress, in the end, is willing to perform.

A "Good" Filibuster

Offshore oil has the Administration all at sea. Secretary of Interior McKay is prepared to give the coastal states full title to underseas oil within their "historic boundaries"—ten and a half miles in the case of Texas and Florida—although even he gagged at the blatant demand of Senator Daniel of Texas for a large cut of the royalties earned from minerals beneath the continental shelf beyond any state limits. Attorney General Brownell, on the other hand, warned the Senate Interior Committee that a statute giving the states a quitclaim to offshore territory might prove vulnerable to challenge

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in the courts. It would be better, he thought, for Congress to dispose of this national heritage by simply authorizing the states to administer and develop offshore subsoil resources.

The biggest monkey wrench was thrown into the planning by the State Department, now alert to the international implications of the Texas-Florida pretensions. The United States, the deputy legal adviser of the Department told the committee, has never claimed more than a three-mile limit, and the claims of the states "cannot exceed those of the nation." Legal recognition of a ten-and-a-half-mile limit, he argued, would make it difficult for the government to resist extravagant claims by other nations.

Despite the possibility of conflict with both constitutional and international law, the mood of the majority of the Senate committee is to go ahead and damn the consequences, and the President has indicated that he will sign any legislation that reaches his desk. There is a real chance, however, that a filibuster may delay Congressional action. Considering that the proponents of the offshore oil bill are equally fervent opponents of the closure, this would indeed be poetic justice. If ever a filibuster were justified, it would be in the case of this bill, which not only sanctions an ugly grab of national property but provides a dangerous precedent for further assaults on federal lands and mineral rights.

Vincent Walks the Plank

While appearing to reject their views, John Foster Dulles has again capitulated to Senators McCarran and McCarthy by ruling that John Carter Vincent cannot "usefully continue to serve" the State Department. True, he found that Mr. Vincent is not and has never been either a bad loyalty or a bad security risk, but this conclusion, worded in the most niggardly negative terms, was coupled with another that for all practical purposes concedes that McCarthy and McCarran were right—namely, that Vincent's reporting and advice failed to meet the standard demanded of a foreign-service officer. The ruling will be carefully noted by every ambitious career officer in the foreign service, for it amply confirms the late Joseph Schumpeter's conclusion that American foreign policy is domestic politics.

As he viewed the political balance of power, Mr. Dulles concluded that Vincent had to go. The problem was simply to find a plausible excuse. Naturally the witch-hunters are not altogether satisfied; by exonerating Vincent on the loyalty and security issues Mr. Dulles indicated his unwillingness to rely on the testimony of Louis Budenz. What really matters is the cynical implication that the standard of the State Department is not honest reporting but the right political connections. The power of the China Lobby and not the quality of his reporting is what led to Mr. Vincent's dismissal. As to whether his reporting was accurate or not, Benjamin Schwartz, assistant professor of Far Eastern history at Harvard University, had this to say in a letter to the New York *Times* of December 30, 1952:

> Nothing has happened since 1945 to reverse the judgment of a large assortment of persons [including Mr. Vincent—Ed.] familiar with China that the Chiang government was guilty of an almost criminal failure to carry out certain vital reforms in China; that the Kuomintang troops were thoroughly demoralized; that the government did everything possible by default to facilitate a Communist victory. No evidence has been produced to reverse the judgment that further armed support to Chiang would have been a sheer waste; that anything less than an armed intervention by the United States . . . would have [failed to] put a brake on the Communist advance.

But of course Professor Schwartz is a historian, not a politician, and who listens to historians these days? Certainly not Washington.

Caution is the Keynote

THE death of Stalin and the accession of Malenkov have loosed a torrent of wishful or fearful thoughts throughout the world. For neither is there any reasonable support. The fantasy that sent Czarist bonds up from 3⅜ to 5⅛ was hardly more far-fetched than the hope that inspired the Voice of America to warn the new Soviet leaders of their coming liquidation. Walter Winchell, hard put to outstrip the other guessers, professes to know that the Red army is in full control, having bested the Communist Party, and will lead Russia into new aggressions. (To show the proportions of the threat, he revealed that Winchell's status in the Naval Reserve has been changed to R, meaning Ready.) But amid conflicting prophecies of early adventures—either to secure the new regime against internal unrest or as an expression of the recklessness of the new rulers—and counter prophecies of a prolonged period of uncertainty and hesitation which should be seized upon to undermine Soviet power, persons closest to the realities of Russian politics have been silent or very wary.

This, we believe, is the course of wisdom. All we know now is that the new government in Moscow was organized with impressive speed and every evidence of pre-planning and careful articulation. Unity is its outward appearance; and one would be foolish to count on a palace revolt—an event which would spell death to the losers and undermine Soviet power throughout the world. As for the satellite regimes, restless or not, they have invested their hope of survival in the connection with the Kremlin: they can no longer "opt out" and avoid counter-revolution. Even China, on which the most ardently wishful thoughts are now concentrated, is bound to Russia by ties that transcend the brotherhood of world revolution—and that, too, cannot safely be discounted. One of the most inescapable is the Korean war.

For China to draw away from Moscow would mean loss of the total Communist stake in Korea, defeat without compensation. It would mean a consequent surrender of power throughout Asia. We have yet to hear any of our political-war experts proposing to recognize the Mao government or to seat it in the United Nations or even to accept the fact of the Chinese revolution. Indeed on the very day the newspapers carried stories predicting Mao's probable alienation from a regime headed by Malenkov, they reported Anthony Eden's agreement to an all-but-total embargo of trade with Peking. But meanwhile Vishinsky in his speech at the U. N. had accepted responsibility for supplying arms to China and North Korea for their struggle against the "American aggressors." This was an open admission of Moscow's role in Korea; it was also a solid guarantee of help to Mao Tse-tung. In this total context is it sensible to expect the Peking regime to issue a declaration of independence of Moscow?

Until some unmistakable sign of a break appears in the Soviet world we can only hope our government will display the caution evident in other Western capitals. And when a break occurs, if it does, we hope the "adventurism" of the Republican wild men will be overruled by the moderates of both parties in Congress and the Administration. For whatever the "new era" turns out to be, it is not likely to take the shape imagined by the Kerstens and Jenners, the China Lobby, and the anti-Communist Crusaders. "Psychological warfare" based on the notion that the Russian people hated Stalin and would welcome the overthrow of their government, or that China is finished with revolution and looks to Chiang Kai-shek for rescue could lead to total disaster.

The only move the Administration could safely make would be one based on the assumption that the new Moscow regime is as strong and unified as its appearance. This country could offer in good faith to negotiate differences, making a fresh start in Korea, in China and Formosa, in Germany and Austria; and to reopen the question of arms limitation and control. It could demand a mutual moratorium on political warfare and propose a cooperative effort to extend technical and financial aid through the U. N. to every underprivileged part of the world, without distinction as to political color or control. This it could do without resorting to fantasies or counter-revolutionary maneuvers. And to make such a move would undoubtedly be the best piece of political or psychological warfare that could be devised. But perhaps we are indulging in fantasies ourselves. For America too has recently entered a "new era."

J. Alvarez del Vayo

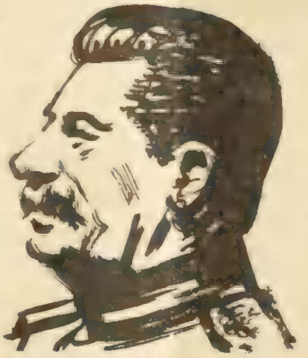
U.N. Watches the Kremlin

United Nations, March 6

THE news of Stalin's death struck a Political Committee that was already deadlocked on the Korean issue. There is no longer any latitude for wishful thinking. Unless a quite new international situation is created, a climate for a general high-level discussion, the war in Korea may last for years, just as in Indo-China. The irritating prediction that no isolated solution is now possible for Korea has become incontrovertible.

In this atmosphere of stalemate the news of Stalin's death produced a profound impression and a good deal of confused speculation at the United Nations. Those best acquainted with Russian affairs dismissed the idea of a coming ruthless struggle for power within the regime. They found little or no parallel between the problem of succession posed by Lenin's death and that following Stalin's. Thirty years have passed, and an entirely different situation confronts the planners of policy toward Russia. When Lenin died, the country was just emerging from economic chaos. I had been there two years before with Nansen's relief mission, and I returned a couple of months after his death as a correspondent. Russia was not only experiencing famine caused in part by a terrific drought. Production had slid back a hundred and fifty years as result of World War I, revolution and civil war, and the foreign interventions. Railroads, telegraph systems, health services, all were disrupted and broken. In 1922 I did not meet a single chief of a diplomatic mission in Moscow who gave the Bolsheviks more than a few years.

Today it is Russia's strength, not its disruption, that worries the West. On the very day that Stalin's death was announced the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe issued at Geneva its comprehensive report on post-war economic development, in which it stated: "There are indications that if the present rates of expansion are maintained, by the end of this decade the production and consumption of major industrial raw materials in the Soviet Union will be equal or superior to that in the seven most industrialized countries in Western Europe." Commenting on this and on Stalin's death one delegate said: "It would be strange if Stalin's heirs were to risk in a fight for personal power their vast heritage. The group in control have grown with him in the conduct of political affairs; they have been trained under a terrific discipline, are fanatically devoted to the party, and, above all, have emerged from the great test of World War II absolutely confident of their power and that of their country. We are not witnessing the disappearance of a Latin American dictator."



But while the probability of a weakening of Russia that would alter the present balance of power was discounted by the more experienced delegates, there was evident a degree of anxiety lest the hope of such a change might provide new impetus to the "liberation" crusade. Though official Washington comment had been restrained and President Eisenhower had promptly repeated in his press conference his willingness to meet any Russian who might succeed Mr. Stalin, there were abundant indications that other forces were watching for "any weakening of communism to act politically, by propaganda, or militarily," in the words of a CBS commentator speaking from the capital. It was fear of pressure in that direction, of the temptation to "seize the opportunity in the more vulnerable satellites," that was considered a disturbing possibility.

Fear that the new Russian leaders might eventually show a less wait-and-see attitude was also heard. Stalin was pictured as a master of caution when he felt that what the adversary wanted was to lead him out of the path of policy he had already decided upon. The question was raised whether his successors would so calmly follow a program of action predicated upon the theory that in the end the capitalist world would be forced into conflict and economic difficulties as the result of its internal contradictions.

Some feared also that Stalin's death might be used as a new argument to avoid negotiations. Too much stress on the idea that we "may miss Stalin" was considered dangerous. As one delegate put it, the same people who a week ago were saying, "What is the use of talking to Stalin?" now act as if Stalin had been the only one you could talk to in Russia. This attitude might again lock the door to negotiation.

The hopes of some delegates were turned to the European allies, above all, Great Britain. The report that Foreign Secretary Eden was urging Washington to move very cautiously in Asia and to observe the greatest prudence in dealing with the new Russian leaders was welcome news in the midst of the general anxiety. For opportunities still exist. On April 13 a new East-West trade conference opens in Geneva, the Russians having this time accepted the invitation of Gunnar Myrdal, chairman of the E. C. E. The treaty on the European Army in its relation with Germany is also not yet an accomplished fact; chance for a new examination of the German issue remains. But the first condition for all this is a renunciation of the policy of adventure and a return to diplomacy.

IS WAR NEARER?

An Ex-Communist's View . . *by Earl Browder*

IN DEATH as in life Stalin was unique: there is no gauge by which he can be assessed, no label under which he can be pigeonholed. And just as the power concentrated in Stalin's hands during his life grew to unparalleled proportions, so his passing will have unprecedented repercussions.

There can be no successor to Stalin; his shoes must forever remain empty. This is true because his power had a single historical function which has been completed. It developed from his role in lifting Russia out of medieval conditions into those of a modern industrial society, compressing into three decades a process which in Western Europe and America was spread over three hundred years. This tenfold speeding up of history, this forced march of the Russian people out of the seventeenth century into the twentieth, was led and organized by Stalin. He alone of all Russian leaders held to this goal with ferocious tenacity, overcoming all obstacles whatever the cost, driving the entire nation along the marked path, imbuing it with his will, mercilessly sacrificing the laggards. The nation responded, and as it gathered momentum on its course, it built the personal power of its commander to greater and greater heights. With Russia's victory in World War II and with the reconstruction of its economy after the war, the purpose which had energized this superhuman effort was accomplished. For the first time in its history Russia was invincible; it had a modern economy second only to that of America; it was a first-class power.

Most Americans fail to realize that with Stalin's historical task accomplished, the Russian leadership that will follow him will necessarily be entirely different. The new leadership will inherit an industrialized Russia; it will have different tasks and therefore play a different role. Thus Stalin can have no successor in the ordinary sense of the word.

THE STALIN ERA in Russia might be compared with the period of the "Robber Barons" in our industrial history. But the American industrial barons were limited in their scope to single regions and industries, whereas their Stalinist counterparts were organized into a homogeneous national machine, a sort of gigantic "trust" in which the traditional profit motive was replaced by socialist slogans. The rule of the Robber Barons in this country had to give way to a regime of law and orderly progress when the economy had been developed to a high level, and an analogous change will take place in the technique of Russian leadership.

Unfortunately for world peace, however, neither Soviet nor American political thought recognizes the meaning of the approaching change in Russia. Soviet thinking is still dominated by the concept of hostile encirclement, which in the world of physical reality has been breached beyond possible reconstruction. The heartland of the capitalist world, America, has today fully as sound reasons to consider itself the victim of "socialist encirclement," though in this case too the encirclement is more psychological than physical.

The danger of war will be accentuated by the passing of Stalin. For it was characteristic of him that while his iron nerves did not know the meaning of fear, he always avoided adventurous international policies and restrained his more reckless colleagues. He consistently opposed the post-war revolutionary adventures in Greece, and continued to support the project of a *modus vivendi* in China right up to the eve of Chiang Kai-shek's collapse before the rising armies under Mao Tse-tung.

Stalin valued America highly and wanted friendly relations with America. His latest published utterance, reported by India's Dr. Saiffudin Kitchlew in the New York *Times* of February 25, reflects this long-standing attitude, which was widely at variance with official Russian propaganda against America. The second rank of leaders, perhaps from too long reliance upon Stalin to do all the original thinking, seem to be unable to deal with America except in terms of hysterical abuse. They who must form the post-Stalin leadership of the Soviet Union seem much less well prepared than Stalin was to define and solve the historical problem of "coexistence."

Thus it would be utopian to expect that the new leadership in Russia, in its first phase, will pursue a more enlightened policy in either domestic or foreign affairs. On the contrary, it may for a time be even more intolerant and aggressive in its attitude and mood.

IN 1926 I attended the Sixth and Seventh Enlarged Plenum meetings of the Comintern Executive and the fifteenth Russian Communist Party Conference at Moscow. At these gatherings I saw Stalin rise to undisputed primacy in the leadership of Russian and international communism by winning a rigorous intellectual battle without precedent in the records of politics. I studied Stalin's thought, and while I was never close to him personally, it was my feeling during fifteen years as the head of the American Communist Party that it was Stalin's influence that kept hostile critics from demolishing my policies for the American party, which were always adjusted to America's unique features and were often unorthodox. When from 1945 on I found myself in deep and growing disagreement with the international line of the Communist movement, so much so that I no longer call myself a Communist, I believed and still believe that the 1945 collapse of the American Communist Party was one of

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EARL BROWDER was secretary of the American Communist Party from 1930 to 1945 and representative of Soviet publishers in the United States in 1946-49. He is now a free-lance writer and lecturer.

the by-products of Stalin's retirement from active operational leadership.

With the end of the Stalin era Soviet hegemony over the world socialist movement also comes to an end. It is now clear that the Soviet type of socialism, though attractive to the economically backward countries, is not acceptable to the working classes of the industrially advanced Western countries with long experience in democratic self-government. For a whole period to come, different types of socialism will develop in different regions.

Stalin had come to occupy so much "political space" in his own personal right, space which can never again be occupied by any one leader, that his incapacity or death creates a tremendous vacuum. How this vacuum will gradually be filled, and an equilibrium again be reached in world politics, is perhaps the most serious problem facing the world.

MAN AND SYMBOL . . *by Alexander Werth*

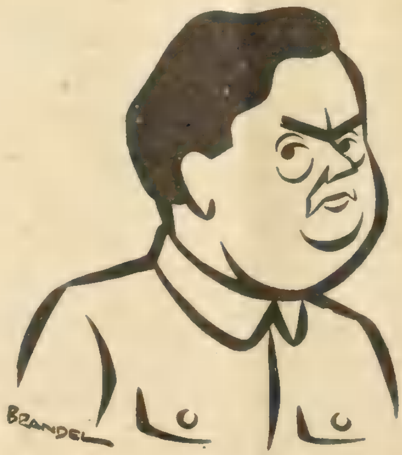
Paris

STALIN'S death has opened the floodgates for torrents of copy, some laudatory, most petty and malicious, and nearly all fantastically sensational.

The reaction of anyone who has actually been in the Soviet Union for any length of time is bound to be different. The only press story which seemed to me to ring true was the United Press dispatch telling of the people weeping in the streets of Moscow and whispering in the street cars as if they were actually in the death chamber. In my seven-year stay in the Soviet Union, I found that the attitude of the Russian people toward Stalin had no parallel anywhere. It was nothing like what the Germans felt for Hitler, though in some respects it resembled the British attitude toward the royal family. The German's feeling for Hitler was intensely personal; the Russian's for Stalin was personal in only a limited sense. Stalin was the *khoziain,* the "boss," who led the country through good days and bad and generally succeeded in what he set out to do.

Until 1928 Russia was still Zoshchenko's humorous Russia, still much like Mayakovsky's romantic revolutionary Russia. In 1928 Stalin definitely took over. The early thirties were a terribly hard time, marked by stupendous exertion, injustice, and ruthlessness. During the second half of the decade the injustices and ruthlessness continued, but even the doubters saw that "things were working." It was only during this short period that Stalin made an effort to popularize himself in a direct personal way, appearing at school children's rallies and the like. Then came the war, which made Stalin what he still is to the Russian people. Yet even the pre-war Stalin had become reasonably popular. He had checked the over-zealous collectivization program, for which in fact he himself had been responsible, and had acquired a reputation for moderation. There is no doubt that Stalin, even while he created public opinion, also kept his finger on the pulse of the country, and his incomparably better understanding of the Russian people facilitated his victory over Trotsky, the un-Russian intellectual.

For most Russians Stalin is the man who on October 16, 1941, with the Germans at Moscow's gates, never lost his nerve and unostentatiously stayed in the Kremlin planning the counter-blow with his generals. He seldom appeared in public or spoke on the radio, but everybody was aware of his presence, and throughout the war his prestige grew, fed by his enormous self-confidence, his strength of character, his capacity to choose the right people for running the war and dealing with Russia's allies, and above all his judgment.



Malenkov

It is not true that Stalin became a demigod to his people. But since apart from Stalin the man there was also Stalin the symbol of the Soviet state, it was felt inevitable that he should receive the highest adulation and nearly exclusive credit for the state's achievements. No one believed in his infallibility; Stalin himself confessed at the end of the war, "We made numerous mistakes." But there was always the conviction that Stalin was smarter than most people. Despite the element of toadying in the talk of his genius, in the hyperbolic poetry addressed to him, especially by Oriental bards—at which Stalin himself tended to laugh—the adulation was directed more to the symbol than to the man.

In Freudian terminology Stalin was the father who created a feeling of security and self-confidence among his people. Emotionally, therefore, Stalin's disappearance is a grave blow to every Russian, even the malcontents, especially in the present international situation. There has been an irrational belief in Russia that so long as Stalin lived the worst could be averted.

Stalin the man is irreplaceable, at least for a long time. The problem is whether Stalin the "boss" and Stalin the "symbol" can be replaced. Malenkov represents the Soviet-bred younger generation and cannot fill the role of "father."

In the coming months a conflict between two generations is not inconceivable, but the memory of Stalin and his "presence" will tend to have a settling and unifying effect on the new leaders of the Russian people.

ALEXANDER WERTH, The Nation's *Paris correspondent, spent seven years in Moscow as a journalist.*

QUIET PURGE

G.O.P. Builds a New Machine . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

WHAT you are supposed to look at is the big purge which will separate so many incompetent, taxes-consuming government employees from the federal pay roll. Then you will not see that behind this spectacle the machinery of government is being quietly but effectively recast to make it more responsive to the wishes of a big-business Administration. It is not a difficult operation. It requires only a few new men in top places and a little reorientation in key spots. This is already beginning to be visible.

The government activities which most directly affect the average citizen are largely carried on outside the regular government departments, by various independent agencies. A new head can easily cause a rightabout-face. The government's public-housing program, for instance, is handled by the Housing and Home Finance Agency. The new administrator is Albert H. Cole, ex-Representative from Kansas, known as one of the most effective foes of public housing in the entire Congress.

The law under which the agency operates authorized the construction of 135,000 low-rent housing units a year. Since 1949 that rate has never been approached. Because of the Korean emergency President Truman suggested that it be reduced to 75,000 a year. Through a rider on the appropriation act, elements in Congress sought to cut it to 5,000—which would have been to kill the public-housing program. The effort was defeated, and construction of 50,000 units was authorized for the fiscal year 1952. A similar move to bring the number down to 5,000 units was made the next year, and after some negotiation between the two houses the rate was set at 35,000 units, the limit now in effect.

Mr. Cole voted consistently for the 5,000-unit rate, declaring that the low-rent housing program "tends to destroy private homes and private business" and also "to destroy our government." If the government did not pull itself up short, he said, it would eventually find itself compelled to provide subsidized housing for one-fifth of all of the families in the country.

For years the low-rent housing program has been vigorously opposed by the real-estate lobby. The trade likes to build for the top third of the market; it cannot make a profit from low-rent construction, although the rental of once costly housing which has deteriorated is profitable. Now one of the trade's best friends is in charge of the agency which is supposed to push the low-rent building program.

ANOTHER interesting story concerns the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. This agency was set up under Herbert Hoover, its primary function in the depression days being to bail out banks, insurance companies, railroads, and other large interests. Currently nearly 90 per cent of its loans go to small business firms. These loans are vital, for in many areas the rate of industrial expansion has so far exceeded the rate of bank growth that small business men cannot get the financing they need through regular commercial channels. The most recent report of the House Small Business Committee calls the R. F. C.'s operations in this field absolutely essential, both in boom times, as recently, and in a recession, when banks naturally curtail their loans. The R. F. C. loans, it should be noted, are quite different from the loans made from a special fund of $100,000,000 on the recommendation of the Small Defense Plants Corporation.

What is happening now is nothing less than a move to abolish the R. F. C. A bill to that effect has been introduced in Congress by Senator Byrd in conjunction with such Republican stalwarts as Senators Bricker of Ohio and Williams of Delaware. If it is passed, the R. F. C.'s remaining functions will be performed by the Treasury Department —which means of course that all loans to small business will be made by straight bankers' standards and with bankers' caution. It may not even be necessary to pass this legislation. The law under which the R. F. C. lends money expires on June 30. Unless it is extended, the R. F. C. is out of the lending business and the small business man is out of financing.

The principal guardian of small business in the capital is the Federal Trade Commission. Of its five members—James M. Mead, Stephen Spingarn, John Carson, Lowell Mason, and Albert Carretta—the first three were rated as liberals. But last week Carson was replaced by Edward Frank Howrey, Virginia Republican and lawyer, whose principal qualification for the post appears to be the fact that he has been representing big corporation interests before the commission for the last several years.

Traditionally the F. T. C. has been a leading advocate of anti-trust-law enforcement. If it soft-pedals that function, as is anticipated, it may again become what it was in the early 1920's —an agency concerned largely with "policing" advertising and holding conferences on trade practices with industrial groups.

ONE OF THE MOST important independent agencies is the Federal Power Commission. It alone protects the consumer against possible exploitation by the public utilities. It guards his stake in low-cost electric power and has much to say about what he must ultimately pay for natural gas. Its decisions can mean a difference of hundreds of millions of dollars to consumers' budgets.

Among the problems before it at present is that of electric power from

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BRUCE CATTON is contributing a series of articles on the new Washington Administration.

the St. Lawrence River. Should the New York State Power Authority be given a license to build and operate the vast power plant which will one day arise on the United States side of the International Rapids? If so, can a preference clause be put in the license?

In 1950 the commission denied an application for a separate power project and referred the matter to Congress, contemplating unified development of the whole St. Lawrence project—power production and seaway—in accordance with Section 7-B of the Federal Power Act. (Section 7-B gives the commission no authority to grant a license if it feels that development should be undertaken by the United States.) Since then Congress has declined to authorize the seaway. So the New York State Power Authority's application is again before the commission.

The basic question is whether the consumers of electric power in New York state should be saddled with the extra $50,000,000 in capital costs which must be borne by the power project if it is constructed separately. There is also the danger that all the power generated in the project will be turned over to the utilities at the bus bar if Congressional jurisdiction over the marketing of power is eliminated—as it will be if the license is granted and Canada undertakes the seaway alone.

The commission has five members. Legally at least three of these may be of the majority party. Commissioner Buchanan's term expired recently, and before leaving office President Truman sent in his renomination. This has not yet been acted on and may conceivably meet the fate of Commissioner Carson's renomination to the Federal Trade Commission. Another Democrat is Harry Wimberley, whose term expires in June. A third is Dale Doty, former Assistant Secretary of the Interior under Oscar Chapman, whose term runs until 1954. Other members are Nelson Lee Smith, a highly conservative independent, and Claude Draper, who is believed to be the only authentic Hoover appointee still in office.

The probable outcome of this situation is fairly clear: two new appointments will be made which will leave Commissioner Doty as the lone liberal. Without any sensational turnover the commission will be completely recast.

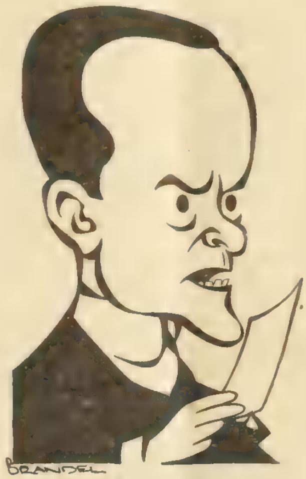
LAND FOR THE MANY

Guatemala Story . . *by Luis Cardoza y Aragon*

Guatemala City

GUATEMALA has had a democratic government since October, 1944. The present President, Colonel Jacobo Arbenz, elected for the period 1951-57, succeeded the first freely elected President, Dr. Juan José Arevalo (1945-51). Though all kinds of slanderous accusations about the government are circulated by the news agencies, Guatemala is undoubtedly one of the few free countries of Latin America today. And for the first time in its history it is enjoying the benefits of social security, labor legislation, planned education drives, and, since June 17, 1952, agrarian reform.

If enactment of the labor and social-security legislation met with many obstacles, the opposition to an agrarian-reform law that strikes effectively at feudal ownership and capitalist exploitation of land can be imagined. The big landowners, the clerical and conservative elements in the country, and the business interests—especially the United Fruit Company—are doing everything in their power to block implementation of the law and to overthrow the regime that sponsored it. Ignoring the situation described in an official U. N. publication on the urgent need of land reform in Guatemala, they object even to Article 2, which says: "All forms of slavery and serfdom are herewith abolished. Unpaid personal services of peasants, squatters, and agricultural workers, as well as the payment of land rent by labor services and the assignment of Indians to landed property sold or rented, are therefore prohibited in any form whatsoever."



President Arbenz

Of the 1,092,794 farm laborers in Guatemala, 894,872 earned in 1949 from 14 to 40 centavos a day (the Guatemalan centavo is worth approximately one cent); 126,335 earned from 40 to 60 centavos; 21,056, from 60 to 80 centavos; and 10,527, largely those who worked in unhealthy regions, over 80 centavos. In 1944, in the days of the dictator Ubico, the daily wage in large parts of the country was but 5 centavos. These are official figures, published in 1950.

Farm laborers form about a third of the total population of 3,000,000. More than 20 per cent of them are children under fourteen; more than 22 per cent are women. The great majority are illiterate and are exploited as ruthlessly as is the land they work. Dr. Antonio Goubaud, a graduate in social sciences of the University of Chicago, made a study of the weekly consumption of food by farm workers in twelve villages and found that it amounted to some-

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LUIS CARDOZA Y ARAGON is the editor of the Revista de Guatemala.

thing over one pound of beans per person, one-fifth of a liter of milk, and half an egg. Not surprisingly, members of the powerful landowners' association advocate the preservation of rural illiteracy on the "patriotic" ground that education would cause a mass exodus from the land. These features of the feudal social system which has persisted in Guatemala since colonial days are now finally being changed by legal and constitutional methods.

Large properties which have lain uncultivated for many years are being distributed to the peasants. The former owners are being compensated in agrarian bonds, fully guaranteed by the state, paying 3 per cent interest, and redeemable over a maximum period of twenty-five years through the Bank of Guatemala. To provide credit for the new owners, an Agricultural Credit Bank is being set up, based on the experience of other countries in such matters.

THE LAND QUESTION is at the root of Guatemala's perennial misery. According to the agricultural census of 1950, the small owners—those owning less than five *manzanas* (a *manzana* is about 1.1 acres)—form 76 per cent of the total number of landholders but own only 10 per cent of the arable land. The big owners—those owning more than one *caballería* (sixty-four *manzanas*)—form 2.2 per cent of the total number and own 70 per cent of the arable land. The medium owners, 22 per cent of the total, share the remaining 20 per cent of the land. To cite the two extremes, 22 big landholders, with more than 200 *caballerías* apiece, own 714,000 *manzanas,* or 13.6 per cent of all the arable land, while 259,169 small holders own a total of 468,138 *manzanas,* less than 2 apiece. Nor is this all; the latter rent 107,391 *manzanas* of their miserable share to other peasants who are even poorer than they.

In some parts of the country the landlords have refused to hand over their properties in accordance with the law of January, 1952, and small groups of peasants, driven by hunger for land and food, have taken matters into their own hands. But on the whole the reform has been carried out peacefully, as President Arbenz guaranteed in his campaign speeches. The peasants are sowing their new fields with corn and beans—the two traditional foods—and are waiting for the rainy season.

Nothing in the agrarian law, or in the other reform laws passed by Guatemala's last two governments, could by the widest stretch of the imagination be called communistic. The news agencies, however, have spread the charge and have distorted the facts to suit their purpose. During the minor land riots of February, 1952, they asserted that rivers of blood were flowing and that a government censorship prevented them from reporting the full truth. Actually one person was killed, and there was no censorship. The opposition to the reform is organized as a Committee for the Defense of the Constitution, but it is much less concerned with defending the constitution than with guarding the wealth of the landed proprietors. In addition to the landlords it includes clericals and the beneficiaries of the fascism sponsored by Ubico's dictatorship.

Order reigns in Guatemala, and the democratic forces are making progress in their struggle against feudal conditions.

WILL CANADA GO RIGHT?

A Ballot Test Is Near . . *by Keith Hutchison*

THE full term of a Canadian Parliament extends to five years, but the Prime Minister may seek a dissolution at any time within that period if his government loses the confidence of the House of Commons or if he decides that it is good political strategy to ask for a new mandate. Thus although the present Liberal administration of Louis St. Laurent, which has a safe majority, could constitutionally stay in office until the middle of 1954, it is generally expected to "go to the country" in the present year.

This expectation was immensely heightened on February 19 when Finance Minister Abbott presented a budget with "something for everybody." In a report on the financial and economic condition of the country that sounded like the opening gun of a political campaign the Minister cited figures showing that in 1952 Canada had once again reached new heights of production, employment, and trade. Moreover, his faith that the present year would see still greater prosperity was backed by an announcement of widespread tax cuts. Jubilant Liberal back-benchers, whose spirits in recent months have been depressed by a series of Defense Department scandals undermining the government's prestige, cheered Abbott to the echo. It was, they said, "a sweetheart of a budget." Members of the Progressive Conservative opposition were glum. Their spokesman, J. H. Macdonnell, accused the government of cutting taxes "too little and too late," but he evidently feared the effect of the budget on the voters. Representatives of all parties agreed that there was now little doubt about an early election. It might come as soon as May, but political commentators in the Canadian press think that August is more likely.

Canadians, who follow United States politics with far closer attention than Americans give to Canadian affairs, are wondering whether the election, whenever it comes, will be featured by as powerful a swing to the right as appeared here last October. For the Canadian Lib-

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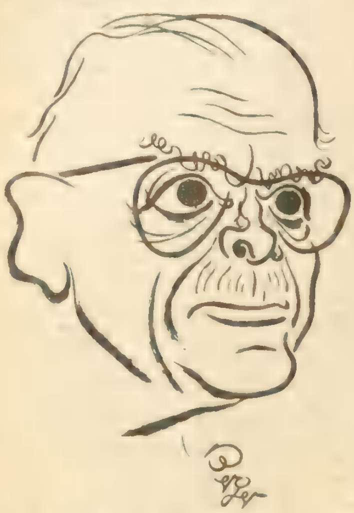
KEITH HUTCHISON, a contributing editor of The Nation, *has recently spent some months in Canada.*

eral Party, while anything but "left," has some similarity to the Democratic Party. It too contains many diverse elements, ranging from the stoutly conservative to the mildly radical, held together by astute political management. And while far more tender of business feelings than either Roosevelt or Truman, the Liberal administrations that have ruled at Ottawa continuously since 1935 have successfully checked the growth of the socialist Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (C. C. F.) by borrowing freely — though without acknowledgments—from its program of social reform.



Prime Minister St. Laurent

In following this middle-of-the-road course the Canadian Liberals have managed to preserve a more united front than the Democrats south of the border. In many ways their position still seems extremely strong. At the last general election, in June, 1949, their party won a sweeping victory, carrying no fewer than 185 of the 262 seats in the House of Commons, and despite some subsequent losses at by-elections it still has a majority of about 100 over its combined opponents. A mere swing of the pendulum will hardly shatter so large a margin. That will require practically a political earthquake.

Like the Democrats here, the Canadian Liberals are in a position to use the slogan "You never had it so good," though they would probably express the idea in less blatant and more grammatical language. For Canada is enjoying a boom based not so much on defense expenditure as on the rapid development of the country's immense raw-material resources. Barring a sudden recession in the United States that would lessen the demand for Canadian products, there is no reason to anticipate any decline in prosperity in the near future. Very little unemployment exists, and thanks to the governments effective anti-inflationary measures, mostly of an indirect kind, living costs have been stabilized.

It may be that, as in this country, "prosperity" is losing its electoral potency partly because an increasing proportion of the voters are too young to have experienced real depression. That is the hope of the largest of the Canadian opposition parties, the Progressive Conservatives, which, borrowing from the Republican armory, is plugging the theme "time for a change." It is doubtful, however, whether Canadians will consider the replacement of a Liberal Cabinet by a Conservative one enough of a change to get excited about. For the Conservatives have no glamorous father-figure to offer the nation: their leader, George Drew, is no Eisenhower, nor even a Taft. Nor have they a dynamic program. Their most distinctive policy —upward revision of tariffs to promote more rapid industrialization—will hardly attract much support as long as Canada remains prosperous.

A more hopeful issue, for the Conservatives, is the negative one of government extravagance. This can be linked to recent scandals, involving pay-roll padding and thefts from military camps, in handling which the government has shown a very poor sense of public relations. The graft involved appears to have been of a fairly petty nature, but its existence has intensified public resentment at high taxes.

How far the new budget will soften this resentment remains to be seen. Mr. Abbott seems to have distributed his bounty shrewdly. If the 11 per cent reduction in the income tax has little importance for a large number of wage-earners, the 4 cent cut in the cigarette tax means worth-while savings to millions. The middle classes have been catered to through more generous provision for deductions from taxable income and abolition of a number of nuisance taxes, such as the three-cent stamp on checks. Lower corporation taxes gladden the hearts of business, and the press would have been made happy by repeal of the excise tax on newsprint, if the paper companies had not annexed the benefit by an equivalent price increase.

Finally, this easing of fiscal burdens has been made possible, not by unpopular cuts in social benefits or by unbalancing the budget, but by an expansion in national income sufficient to provide a greater yield from lower tax rates. Here, Mr. Abbott can say, is proof both of the Liberal administration's prudent management and the fruitful energy of the population.

SO FAR I have emphasized the strong points of the Liberal Party's position. It is now time to review its less favorable aspects and particularly the rather bleak picture revealed by the elections for local legislatures held in five of Canada's ten provinces last year. Only one of these contests, that in Quebec, offered much comfort to the Liberals. There they increased their percentage of the popular vote from 36 to 40, and gained fifteen seats, giving them twenty-three representatives out of a total of ninety-two. This disparity between votes polled and members returned is due to the fact that Liberal strength is in the cities and towns, while Premier Duplessis' reactionary Union Nationale, which has long dominated local politics in Quebec, retains its grip on the grossly overrepresented rural districts.

The interesting thing about this Quebec election was that the provincial Liberal Party, under a new leader, George Lapalme, adopted a program of economic and social reforms and made a successful bid for the votes of organized labor. The response of the workers reflected their growing class consciousness in the face of Duplessis' implacable hostility to trade unionism. Several leaders of Catholic unions ran as Liberal candidates, and the Canadian Confederation of Catholic Workers, although officially neutral, actually used its influence to rally support to the Liberals. This was a significant development in view of the rapid industrial growth of Quebec, and since the province has always been staunchly Liberal in federal elections, it provided the Ottawa administration with one hopeful augury.

Now contrast what happened in Quebec in July with events in New Brunswick two months later. In that province the Liberals, after ruling for seventeen years, were swept out of office by an electoral tidal wave which reduced their seats from forty-seven to sixteen and raised those of the victorious Progressive Conservatives from five to thirty-six. The major issue of the election, according to the former Liberal Premier, John B. McNair—and this illustrates the odd diversities of Canadian liberalism—was whether an international union should be recognized as bargaining agent for employees of the public-power commission. No doubt McNair calculated that his anti-labor stand would be popular among the innately conservative farmers, fishermen, and lumbermen of New Brunswick. But the opposition raised a still more popular issue—government extravagance and high taxes, including a 4 per cent sales tax imposed in 1950—and the voters decided that, locally at any rate, it *was* time for a change.

Back in June an even more dramatic overturn occurred three thousand miles to the west, in British Columbia. There too the Liberals had long been dominant. In 1949 they had won twenty-six of the forty-eight places in the Legislative Assembly but had consented to share power with the Progressive Conservatives the better to fight the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, which had obtained 36 per cent of the popular vote but only 16 per cent of the seats. In pursuit of this aim the coalition enacted a new electoral system, a weird compound of proportional representation and the multiple-alternative vote. It would, they reckoned, enable Liberals and Conservatives to give each other their second votes and so keep the socialist C. C. F. permanently in the cold.

Things did not work out that way on June 12. First, the Liberal and Conservative partners had a falling out before the campaign started. Then two Conservatives members—W. A. C. Bennett, who had sought unsuccessfully the leadership of his party, and Mrs. Tilly Rolston—went over to the fledgling Social Credit Party, which, inspired by the successes of its parent group in Alberta and aided with Alberta funds and speakers, decided to nominate a full roster of candidates. The arrogance and inefficiency of the old government had created widespread discontent in the province, and many independent voters who feared the C. C. F. as "too left" registered their disgust with Liberals and Conservatives by voting Social Credit. Thanks to its free-enterprise policies and the record of the Alberta government, the new group also became the second choice of many Conservatives. At the same time, because its theory is given a radical flavor by its criticism of orthodox banking and its "funny money" ideas, Social Credit earned second-choice votes from some C. C. F. members. Finally, the Social Creditors, whose slogan is "Christian government" and who open meetings with hymns and prayers, made a strong appeal to the evangelical sects that abound in British Columbia.

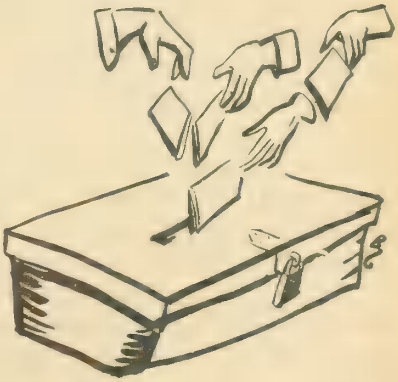
When the votes were counted, the Social Credit Party, which had no members in the previous assembly, emerged with nineteen, and the C. C. F., although it polled a larger popular vote, had one less. Both traditional parties were shattered, with the Liberals reduced from twenty-six to six and the Progressive Conservatives from thirteen to four. All they could do was to give tentative support to the Social Credit government formed under the leadership of Mr. Bennett, whose switch of allegiance proved so opportune. For while the Liberals and Conservatives sneer at the "Socred" parvenus they do not fear them as they do the radical C. C. F.

THE LOSS of British Columbia left the Liberals in control in only one of the four Western provinces—Manitoba. In Alberta last summer the Social Creditors renewed the lease of power that they have held continuously since 1935 by returning fifty-two of the sixty-one members of the legislature. Putting their peculiar monetary theories into cold storage, they have provided the province with honest and efficient if orthodox government. Most Albertans, busy enjoying their oil boom, are satisfied.

In Saskatchewan the C. C. F., under the leadership of the able and popular Tom Douglas, appears to be almost as strongly intrenched as the Social Credit Party is in Alberta. Since 1944, when it first secured a majority, it has cleaned up the administration of the province, strengthened its finances, and introduced important social reforms, including a model hospitalization plan. It has also rapidly expanded publicly owned utilities, promoted resource development, and organized a government insurance office that provides the cheapest coverage against automobile accidents to be found in North America. In the 1948 elections the C. C. F. lost a little ground, but last June it came back stronger than ever, winning forty-two of the fifty-three seats in the legislative assembly, while the Liberals sank from nineteen to eleven. The "Socreds," who have made repeated attempts to gain a toe hold in Saskatchewan, also ran: not one of their twenty-four candidates was successful, and their total vote was less than half what it was in 1948.

The only consolation for the Liberal Party, as it reflects on recent political events in the West, is that Canadians do not necessarily vote nationally for the parties they support locally. Thus in 1949 the C. C. F. sent only five men to Ottawa from Saskatchewan compared to the Liberals' fourteen. In Alberta the Liberals won four seats out of a total of fifteen, and in British Columbia, ten out of sixteen. It is doubtful that they will do nearly as well in the coming general election.

In his recently published life of MacKenzie King, who led the Canadian Liberals for so many years, Bruce Hutchison, the well-known Canadian journalist, declares that his hero "made Canada almost a one-party nation with three splinters of opposition." But in a democratic state one party cannot perpetuate its rule, and eventually the Canadian voters will turn and rend the Liberals. Then the country may well find itself with four splinter parties, none strong enough to form a government. That may not happen in 1953, but Progressive Conservative gains in Ontario and the Maritime Provinces and C. C. F. and Social Credit victories in the West will bring that dangerous situation perceptibly closer unless the Liberal Party shakes off the complacency engendered by prolonged power and finds means to revitalize itself.



RUTGERS: A WARNING

Lessons of a Lost Fight

by Broadus Mitchell

THE battle for academic freedom in Rutgers University, as a majority of the faculty fought it, has been lost to the trustees. Two professors were dismissed last December for refusal to answer the questions of a Senate subcommittee concerning their possible connection with the Communist Party. This was done although both had been exculpated by a regularly appointed faculty committee of investigation. Later the majority of the faculty voted to uphold the faculty committee's findings and urged the trustees to reconsider. Their petition was supported by a brief submitted by an emergency faculty committee, condemning the dismissals on both procedural and substantive grounds. A deputation of professors from this group appeared before the trustees with oral argument. The trustees reaffirmed the dismissals.

The scene of the Rutgers engagement, where two were killed and many were wounded, will be tidied up. The trustees voted dismissal pay; the president issued a long statement justifying the action taken. A month or so hence the trustees will clarify their brief order with verbal changes. To outward look the field will again be tilled by teachers and students. The cleavage in the university community will not be closed for a considerable period.

The Rutgers conflict yields lessons that may well be applied as the war against the colleges moves to more campuses. No institution will be immune in the spreading purge. The University of Washington, the University of California, and the New York municipal colleges, which suffered previously, are public institutions. Rutgers, though designated as the state university of New Jersey, in law and in fact retains much of its ancient—colonial—private character. New York University, wholly private and also old, has a similar trial pending, and other schools large and small are marked for attack.

THE FIRST recommendation stemming from the Rutgers defeat is to keep the issue clear. Variations will occur, but what is proscribed is the right of dissent, or independence of thought. Tolerance of Communists or of those charged with communism in some degree has become the test of attachment to educational integrity. To a growing number of persons in the general public as well as in official bodies it is paradoxical that lovers of liberty should defend men who are so generally taken to be enemies of intellectual honesty. Communists, they say, if in power in this country, would make civil libertarians their first target—literally. The Communist Party is not a political persuasion but a criminal conspiracy, and it belongs with the "lesser breeds without the law." The party and its penumbra contain mere plotters, etc., etc. Suppose this to be true; we must still reflect that it is only pernicious minorities which require protection. Objectors become more incredulous when they are admonished that Communists and their kind must be allowed for *our* safety.

Nothing is plainer in the present assault on the colleges and schools than the necessity of preserving the rights of everybody. If a teacher or scholar is demonstrably incompetent, biased to the point where his students cannot learn from him, is proved guilty of criminal acts, or offends against common decency and morals, these are grounds for discharge. But beliefs and associations, however stigmatized, must be given asylum. Once Communists are excluded, academic freedom is progressively destroyed. After the first tear the rending of the fabric becomes easier and easier.

At Rutgers University neither of the men dismissed was charged with being guilty of any professional lapse. On the contrary, trustees, administrators, and faculty bore witness to their excellent academic service. That has generally—one may say universally—been true in these cases, and it should be driven home to the profound discomfort of their attackers. The president of Rutgers began by raising the cry of "Communist." This was his view halloo when the coverts were drawn by the Senate subcommittee. This suspicion evidently bulked large in his interrogation of the first of the accused to be brought to notice, for at that interview the man signed a statement that he had never been a Communist or under Communist aegis.

THE FACULTY committee, with doubtful wisdom, asked this professor whether "information obtained by the university administration" substantiated his Communist connections. The trustee chosen to explain the board's action to the faculty showed that he was similarly influenced. But the taking of that position, in the absence of charges of campus misconduct, laid president and trustees open to the accusation that they assailed freedom of belief and association. They promptly shifted to a new stance. Doubt was cast on the fitness of the men to remain on the faculty by their refusal to respond to questions of an authorized investigating body. Of course what the Senate subcommittee asked was, "Have you ever been a Communist?" Also it was awkward for their university prosecutors that in invoking the Fifth Amendment the professors had been upheld by the subcommittee, which, its counsel said, had made no provision for hearing the men again.

But that did not balk their accusers. There is room for argument, they declared, about the implications of resort to the Fifth Amendment. Is the amendment for the protection of the innocent, in thought or deed, or is it an unworthy

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BROADUS MITCHELL is professor of economics at Rutgers University and a member of the Academic Freedom Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union.

refuge for the guilty only? However this may be, its use is a constitutional privilege. But that did not long disquiet the accused professors' enemies. If a faculty member refuses to tell a proper investigatory body whether or not he has ever been a Communist and pleads possible self-incrimination, he "impairs confidence in his fitness to teach." He offends "the standards required of him as a member of his profession," and has given "cause for . . . immediate dismissal."

Here is an area for infinite dispute on legalisms, extra-mural behavior of teachers, and institutional public relations. Plenty of cover is afforded for trustees who use swift and arbitrary authority. Once they have retreated to this swampland they can scarcely be brought back to the firm terrain where freedom of thought may be tested.

THE SECOND recommendation is to begin now to educate administrative officers and trustees. At Rutgers the principal administrators were either hostile to the view held by the majority of the faculty or remained silent. The trustees were unanimously against the faculty committee's report. Their decision to dismiss the professors was so curt, in contrast to the reasoned conclusion of the faculty investigators, that later, in response to criticism of the inarticulate board, the president wrote on the trustees' behalf a long paper which may or may not improve their reputation with the faculty. It is rare to find a president or dean who will side with the faculty against trustees on an issue of academic freedom. Was it superior wisdom that brought these officers to their posts, or a splendid forbearance, or did the trustees satisfy themselves of a coincidence of views on critical questions before making their selections? In the instance of Rutgers it was hard for this writer to escape the conviction that administrators and trustees were too little acquainted with the issues and the history of their appearance and treatment elsewhere. The president labored, later, to show that the trustees had not acted in haste or hysteria.

The president at first agreed to call a meeting of the whole faculty to discuss the cases, then withdrew his assent because pressures ought not to be applied while the accused were being investigated by the faculty committee. The report of this committee, unanimously recommending that no action be taken by the trustees, was completed more than a week before the board refused to be guided by it, but the report was not, in this interval, released to the faculty. Perhaps the educative value of informed campus debate, before the trustees decided, would have compensated for any demerit in mobilizing sentiment.

If the tenets of academic freedom could not be sufficiently conveyed to the authorities, an acceptable procedure of investigation, perfectly well known and long since agreed to, could have been adopted. Instead, no specific charges were preferred; and there was no true hearing where the men could face their accusers. This loose, vague mode was in sharp contrast to the severe ruling of the trustees that followed. The whole painful spectacle provoked the question of the utility of trustees passing on the fitness of faculty members where there is no charge of professional incompetence or of lawbreaking.

Thirdly, it should be explained to the institution's constituency, as far as means permit, that it is important to preserve freedom to learn, teach, find new knowledge, speak, and publish. No community, small or large, can long have cause for pride in a monitored and therefore frightened faculty. The best agents for informing the public are the president and trustees. They are the designated representatives of the university or college, and by definition are responsible figures. If these authorities of Rutgers had taught the university's public instead of falling in with popular apprehensions, the lesson might have carried far in America.

Though harm has been done it is not too late for another great university to perform this distinguished service.

The Mourning Dove

In a low branch I saw a mourning dove
Sitting motionless upon a flimsy nest
Of twigs and leaf stems loose-woven, uncemented:
The bird had turned to alabaster subtly tinted,
But could not still the ticking in its breast.

And then one day two ragged ruffled fledglings
Peeped from underneath that polished elegance.
The bird mother perched there, the small reptilian head
Fixed, immovable, each eye a topaz bead
That watched and did not waver from my glance.

In the night a wind arose. The next morning found
The nest blown down, a mere unraveled litter,
Twig and leaf stem scattered across the ground.
Something had been at it: the jewel glitter
Of excrement was there, but the fledglings were gone.

The bird mother roosted where the nest had been,
With only those heartbeats to tick the time:
Whether it was Instinct, or some Master Plan,
Or simply a body itch yet unsatisfied,
The bird had frozen in mournful pantomime.

I gazed at that rare shape and each painted spot;
While, dupe of instinct, victim of itch, or emblem of grief,
The dove gazed back, an object carved.
We gazed and gazed, till I forgot
Which was observer, and which observed.

SAMUEL YELLEN

BOOKS

The End of Something

A Review by Maxwell Geismar

AMERICA AND THE INTELLECTUALS. PR Series, No. 4. Partisan Review. $1. *DISCOVERY NO. 1.* Edited by John W. Aldridge and Vance Bourjaily. Pocket Books. 35 cents. *NEW WORLD WRITING.* Second Mentor Selection. New American Library. 50 cents. *NEW DIRECTIONS IN PROSE AND POETRY. XIV.* New Directions. $5. *THE LITTLE REVIEW ANTHOLOGY.* Edited by Margaret Anderson. Hermitage House. $3.95.

THE big news is that the *Partisan Review* has discovered America. In the symposium above, twenty-five intellectuals have discussed such propositions as (1) Does the American artist no longer feel disinherited from his society? (2) Is European culture finished, and has the United States become "the protector of Western civilization, at least in a military and economic sense"? (3) How can we maintain a tradition of "critical non-conformism" against the standards and values of the masses?

I have summarized the general sense of the discussion, to be sure, and not the specific questions which were asked. To their credit, the best essays in the symposium have either rejected or qualified what seems to be, on the part of the *Partisan Review* editors, a false view of both American art and American culture. Newton Arvin, for instance, clarifies some of these issues in terms of our literary past. Louise Bogan suggests that our art and thought must become "awkward" once more—a fine idea—and that virtuosity is particularly useless at present. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., points out that it is fashionable today among ex-liberal intellectuals "to forget the extraordinary revival of confidence and recovery of nerve which the New Deal produced in this country." Other writers in the group, such as Irving Howe, have the courage to describe the dangers of a "frozen anti-Stalinism"—which is almost the underground motif of the symposium—and to stress the obvious fact that the Communist threat is *to* and not *in* the United States.

But the old voices are still here, including the outrageous James Burnham, who while he has nothing but contempt for most phases of our society, has apparently assumed sole responsibility for its survival. The real issues of American life today, and of American art, are far away indeed from the abstractions over which the typical *Partisan Review* intellectual torments his spirit—or at least his pen. It is another world when we turn from what the intellectuals say about American writing to what the writers are saying about themselves.

"Discovery," the first of the anthologies of new writing to be considered here, is also the most conservative in approach. There are no new writers of consequence in the collection, but the level of the material is pleasantly high. Nor are there any of the trademarks of the arty anthology, except perhaps in Kenneth Fearing's "happy" solution for the machine-age personality—to wit, a series of chromium limbs and organs, tooled with the perfection of costume jewelry, to replace those of defective biology. This is a rather gruesome comedy of sophistication, or mutilation. Norman Mailer has a good war story. Hortense Calisher has a subtle and sensitive tragi-comedy, beautifully handled, of the wives and husbands who in the midst of life endure the slow annihilation of psychoanalytic therapy.

What brings this anthology into focus, and makes it well worth reading, is William Styron's novella, "The Long March." This author's first work since his novel, "Lie Down in Darkness," it is the desperate narrative of a group of marine reserves, heroes of another war, who are called back to active duty. What makes Styron so good? All I can say is that he is an original—a natural—a writer who makes us enjoy the art of writing again. The second Mentor selection of "New World Writing" has nothing in it so fine as this story. But one must also pay respect to this anthology as the originator of the whole idea that the little magazine could be revived for just that "mass culture" which Ortega y Gasset viewed only in terms of shakes and horrors.

I am still old-fashioned enough to believe that the Mass Man—who is after all another abstraction to replace the Economic Man of late nineteenth-century thought—is less reprehensible than those who mislead or corrupt him for their own advantage; that he is still capable, in his normal guise, of progress, maturity, flights of glory. In the present case, at least, he is to be found reading such authors as James Jones, Pablo Picasso, John Lehman, W. H. Auden, Jean Genet, in the hundreds of thousands of copies. As this list of authors suggests, "New World Writing" is larger in scope than "Discovery," balanced equally between European and American writing, and more experimental or "advanced" in tone.

Among the native talents I should mention Osborn Duke, the band player, whose work has something unusual. There is a great sense of exuberance and hilarity in his tale of two jazz musicians and a colored singer trapped in the depths of the South. This is real, the way things are, and one can compare it with Dylan Thomas's literary version of the same emotions in another story in this collection. On the far left of the literary spectrum, too, the fourteenth edition of the New Directions Annuals, by now an established landmark in the contemporary scene, leans even more heavily on European writing. The best things seem to date back to the experimental period of the early 1900's.

The tone is sometimes positively antique. André Gide's "Voyage d'Urien," published in English for the first time, was written in 1893 as a document of the Symbolist movement. The study of Hermann Hesse by Oskar Seidlin deals with a literary figure who, like Thomas

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MAXWELL GEISMAR is the author of "Writers in Crisis" and "The Last of the Provincials." The third volume in this series of literary studies, "Rebels and Ancestors," will be published in the fall of 1953.

Mann, reflects the cultural flowering of the late nineteenth century. The psychoanalytical interpretation of Heinrich Hoffmann's "Struwwelpeter" by Rudolph Friedmann—an essay which I thought was some kind of mad satire but which turned out to be deadly serious—deals with the mass castration of Victorian children. But all these articles are of value in the literary record, even if they cannot serve as new directions for the middle of the twentieth century.

There is a curious parallel between Mr. Laughlin's Annuals and the *Little Review,* which also began in 1914 as an instrument to aid native talent, and which ended in 1929 as an official organ of the European masters. In Margaret Anderson's survey of the magazine's career, as well as in the contributions that she has brought together in her present volume, "The Little Review Anthology" has the flavor of a great period of literary achievement. It throws a final and ironic illumination on the other anthologies of contemporary writing I have mentioned here.

For there is no doubt that the efflorescence of the 1920's was a climax of the literary revival that, both in Europe and America, opened in the decade of the 1890's. Reading over the *Partisan Review* symposium in this light, one almost feels that its contributors have, in one step, moved from the salons of Henry James to the extermination camps of Hitler and Stalin. Our younger writers too are working in the shadow of a cultural tradition that has closed, and a revolutionary epoch whose shape trembles and changes from day to day.

Somewhere at the center of this chaos, I think, lies the matrix of a new literature. If there is one.

New Books in Brief

Violence and Virtue

A GOOD MAN. By Jefferson Young. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3. An interesting first novel by a new writer of talent. The story deals with the life of a Mississippi Negro who is everything that the white folks want—sober, hardworking, faithful, loyal. Because he aspires to own a respectable white house, however, which no Negro farmer in the town has ever had, the white community is aroused. Threat of violence surrounds the tale of simple virtue. The delicate, often beautiful prose rhythms catch the dialect of Southern whites and blacks alike, while the story is simplified to the level of fable, and the emotions are nicely muted. The central portrait of "a good man" is a difficult feat technically, whatever the color of virtue's skin. At the end Mr. Young, like many another aspiring moralist, is forced to lean upon artifice and sentiment in order to make human sweetness credible. But the surprising thing is that he almost does.

Sorrows of the Different

A DOG'S HEAD. By Jean Dutourd. Translated by Robin Chancellor. Simon and Schuster. $3. An extravagant but at times brilliant comment on the difficulties of being different in this most conformist of all possible worlds. The hero, Edmund Du Chaillu, has the singular curse of having been born with a dog's head. As he observes more than once, had it at least been a bulldog's, it might have advanced him in politics, but intelligence and gentleness mark his spaniel's countenance; it is the face of a meek dog. Every cruelty meted out to the distinctly different in religion, color, or sex is compounded in the case of Edmond. Jean Dutourd manages never to make his hero credible, yet to make the litany of his sufferings naggingly real, the perfect tour de force for his satire of the middle-class world and its ambitions. A short, pungent, and irritating book which embodies the first jabbingly apposite social comment since "Animal Farm."

Biography of Michelangelo

MICHELANGELO: HIS LIFE AND HIS ERA. By Giovanni Papini. Translated from the Italian by Loretta Murnane. Dutton. $10. Of this flowery and ambitious biography by the author of the once popular "Life of Christ" it must be said that its length is greater than its merit, and its pretensions greater than its length.

At the Poet's Shoulder

ROBERT BROWNING. A PORTRAIT. By Betty Miller. Charles Scribner's Sons. $5. The man who emerges from this biography of Browning seems to be an unpleasant intruder between the poet and his readers. With the aid of many personal documents and some important unpublished letters Miss Miller discreetly elaborates the insinuation that Browning was the psychological victim of a strong-minded mother, and suggests that his pursuit of Elizabeth Barrett was an unsuccessful attempt to have himself taken in charge by a dominant, guiding personality. If this were true, it would be necessary to explain how this dependent and uxorious creature could be the author of poems displaying a virile and confident craftsmanship. But Miss Miller is far less concerned with Browning's poetry than with the intimate details of his life, and her account often gives the reader the experience of standing at the poet's shoulder in many moments of his youth, courtship, and marriage and breathing the air of Wimpole Street and Casa Guidi. This vivid novelistic real-

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Lincoln's Wife

MARY LINCOLN, BIOGRAPHY OF A MARRIAGE. By Ruth Painter Randall. Little, Brown. $5.75. It is obvious that this truly tragic figure in American history has the author's deep sympathy. Some may say that she attributes too many of Mrs. Lincoln's faults and frailties to her irrationality. If so, here is where the basic integrity of the work shines brightest. Faithfully the author sets all the facts down—many of them discovered by her and hitherto unpublished. Thus the reader is able to form his own judgment as to whether, in a particular circumstance, Mary was mentally deranged or a vain, selfish, unscrupulous woman or, maybe, both.

Hereafter, nobody can claim knowledge about these matters without having read Mrs. Randall's fascinating book. In fact, it supplies much that is new about Lincoln himself during the last twenty-five years of his life. It is impossible to read it without reaching the conclusion that the easygoing Lincoln's political success, perhaps even his elevation to the Presidency, was largely due to the driving ambition and loyalty of his wife.

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Theater

Harold Clurman

THOUGH most musical comedies are mediocre, there can be little doubt that the form is America's truly indigenous contribution to the world theater of today. In musical comedy the American expresses two sides of his nature—his innocence and his ingenuity. The spirit is irrepressibly fun-loving; the technique is amazingly facile. No single musical of recent record can be confidently listed as a perfect piece, but taken as a body of work, "Oklahoma," "South Pacific," "Guys and Dolls," and now "Wonderful Town" (Winter Garden) can be set down as a generic masterpiece.

The main distinction of "Wonderful Town" is its lack of slickness. Its pace is remarkably fleet; yet it does not sweat and strain to be fast. It is extraordinarily light without being empty. It is a triumph of good nature.

The credit for this achievement—apart from the total conception, which may or may not be credited to George Abbott, who directed it—must go to the authors of the original "My Sister Eileen," Joseph Fields and Jerome Chodorov, who are responsible for the present "book"; to Betty Comden and Adolph Green, who wrote the lyrics; and to Rosalind Russell, whose performance is an altogether captivating summation of the show's merits.

From a technical standpoint what is most original in "Wonderful Town" is that it has no special effects which stand apart from one's sense of the whole show. The piece has a unified texture: it is a complete thing. The songs define the situations, tell the story—as do the dances. One has no feeling that at a certain point the plot line is dropped to fit in an extraneous bit of ballet or a specialty number. Each sequence, whether it be spoken dialogue or a "turn" of some sort, amplifies and carries on what has preceded it. When, for example, the leading lady tells us One Hundred Ways of Losing a Man, it is not a comedy patter that stops the show but a necessary part of the play's characterization. When a trio of young men explain What a Waste the efforts of the young artists from the provinces who try to strike it rich in New York are, it is an essential part of the theme.

The show's lack of slickness—and in this respect Raoul Pené de Bois's sets are remarkably apt—is not simply a fortunate accident but, to a large extent, part of the show's meaning. What is created in "Wonderful Town" is a kind of fervent bohemianism which was typical of the young intellectuals' struggles in the shabby and glorious days of New York in the mid-thirties. How much charm and excitement there was amid the debris of the depression! What lyric candor we enjoyed before we became burdened by our present harsh prosperity! Now we are proper wastrels disguising our fears and our kind hearts in insipid propriety. Then we were wrong-headed and raffish with ecstatic hope.

Something of that good time is evoked by "Wonderful Town." Betty Comden and Adolph Green, who are successful products of that era—do you remember them at the old Village Vanguard?—are among those who have not lost the ungainly, improvisatory, hard-hitting enthusiasm of those days. They are still inspired amateurs—thank God! Beneath their correct evening attire they carry the mark of an unregenerate youthfully urban romanticism; they are not afraid of a redeeming stain or wrinkle, badges of freedom from the restraints of their new respectability.

What is fascinating about Rosalind Russell is her combination of expert poise and breeding with a wholly spontaneous spirit of abandoned fun. She is not only technically deft, she is emotionally devoted to her task. She is a star by virtue of talent, training, experience, but she plays with the selflessness of a true ensemble actor. She shines out from the proceedings not like a gorgeous figurine in framed display but like the most concentrated light bodying forth the soul and spirit of the whole event. Her manner is crisply witty, her handsome face and figure are smartly lean, her eyes sparkle with shrewd feminine sophistication, and her entire being seems galvanized by a kind of purity in playfulness and in performance that is the sign of the deepest kind of professionalism in the theater.

I have not mentioned Leonard Bernstein's score not because I mean to except it from my praise. While it does not strike me at first hearing as so memorably tuneful or freshly ebullient as some of the same composer's earlier work, it is definitely in tune with what I have described; it offers a kind of gently wry, modestly melancholy, and moderately satiric atmosphere in which everything floats in unfettered friendliness.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

THE large Rouault retrospective, which completes a seven weeks' stay at the Cleveland Museum of Art on March 15, will be on view at the Museum of Modern Art in New York from April 1 through May 31. More than 60 of the 160 works are paintings, and they range from the year 1891, just before Rouault began to study with Gustave Moreau, to a group of eight which were executed or completed during 1952. Nine others were completed since 1945, when the Museum of Modern Art last exhibited Rouault comprehensively.

I find it rather difficult to say anything new about an old master who has conscientiously and admirably resisted all appeal of mere novelty. The very recent works are sunnier than before, more bleached than richly blond, and their occasional dissonances, together with a texture more like tapestry than oil painting, produce a disconcerting effect rather like painting on velvet.

Rouault's tragic grandeur links him naturally with Daumier and thereby with Balzac, though he seldom indulges in Balzac's precision of detail. Prostitutes, judges, clowns, ancient kings, heads of Christ, landscapes—from them all a sense of the great passions is forcefully projected. Scale is felt in monumental terms, and for Rouault large size seems to help release this feeling, whereas some of Daumier's smallest works are among his most monumental and Corot was generally unable to achieve grandeur of effect except in works of very modest proportions. The Old Clown, 1917 (collection of Edward G. Robinson), dominates the present exhibition because it combines very large size with sustained impact, nowhere depending on mechanical enlargement to attain its real size.

Perhaps I am the victim of my own theory, but the prints, of which some eighty-five examples are on view, impressed me on the whole more than the paintings themselves. For his graphic work Rouault often chooses unusually large formats and exploits their mural possibilities to the utmost. While the range of intensities is necessarily reduced in his color prints, it is nevertheless surprisingly great. A reason why it seems sufficient to me is that in his oils, particularly the recent ones, less restraint in color has the effect of weakening the drama of his blacks and whites. Thus the muted color of the Old Clown, previously cited, seems to me to outstrip even the stained-glass resonance of the Old King (Carnegie Institute); and the famous early water colors do not lack power for being surprisingly tame in intensity. In texture Rouault's "etching and aquatint" process is far more complicated than such a description might indicate, for he feels at liberty to scarify, file, and burnish the plate until the desired effect is achieved. But the final process of printing creates its own restrictions and thereby its special unity. All of which is merely a roundabout way of saying that Rouault's oils, particularly in the last fifteen years, often seem overworked and lacking in directness. I should warn the reader that Jacques Maritain, who has written an eloquent preface to the catalogue, considers these recent works "the most invaluable jewel of the present exhibition."

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support the view that the government was well served when he was selected several years ago to execute the murals for the Rincon Annex of the San Francisco Post Office. History having marched on and thrown some of the war-time iconography of those murals out of gear, certain local groups have been demanding their destruction, but to date the murals have been spared. The present exhibition, which features recent work for a synagogue, offers strong evidence that Refregier is an artist of integrity, that he is the master and not the slave of his subject matter. While such arguments cannot be expected to charm the iconoclasts, they provide the major line of defense for those interested in preserving selected examples of art sponsored by the United States government. Much of it has been very bad, and though Refregier is no Orozco, he is certainly preferable to Rivera. The present exhibition ought to be taken as retroactive insurance that one day San Francisco will not regret its Rincon Annex murals.

THREE MODERN Italian painters (Catherine Viviano Gallery) remind us that the rich and bold murals of the later Renaissance offer possible sources of inspiration for the modern painter. I find Birolli's marine themes a little too chopped up and Morlotti's designs too close to Picasso—though disguised under a kind of phosphorescent oil slick—to rival Afro. Three big canvases by Afro, painted in July (greens), August (purples), and November (russets), are extremely varied, but they have in common a swinging and joyous kind of confidence expressed in the bold scale, the curvilinear kind of interlace, and the concentrated massing of forms to allow plenty of air at diagonally opposite extremities. After inspecting a number of tight little metaphysical designs (with a linoleum look) by artists I prefer not to mention, I found in Afro the same release from constricting tensions that E. M. Forster portrayed, long ago, in "Where Angels Fear to Tread."

Music

B. H. Haggin

EVEN in the first years of John Crosby's radio column there were occasions to note how the seemingly all-encompassing intelligence stopped operating the moment he began to talk about a musical subject: the Telephone Hour, the quiz and round-table discussion of the Metropolitan Opera broadcasts, Deems Taylor—and later Benny Goodman—as long-haired disk jockey. As time went on one noted in the column the effects of routine, of the difficulty of continuing to find good material, of the fact that Crosby now wrote with consciousness of the qualities of mind, personality, and style that had brought him success, and exploited them as a performer. And an article In Defense of Sponsored Radio in the Manchester *Guardian* was a special perverse performance for British readers, in which he seemed to be trying to see whether the Crosby razzle-dazzle could get them to accept black as white.

The commercial plugs of American radio were offensive; but we Americans, said Crosby, had acquired a selective deafness for them. The money from advertising went into programs that were monstrosities of vulgarity; but, said Crosby, it also paid for the variety of programs required by "a very large country with far greater divergence in temperament, racial origin, and local custom among its people than in Great Britain," and our commercial radio was therefore "the best type . . . for a country as big, as populous and diverse as ours." But the variety he described as available to a New Yorker—"concert music, popular music, soap opera, hints to the housewives, lectures, discussion programs, comedy"—has nothing to do with divergent racial origins and local customs; in fact, the same concert music, popular music, soap operas, hints to housewives, discussions, and comedy are carried by the sponsored network programs to everyone everywhere in the country, whatever his racial origin or local customs; and commercial radio, in providing these programs, does not thereby show itself to be best suited "for a country as big, as populous and diverse as ours." Actually, too, the British get from their non-commercial radio not only concert and popular music, discussion, and comedy (though not soap opera) but programs adapted to local languages and interests.

Without the money from advertisers, said Crosby, the NBC Symphony wouldn't have existed and Toscanini mightn't have been lured back to America; without their income from broadcasting—i.e., directly or indirectly from advertisers—the New York Philharmonic, the Boston Symphony, and the Metropolitan Opera would find it even harder to keep going than they did. He said this to people who knew that their British Broadcasting Corporation had (at least ten years before NBC, let me point out) used money from the license fees on radio sets to establish its own symphony orchestra, to engage for it the world's foremost conductors including Toscanini, to broadcast the performances of other British orchestras and opera from Covent Garden. But these British readers could not know what Crosby had written a few months earlier in the *Herald Tribune* about the way the NBC Symphony and the Philharmonic had been kicked around, and the Boston Symphony kicked off the air altogether.

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The networks had in fact dropped a number of other musical programs (CBS the Philadelphia Orchestra, Invitation to Music, and the CBS Symphony summer series; ABC the summer series of its ABC Symphony) that Crosby hadn't mentioned even in his *Herald Tribune* column; and at the time he was telling British readers what the American system had done for music, the American system had reduced music on the networks to the NBC Symphony, the New York Philharmonic, the Metropolitan Opera, and the Biggs organ recital; whereas the BBC was continuing its program undiminished.

This program, moreover, was one that American radio music even at its highest point had never approximated. The American networks, exploiting names that had prestige for the mass public, had presented the great orchestras and the Metropolitan, and had come to see music almost entirely as the standard orchestral and operatic repertory; whereas the BBC had systematically explored the entire musical literature—the literature not only of opera and the orchestra but of solo instruments, the voice, and chamber groups, the unfamiliar music of the past, the new music of today. Crosby's concluding opinion was that "it is more practicable to eliminate the faults of the American system than to eliminate the system itself." I agree that there is no possibility of eliminating the system; but I can't see that system doing anything else than presenting big-name orchestras and conductors rather than chamber music, and dropping even a big-name orchestra when income from advertising is down.

The Boston public is hearing broadcasts of the Boston Symphony again, of chamber-music concerts from the Library of Congress and other concerts in Boston, not from one of the networks but as part of the comprehensive cultural program presented by the Lowell Institute Cooperative Broadcasting Council—comprising Boston's colleges and universities, its Museum of Fine Arts, the Boston Symphony, the New England Conservatory of Music, and the Lowell Institute itself—largely through its own FM station WGBH. This is merely the most spectacular illustration of the fact that the improvements in the situation are occurring outside of commercial network radio.

Letters

In Defense of Social Scientists

Dear Sirs: The writer of the article Freud and the Hucksters which appeared in the February 14 issue may well have a valid general point, but it is presented amid distortions, half-truths, and veiled implications. . . . The implication that psychologists en masse are an unprincipled lot of mercenary opportunists engaged in a fiendish collaboration with industry to undermine the morals, health, finances, and mental health of America's citizenry is fantastic, to use a mild word.

There is no accurate count of the number of psychologists who are employed by industry and advertising, but the membership of the American Psychological Association's Division of Industrial and Business Psychologists offers a possible reference point. Less than 4 per cent of the A. P. A.'s total membership of 8,600 were in this division as of 1951. The Division of Clinical and Abnormal Psychology, most of whose members are working in the fields of mental illness, psychotherapeutics, and mental testing, has almost 15 per cent. . . . It is apparent that industry is not the major focus of American psychology at the present time.

Mr. Goodman is alarmed by the fact that industry is subsidizing psychological research. He does not seem impressed by psychologists' theoretical interest in why people drink, smoke, chew gum, and do lots of other things. If industry is willing to stand the costs of this type of investigation, the psychologist would be foolish indeed to pass up the opportunity. As Mr. Goodman points out, most psychologists who do this research entertain no idealistic delusions about the eventual commercial application of the results. But even if the work were done under the auspices of a non-profit organization, nothing would prevent the manufacturer or advertising agency from utilizing the findings for their own benefit. . . . The industrialist would only profit further from this arrangement. . . .

The uncritical reader of Mr. Goodman's article might easily be led to conclude that well-known psychologists like Drs. Thorndike and Marquis are dishonestly claiming that chewing gum is an antidote for frustration, in order to get a slice of the $1,500,000 income of the Psychological Corporation. I cannot conscientiously contradict this imputation, since I do not know any of the individuals named personally, although I strongly doubt that they are dishonest. However, I think it is only fair to point out that the Psychological Corporation retains a number of authorities in areas other than industrial research—from which half its income is derived according to Mr. Goodman. To the best of my knowledge none of the four psychologists named in the article are experts in the field of industrial research or public-opinion polling. It is entirely probable that these men are in no way connected with the type of investigation described by Mr. Goodman, and it is either deliberately cunning or grossly naive of him to support his claims with such an association. . . .

Irrational ambition reflected in "conspicuous consumption" is an unhealthy state, but it is not created by advertising. What the advertiser does is to exploit existing conditions. The manufacturer who tries to make you buy his product by claiming that "more people use . . ." adopted this slogan because experience showed that it worked. I do not believe that McCann-Erickson needs a psychol-

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ogist to tell them what years of advertising have already proved.

I do not quite grasp how the business about emotional appeal fits in with the rest of the thesis. I suppose Mr. Goodman included these paragraphs to illustrate how the psychologist, the expert on emotions, belongs in the advertiser's scheme. The public's emotions are also crucial to the movies and literature, but neither Hollywood nor Harper is a prominent seducer of psychologists.

The psychological sciences are currently overlaid with a poisonous spawn of public misconception. I am surprised and disappointed to find *The Nation,* to me a symbol of independent integrity, joining with the many mass-communication media which are sturdily doing their share to perpetrate and spread these misbeliefs. EUGENE E. LEVITT

Iowa City, Iowa

Mr. Goodman Replies

Dear Sirs: To read into my article a condemnation of social scientists as a group is, I think, unwarranted. On the contrary, my dwelling on the commercial uses to which social psychology is being put was intended as a reaffirmation of the basic principles of the social sciences.

Mr. Levitt says that I "may well have a valid general point," but any point I had would certainly be nullified by his unqualified acceptance of industry-sponsored research. For my point was precisely that business is *not* willing to stand the costs of objective investigations by scientists. Advertisers support psychological studies for one reason only—to increase their manipulation of consumers. This purpose conditions the research itself, determining the subject matter, the way in which it is explored, and ultimately the conclusions which must be adapted for use by advertisers.

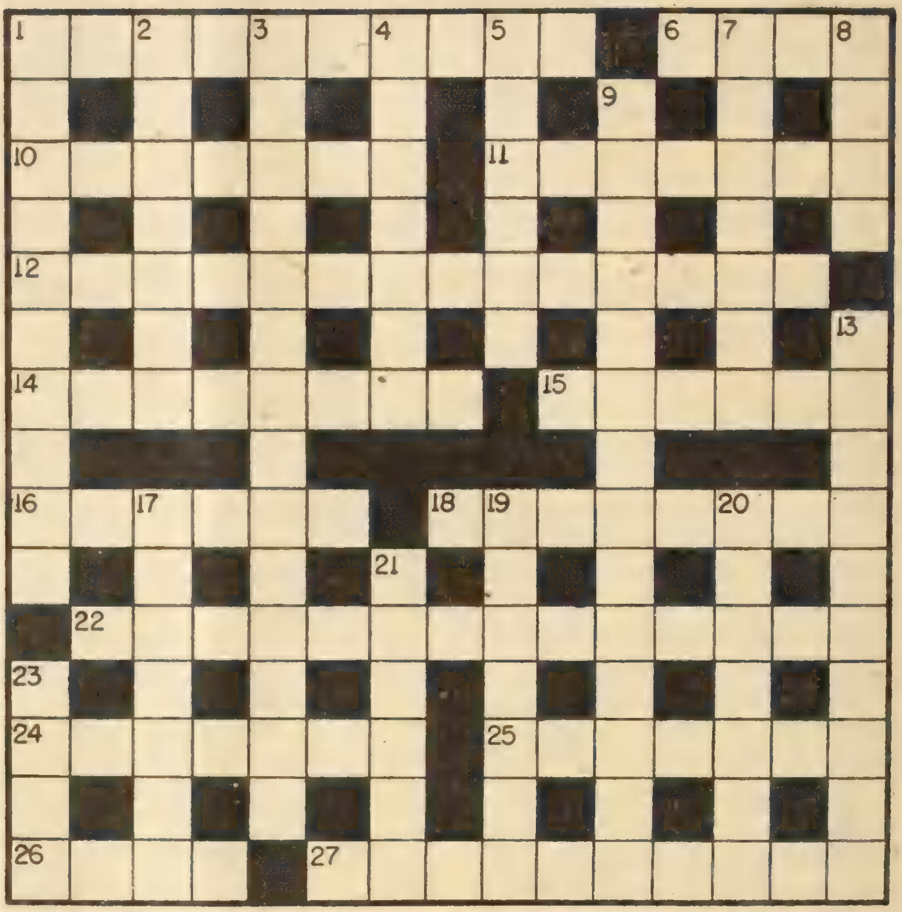
Mr. Levitt argues that since the industrialist can always appropriate scientific findings, there is nothing wrong with the scientist going to work for the manufacturer. This is like saying that because a chemist realizes his work may one day be used to develop a poison gas, it is all right for him to make some money by showing a company exactly how to make a good poison gas.

What, after all, is the function of the social scientist? What is his starting point? Why is he a social scientist in the first place? These are the questions I wished to raise.

I saw no need to do any nose counting. If most social scientists are still true to the high ideals of their profes-

Crossword Puzzle No. 507

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 There's a sort of sign about a bed, in writing, too. (10)
6 Easy-flowing, it comes back almost under part of the boat. (4)
10 S-cuts, about the neck, perhaps. (7)
11 Searched for or got rid of undesirable material. (7)
12 Conspicuously. (14)
14 Dodges the sort of noises one finds around the little Dominion state. (8)
15 Imagine losing a sort of constellation! (6)
16 Perhaps this authoress takes a pet with her. (6)
18 Nowadays it's more than hard tack and salt pork along the coast. (8)
22 A colorful fever certainly isn't associated with misfortune. (4-4, 6)
24 Where a man's man returns with a Roman quartet? (3, 4)
25 Tie a tin on the Thin Man's dog? What a game! (7)
26 16½ foot-guns? (4)
27 Tennyson said these are more than coronets. (4, 6)

DOWN

1 The act of pressing. (10)
2 Mark with a mathematical symbol a Tosca villain created. (7)
3 Take a united charity collection to the bank by means of this road? (9, 5)
4 He supposedly wins everything but the girl. (4, 3)
5 Does it take prying about to find that the choral concert is off? (6)
7 Did the girl in "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes" make a wreck out of her boy-friend? (7)
8 Said something other than good, by the sound of it. (4)
9 Does the rest of the adding machine offset something? (14)
13 Roll up the top before the bottom goes to pieces if you want protection. (10)
17 Sung with a moving line? (7)
19 Made inconspicuous. (7)
20 If it's time to put a mask on, he'll help you. (7)
21 Irvine is definitely in the race! (6)
23 One should excel in part, anyway. (4)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 506

ACROSS:—1, 20 and 9 SOFTENING OF THE BRAIN; 6 RUPEE; 10 FRANCHISE; 11 RIOT SQUAD; 12 and 7 down MATCH POINT; 13 FLATS; 15 NURSEMAID; 18 and 28 LADIES AND GENTLEMEN; 19 TENTS; 22 DACHSHUND. 25 MUSSOLINI; 26 EVERY; 27 NIECE.

DOWN:—1 SOBER; 2 FRAGONARD; 3 ERNES; 4 INFLUENZA; 5 GRAND; 6 RECUMBENT; 8 EYESHADES; 13 FELLOWMEN; 14 STEVEDORE; 16 REDUCTION; 17 AD NAUSEAM; 21 TASTE; 22 DOING; 23 SMELL; 24 DOYEN.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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KS

hat does not excuse the increasing
er who are not. The reason I
ed certain psychologists is that
are directors of the Psychological
oration and should therefore be
hc responsible for *all* work done by it.

New York RALPH GOODMAN

More on Hucksters

Dear Sirs: In the article Freud and the Hucksters, Mr. Goodman quotes from Burleigh Gardner's letter to *Tide* that Gardner believed "the strong Eisenhower majority could have been predicted using projection techniques." Exactly this was done by another huckster outfit, Imberman and DeForest, public-relations counselors in Chicago. In the June 5, 1952, issue of the *Freeman,* under the heading No Soap, the editors make a big point of having access to the survey made by Imberman and DeForest. The survey, using projection techniques—this was before the convention—came up with the finding that Eisenhower would beat Taft all to pieces any day.

The Taft supporters, who presumably paid for this hucksterism, killed the report, but the *Freeman,* a right-wing Taft organ, got wind of it and used it to flay Eisenhower for not giving "detailed answers" to our problems.

At any rate, projection techniques are now being applied by a few of the overeducated market-research and public-relations counselors, all of whom have one foot in our major universities. Whether they lend their talents to the right wing—as in Germany during the middle 1930's—to swing the masses is well worth watching. Hucksters sell out to the highest bidder.

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Around

the U.S.A.

Forty Years in the Black Belt

Canton, Mississippi

I MIGRATED from the North forty years ago and settled in the blackest part of the cotton belt on a cotton plantation operated almost exactly as it was in the ante bellum days. For twenty-five years we operated this plantation with Negro labor. Racial relations were then ugly beyond anything I had ever seen in the North. Almost any day you could read in the paper that some poor Negro had been hunted down with hounds, or shot by a posse of men, or burned at the stake amid the cheers of a mob of supposedly decent people. Negroes were whipped by white men even more frequently.

Last year there was only one case of whipping in these parts. A young white man full of liquor whipped and raped a Negro woman. He was given a heavy prison sentence. There have been no lynchings in our county for a good many years. How do I account for this change? In the first place the old-time "nigger hater" has gone the way of all flesh and the younger men are far more tolerant. It was hatred that caused the many vile outrages against the Negro, most of which were committed by red-necks, or poor white trash.

Red-necks are simple-minded people, wretchedly poor for the most part, almost always illiterate, and they used to be soaked and saturated with hate for the Negro. But forty years have changed them greatly. The sons and daughters of these poor benighted hill farmers are scattered all over the nation, working in all sorts of jobs. Those left at home have cars and are able to go to town and see how the world lives. Many have found jobs in industries here in the South and have got their minds off the Negro, who was a resented competitor when they tried to make a living in the cotton field.

■ Forty years ago it was almost universally believed that a Negro's mission on this earth was to serve the white men. Most white men thought it right and just for the Negro to live in a filthy hovel that afforded little protection against rain and cold and was almost always hopelessly overcrowded. It was perfectly all right for him to get his drinking water from a ditch and for his children to grow up unable to read.

On Election Day the Negro stayed as far away from the voting booth as possible. He knew that if he attempted to exercise his constitutional right, he would be beaten up. If he accepted all this degradation humbly and without complaint and worked hard on the plantation of the landlord and in the fall accepted as settlement whatever the landlord thought proper, he was rewarded by being called a "good nigger" by his white neighbors.

Wherever I go in the South I find this conception of the Negro's place in the economic life of the community dying out. Of course it has to die out; nothing that is a heritage of the old slavery days can persist. This is the greatest change I have witnessed. All over the South the old plantations are being cut up into forty- or eighty-acre farms that are owned and operated by Negroes. And in thousands of industrial plants Negroes and whites are working on equal terms.

Some of the old plantations are being sold to white men from the cities who come with tractors, bulldozers, power cultivators and gang plows, and above all with new ideas acquired at experimental farms and agricultural colleges. They bring hogs, sheep, cattle, and poultry and start an entirely new way of farming, or at least it is new to the South. More important still, the new city farmers with their machinery are not dependent on Negro labor. You are just as likely to see a young white man working on these farms as a Negro. At the same time the Negro on his little farm or with a factory job is independent of the white man. Beyond a doubt this mutual independence makes for better racial relations.

The Negroes in the deep South are acquiring not only farms but many other businesses. They own and operate stores, restaurants, saw mills, funeral homes, banks, movie theaters, private schools, dental and medical clinics, and insurance companies. They are contractors, preachers, engineers, postal clerks, policemen, teachers, carpenters, automobile mechanics, realtors, bricklayers, and lawyers. We have a number of colored professional men in our little county seat. Our Negro county agent, an energetic, intelligent young man, is respected by colored and white alike.

■ If the white man has changed, so has the Negro. Many of the Negro landowners in this community have spent from three or four to eight or ten years working in factories in the South or North. They have saved a little money, come back and bought a piece of land, and settled down on it. They are altogether different from the typical ignorant share-cropper of forty years ago. They are building decent new houses on their little farms, growing a variety of crops, and keeping livestock. If a child gets sick they take him to a doctor instead of hanging charm beads around his neck.

I cannot see the color line wiped out suddenly by law. I see it disappearing gradually as the Negroes of the South make themselves worthy of the respect of men of any race and as the white people free their minds of hatred, intolerance, and ante bellum notions of the Negro's "place." The old South is dead; the new South is being born.

HOWARD SNYDER

[*The author operates a farm at Canton and has written several books, among them a novel about the Negroes on his old plantation—"Earth Born."*]

In a Coming Issue

MERLO J. PUSEY of the Washington *Post,* winner of a Pulitzer prize for his biography of Charles Evans Hughes, will analyze the controversial Bricker amendment, which would limit the treaty-making powers of the President.

Volume 176, Number 12
New York, Saturday, March 21, 1953

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Yes-Men Wanted

In the know-nothing atmosphere of the "new" Washington both exercise and independence of mind are at a discount. As a result the State Department may lose the services of its two best-informed students of Soviet Russia at a time when relations with Moscow are more delicate and important than ever.

Our present titular ambassador to Moscow, George F. Kennan, left his post last October when the Soviet government pronounced him *persona non grata* and is now awaiting reassignment. But although he is only forty-eight, the indications are that he will shortly be retired. He has, it seems, become *persona non grata* with Mr. Dulles also, having voiced doubts in a public lecture about the "liberation" strategy which is the Secretary of State's personal contribution to the cold war.

Mr. Kennan's designated successor is Charles Bohlen, another career man who speaks Russian fluently and is a life-long student of the Soviet system. However, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has postponed a vote on his confirmation owing to the opposition of several Senators, including Bridges, Knowland, McCarthy, and McCarran, who hope to persuade the President to withdraw his name. Mr. Bohlen made himself *persona non grata* to this potent quartet at a committee hearing on March 2 when he had the courage to challenge Republican mythology by defending American actions at the Yalta conference, where he served as interpreter.

It seems likely, therefore, that Mr. Dulles will shortly have to send the newspapers an advertisement reading: "Russian experts wanted. Knowledge of language not essential; only yes-men need apply."

New Kremlin Bid

Premier Malenkov's second bid for negotiations with the West is not being brushed off anywhere except in Washington, and even there a few hardy individuals are urging that the Administration respond with cautious interest rather than the usual brusque incredulity. In Europe both press and public treat the new overture as an event of first importance, offering at least the possibility of realistic negotiations. Even the bitter anger aroused by the recent attacks on planes by Soviet and Czechoslovak jets has been somewhat diluted with hope. Whatever Malenkov's motives in reiterating Moscow's "peace aims"—whether to induce a slowdown in Western rearmament or actually to resolve conflicts between East and West—the shooting down of Allied planes could hardly advance Soviet purposes. So the tendency now is to assume that the incidents were not ordered by the Kremlin but by local military authorities acting in the hostile pattern of similar episodes in the past.

Those who least credit the sincerity of any Soviet move toward conciliation are naturally demanding that belief wait upon deeds. This view is wholly understandable, but it does not justify the flatly negative reaction of some Administration leaders. Obviously the Kremlin will not forthwith "pull out of Austria and Eastern Germany," as Senator Wiley has suggested. Any pulling out would have to be the result of bargaining; it will not be a free gift. But some check on Moscow's intentions may be discerned in the day-to-day behavior of its representatives. A reasonably conciliatory reply to the three-power note on the plane attacks, a willingness to compromise in the matter of a new Secretary General for the U. N., a formal proposal of talks on outstanding differences—such signs would provide a reasonable basis for a favorable response to Malenkov's striking statement. One thing is sure: the Administration cannot reject the Soviet overture in terms of its rollback policy and hope for any vestige of agreement from its chief European allies.

Thank You, Mr. Velde!

Representative Harold H. Velde deserves a vote of thanks if not of confidence for his suggestion that the House Committee on Un-American Activities might have to investigate clergymen who dare to criticize its methods. Any number of fine editorials and eloquent sermons failed to produce the reaction that this arrogant suggestion provoked. The National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. lost little time in adopting—sixty-nine to two—a resolution, strengthened by an amendment proposed by Charles P. Taft, sharply criticizing "certain methods" of Congressional committees. Representative Franklin D. Roosevelt just as promptly introduced a resolution calling for Velde's removal as chairman of the committee; Velde's colleagues repudi-

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Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

ated his suggestion; and Velde, bruised, battered, and bewildered, was forced to announce that he did not intend to go forward with the investigation "at this time."

In Washington the local Presbytery tabled for a month a scorching resolution rebuking Velde, after an unsuccessful effort by the Reverend Dr. Edward L. R. Elson, whose church President Eisenhower attends, to modify the original motion in order to win its immediate acceptance. And in a sermon inspired by the inept Velde, the Reverend C. Stanley Lowell, a Methodist minister in the District, called for an investigation of the investigators. "How do we know McCarthy is loyal?" he asked—and got only the echo to his question as an answer.

A study of the barometer readings for the week encourages us to believe that we were right in pointing out in an earlier issue (Revolt Against McCarthy? March 7) that the witch hunt is meeting with a sturdier resistance than at any time since 1947.

Fighting Against Franco

The anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, with headquarters in Amsterdam, last week adopted a resolution strongly condemning the Franco government for a "new wave of repressions"—this time directed against workers affiliated with the anti-Communist Spanish General Workers' Union. The statement charges that Thomas Centeno, a member of the union, had died "as a result of maltreatment in the cells of the security police of Madrid." The I. C. F. T. U. reiterated its determination to fight to the last against the admission of the Franco regime to the United Nations.

In the meantime spokesmen of various anti-Franco groups in Spain have in person notified the United States embassy at Madrid that these groups will not consider themselves bound by any obligation that the dictator may assume toward the United States government. One such delegation to the embassy included General Aranda, formerly an outstanding commander in Franco's army, now in the opposition. Many Americans traveling in Spain have been impressed by the mounting anti-United States feeling which has developed as a result of the efforts of our government to trade the future of the Spanish people for military bases.

That Urge to Merge

Business Week of March 7 reports that the post-war "urge to merge" is still strong. Mergers and absorptions of business enterprises have averaged sixty per month since 1945, and last year produced a bumper crop. A top management consultant is quoted as saying that the "urge is shared equally by the company that will be absorbed and the company that will do the absorbing." But the absorbers seem to be more active and systematic;

some companies, for example, now "maintain vice-presidents or even whole departments for the prime purpose of seeking out absorbable companies."

Two trends are conspicuous. One is toward the elimination of the medium-sized, prosperous business which is owned by an individual, a family, or a small group of stockholders. The owners sell their stock for a good price, pay the capital-gains tax, and invest the proceeds in tax-free municipal bonds. In some instances they have been able to "triple their take-home pay" in this manner. Had they stayed in business, their company would have had to multiply its profits twenty times for them to have made a comparable net return.

Again a company with high earnings may acquire control of another company with a sizable tax-loss carry-over or may absorb another for the sole purpose of liquidating it and realizing a low-tax-rate profit. "In recent years," J. B. Wallach reports in the New York *World-Telegram* (March 10), "virtually every type of business from department store to textile mill" has been involved in liquidations of this type. "Capital gains," he writes, "seem to be inspiring more liquidations than adverse business conditions. . . . Unless business conditions take a turn for the worse"—perverse thought!—"additional firms will be sold down the river. Unfortunately communities as well as countless individuals are hurt when liquidation involves a shutdown and a lost pay roll. To some it may seem a high price to pay for a dollar profit." It is indeed ironic that now, at the "top of the market," the urge to merge is stronger than ever.

Handling the Russians

In contrast with the partisan role played by Secretary General Trygve Lie, discussed on page 241, it is interesting to note how another high official of the United Nations manages to resist pressure both from the United States and from the Russians. On the day the Security Council in New York was trying vainly to elect a new Secretary General, in Geneva the head of the U. N. Economic Commission for Europe, Mr. Gunnar Myrdal, was stoutly rejecting a Soviet demand that he sever relations between his agency and the European Coal and Steel Community, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, and various Marshall Plan groups.

The debate was heated. At one point Mr. Arutiunian, a Soviet delegate, went so far as to suggest that if relations were maintained Russia would have to reconsider its participation in the work of the commission. Mr. Myrdal stood fast, adding that he would be glad to have similar relations with intergovernmental agencies for economic planning in Eastern Europe. Confronted by this firm but impartial attitude, the Russians did not force the issue to a showdown, and the incident was closed.

Disengagement into Disenchantment

THE "new look" of the Eisenhower-Dulles foreign policy is so far largely an illusion. The Administration has deliberately created the impression that it has set forth on a different, bolder course, promising big results, particularly in East Asia. It has led us to believe it has discovered a magic formula for winning the Korean war, weakening China, perhaps disrupting the Sino-Soviet alliance, and unscrambling the Yalta egg. It has suggested we are on the road to extricating American troops from Korea and the French from Indo-China, letting Asians fight Asians while America creates a strong central military reserve comparable with the reserve of armed forces in the Soviet Union.

In part this is an attempt by the Republican Administration to fulfil rash campaign talk. Mr. Eisenhower appears to be hypnotized by some of his more ill-advised statements preceding the election. But it is also in part an ill-advised attempt to build a *Realpolitik* out of unreality.

The entire development signals danger. Within a year or so the American people are likely to start asking questions: What happened to that Chinese Nationalist invasion of the mainland? Whatever came of that celebrated resolution against Yalta, "secret agreements," enslavement, or whichever version happened to be current at breakfast time today? With all our embargoing of strategic materials to Communist China, why haven't those Reds been shaken? Finally an impatient public may demand to know how many of our 250,000 American soldiers in Korea have been brought home as the result of Secretary Dulles's inspiring plan of disengagement.

In an editorial entitled Eisenhowerism, the Manchester *Guardian* the other day wrote of the anxiety America's policy in Asia is causing. "Public opinion may rise," the British liberal journal said. "The instinct of America, when it is thwarted, is often to take a bold line of attack, which in many circumstances is commendable but in the present ones might cause catastrophe."

Dulles's latest style of fancy public relations was displayed in the official communiqué issued after his four days' discussion with Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden in Washington. The passage of the communiqué that dominated all others in the American mind described two new British measures against shipment of war material to Communist China. One was the reintroduction of a licensing system for ships registered in the United Kingdom and colonies. The other was a decision to prevent bunkering at British ports by ships bearing strategic cargoes for China. "These steps," remarked a Washington dispatch to the London *Times,* "have been accorded an importance here out of all proportion to any possible results." And the Manchester *Guardian* drily commented, "Possibly [this new decision] will have a greater effect on American public opinion than on China's supplies." American press reports suggested, "Britain has helped impose an economic blockade." It was implied that the repentant British had at last renounced a thriving armaments traffic with Red China.

Nobody could learn the truth from the communiqué or from its interpretation in our newspapers. One or two British ships have indeed docked at the Polish port of Gdynia and carried a few strategic items to China. United States officials admit that our intelligence about non-Communist countries' vessels going to China is based mainly on sightings which give no clue to cargoes. American authorities also confirm that many of the "free world's" ships are sailing to China empty—in ballast—to pick up soya beans, vegetable oils, grain, iron ore, manganese, pig bristles, or cow bones. Of those carrying cargoes to China by far the majority are taking civilian goods—wool-tops, dyestuffs, pharmaceuticals, sugar-refining and textile machinery.

NOR COULD one gather from the Dulles-Eden communiqué that, next to the United States and Canada, Britain has long been enforcing the strictest embargo on delivery of anything like war material to China. Our vocal Congressmen, a few raucous radio commentators of the Fulton Lewis school, and many of our newspapers have been drawing the picture of a Britain growing fat and rich by shipping contraband goods to the Chinese Communists. How many Americans are aware that of Britain's total exports one one-thousandth goes to Red China and that of British imports one-five-hundredth comes from China?

In its first two months the Eisenhower Administration has run up this score in foreign affairs:

Formosa. The President's de-neutralization of that island, which was not neutral anyway, led millions of Americans to expect the impossible. They imagined Chiang Kai-shek's army would cross the Formosan Straits and establish a beachhead on China's mainland, a vision which has meanwhile evaporated. There was talk of Chinese Nationalist bombing raids against mainland communications; now Americans are learning that the handful of bombers on Formosa are outmoded and that the real problem is how to defend Formosa against air attacks if the Chinese Communists should decide to make them. It is beginning to dawn on American taxpayers that they will have to foot a big bill for arming his troops before Chiang will risk them in combat.

Blockade. In January high officials of the Eisenhower Administration were predicting an early naval blockade against Communist China. Dulles said such a plan was being considered. Then the British strongly objected. India's Nehru denounced the idea. Our alarmed friends and allies in Europe and Asia recoiled from the harebrained notion. Now we hear that at least 75 per cent of China's trade is overland and that a costly and legally questionable blockade would have negligible effect.

Yalta. The wettest squib of all is the celebrated joint resolution by the President and Congress. Last July in Chicago, Dulles boldly wrote into the Republican platform: "The government of the United States under Republican leadership will repudiate all commitments contained in secret understandings such as those of Yalta which aid Communist enslavements." After much wrangling Mr. Eisenhower's weaker formula was further dehydrated in a compromise version which Dulles had his State Department concoct in the hope of winning unanimous Congressional support. In its latest form the resolution mentioned enslavement but said nothing about Yalta, repudiation, or secret understandings. This made the Democrats happy but not Taft, and in the end the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, whose talents are equal to recognizing a dead duck, postponed indefinitely consideration of this specimen of Dullesian diplomacy.

East-West Trade. We have already described the fraudulence of the China section of the Dulles-Eden announcement. Earlier this month Mutual Security Director Harold Stassen called a news conference and disclosed a seven-point program by which the Eisenhower Administration proposes further to restrict trade with the Communist bloc. It was a hodgepodge of remnants of the Truman policy, mixed with promises to "study," "devise," "consult," and "coordinate" more of the same. It was worth exactly what it got—a minor headline near the obituary columns in next day's newspapers.

Disengagement. This great concept, which Dulles has singled out as his fairhaired brain child, has created illusions of another sort. The idea is familiar; it recurred in numerous Eisenhower campaign speeches. South Korean and Vietnamese divisions are to be multiplied in the next eighteen months or so to such an extent that American and French troops can be withdrawn.

TO MOST people this indicates that our G. I.'s will be brought home and be replaced entirely by Koreans. Nothing like that is contemplated. How will Americans react when they discover that even if this strategy were carried out, most of our seven divisions in Korea would simply be moved to Pusan and Japan and kept there? What will happen when disengagement turns into disenchantment?

As this series of phonies starts making an impact on the American mind in the months ahead, public opinion at home may indeed get excited. That is when we shall face the risk that the Eisenhower Administration, to placate a disillusioned, impatient people, may edge toward adventurism.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

A New Secretary General?

United Nations

GIVEN an international situation full of perils both foreseeable and unforeseeable—the shooting down of American and British planes over Germany was a good example of the latter—it is only natural that responsible elements in the United Nations should try to rescue it from its present impotence. The problem of appointing a new Secretary General has therefore acquired an importance it would not have had in a less strained atmosphere. This problem is closely linked to that of the U. N. staff. Mr. Lie's failure to resist the constant pressure to transform the United Nations into a subsidiary agency of a great power, subject like any other government department to investigation by Senators and police, lent the issue of the U. N. staff its world-wide interest.

As will be remembered, it was in the midst of the uproar created by the dismissal of several staff members, none of them charged with any act of subversion, that Mr. Lie resigned. Some people suspected at the time that his announcement concealed an intention to maneuver later to keep his post. Last week this suspicion was strengthened. But a clever French-British counter move intercepted him. His plan was to provoke a debate in the Assembly on his handling of the staff issue. From this he hoped to emerge vindicated, thanks to the active support of the United States delegation and the benevolent silence of the others. Criticism from the Soviet camp did not bother him—it could only increase his popularity in the quarters that backed him. After obtaining his certificate of innocence, Mr. Lie intended to ask the Security Council to elect his successor and, in the rather probable case of a deadlock, to announce he was ready to sacrifice himself once more in the interest of peace by staying at his post.

Opposing his retention for various reasons, the French and British called for an immediate meeting of the Security Council to elect his successor. That left him not enough time to obtain the Assembly's absolution. Taken by surprise, he engaged in a series of secret consultations, and through promises, suggestions, and overtures tried to convey to the several delegations that he was still available. All this had to be done in a few hours, and was without result. He then had to hurry to the Assembly to read his self-justifying report. But it was too late; the French and British had made up their minds.

MR. LIE'S ADDRESS was not of a kind to increase the number of his supporters. On the contrary, many delegates, listening to him, wondered how he had ever been given the direction of the United Nations. It is true that his presentation of his case had a kind of cleverness that might have seemed creditable on a lower political level. He portrayed himself simply as a victim of the cold war: the Russians behaved abominably toward him, and McCarthy did not make his task easier. By thus distributing the blame Mr. Lie was obviously attempting at this zero hour to play the part of the incorruptible Secretary General treating Russia and America with strict impartiality. Had he really played this role, the *affaire Lie* might never have plagued us.

He declared, first, that the Russians had withdrawn their recognition of him "because of the stand [he] took in support of United Nations action against armed aggression in Korea." This may have been true, but the Russians had recognized Mr. Lie long after he took his "stand" and had broken relations with him only after his reappointment as Secretary General, in their view in violation of the Charter. The Russians' reaction was in line with their general insistence that the provisions of the Charter must be observed at any cost, especially in matters requiring the unanimity of the Big Five. Unanimity is for them the last redoubt, which they must defend if they are not to accept the position of a rebellious and obstructive group. Since they are commonly beaten by majorities as great as fifty-five to five, they feel secure only when the unanimity rule is strictly applied. Maintaining that the extension of Mr. Lie's mandate was an evasion of this rule, they ignored it.

In the second place, the Secretary General presented himself as a victim of the hysteria prevailing in the United States. He said that since to be a Communist or to refuse to reply to the questions of Congressional committees is an offense in the "host country," it must also be an offense in the United Nations. There is no need to expose this fallacy again to *Nation* readers.

THE FRENCH AND BRITISH came to the meeting on March 11 with a good candidate, Lester B. Pearson, Canada's Secretary for External Affairs, who has been presiding over the present Assembly with great distinction. Unfortunately the United States has a candidate of its own, General Rómulo of the Philippines, a temperamental orator but not a person to restore the balance and re-create the confidence destroyed by Mr. Lie. The Russians' nomination of the Foreign Minister of Poland was pure formula. Owing mainly to the division in the Western camp the meeting ended as it began. Forty-eight hours later the Council met again. This time Rómulo was easily beaten; Pearson obtained nine of the eleven votes and would have been elected but for the Soviet veto. Mr. Zorin tried to get a postponement of the vote until a subsequent meeting. It was evident that the Russians wanted to negotiate, but this indication was ignored, a vote taken, and a new Soviet veto registered. The hope now is that before Thursday, when the Council meets for the third time, informal talks with the Soviet delegates may lead to an agreement on Mr. Pearson or on some other candidate and thus prevent the return of Mr. Lie and put an end to the present unhealthy situation in the United Nations.

THE NEW SOVIET MAN

Inheritor of the Kremlin . . *by Mark Gayn*

Paris

THE death of Joseph Stalin ended an era. Whatever one may think of his philosophy or methods, there is no doubt that in the twenty-seven years he held power Stalin influenced the course of history more than any other of the great figures in whom this terrible period was singularly rich.

What may seem even more significant to future generations is the fact that the end of this era brought to power what the Soviet press calls "the new Soviet man." The group that has now taken over the Soviet state and party—Malenkov and Beria, Bulganin and Khruschev, Saburov and Pervukhin, Suslov and Mikhailov—is a new political breed whose thinking is largely incomprehensible to the West and whose capacity for compromise or evil is as yet unknown. What are the philosophy and *mores* of the "new Soviet man"? Is there any ground on which the West can reach an understanding with him? What will be his influence on the vast and turbulent forces awakened or led by Stalinism throughout the world, and especially in Asia?

Stalin was an "original" Bolshevik—one of that band who fought in the czarist underground, knew imprisonment and exile, preached, at least in the beginning, Marxian internationalism, and worked side by side with Lenin. Stalin's heirs are a whole generation away from all this; most of them did not join the party until after the revolution. Georgi Malenkov, for instance, was fifteen when Lenin took over power and did not join the Red Army until two years later.

Malenkov and his coworkers acquired their political faith, methods, loyalties, and even their knowledge of revolutionary history in the Stalin-controlled party. Though it is not generally realized, these "new Soviet men" have, in fact, been running the state and the party for more than a decade, even if they did not yet make high policy. In 1939, when the party held its Eighteenth Congress, more than 90 per cent of all the important party posts, local and national, were held by men who had been sixteen years of age or under at the time of the revolution. Between the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Congress, held last October, party membership soared from 1,590,000 to just over 6,000,000, with a corresponding increase in "young blood." Perhaps the most significant feature of the Nineteenth Congress was that it marked the party's formal recognition of the "new Soviet man." The party, in effect, was turned over to Malenkov there and then: he made the keynote address, customarily delivered by Stalin; the word "Bolshevik" was dropped from the party's name, and its theoretical monthly, *Bolshevik,* was renamed *Communist.* With the West largely unaware of what was happening, the old party had actually changed its identity, top leadership, and a great deal of its original philosophy. Stalin's death merely removed the last strong sentimental link between Bolshevik tradition and the new party.

WHAT MAKES Russia's future so puzzling now is that it will be guided not by familiar revolutionaries but by these youthful party bureaucrats, not by Marxian internationalists but by fervent Russian nationalists. The milieu which produced Lenin and Stalin was strongly influenced by Western cultural and political tradition. Lenin and Trotsky, in fact, belonged to the same revolutionary strain as, say, Togliatti or Nenni. Stalin's bonds with Western thought were also close, even if he chose to denounce them later. But when Malenkov denies that he has any such bonds, he is pretty nearly right. He belongs to the majority of the new Soviet leaders who have never been outside the Russian orbit and consider most things outside it either evil or inferior.

Malenkov did not originate the new Russian nationalism; it was apparently brought into being by one of Stalin's decrees back in 1934. But no one in Moscow, not even the late Andrei Zhdanov, has been more active than Malenkov in nourishing it. It was Malenkov who led the hunt for "rootless cosmopolitans," especially in the fields of thought and creative writing. It was he who sought out "nationalist deviations" in the smaller republics of the Soviet Union and proclaimed, directly or indirectly, the superiority of the Russian man, political system, inventive genius, military might, and, yes, *lapta*—that obvious granddaddy of "beizbol."

In the thirty years between the era of Lenin and the era of Malenkov the party has undergone a total metamorphosis. Its development from a revolutionary conspiracy into a gigantic bureaucracy made much of the change inevitable. But whatever the causes, the party has long been putting a lesser premium on faith than on obedience and conformity.

This pervading loyalty to the party—rather than to an ideal—produces some of the Soviet phenomena least comprehensible to the Western mind. Malenkov, for instance, sees nothing odd in his demand that "literature and art be guided in their creative work by that which is the basis of life in the Soviet land—the party policy"; or in his statement to the Nineteenth Congress that it is "the mission" of Soviet science "to occupy first place in world science." The reaction is quick. Within a fortnight the president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, in a half-page article in *Pravda* suitably entitled Occupy the First Place in World Science, assures the party that Malenkov's "magnificent, inspiring" assignment will be carried out promptly. And when Malenkov denounces Soviet writers because

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MARK GAYN, author and foreign correspondent, has traveled extensively in Eastern Europe.

none of them is a Gogol, and in the same breath proceeds to tell them what to write and how, neither he nor the new party sees anything incongruous in it. Everyone is deadly serious in these exchanges, for everyone knows that the party is the beginning and the end, the source of all power, and the bearer of all truths.

NATIONALISM and devotion to the omniscient, all-powerful party are the two main characteristics of the "new Soviet man." Mixed, they produce a heady brew. For the party which, in its wisdom, demands Gogols and "the world's best science" does not halt there, as indeed it could not. Following the same pattern of thought and political behavior, it launches a strenuous campaign to create and propagate the concepts of "the most advanced state in the world," insists on Russian primacy to the point of reviling and punishing nationalism in the satellite countries, rewrites history to keep up with the changes within the party, and in a completely matter-of-fact way eliminates entire social and national groups. The important thing today is not only that Malenkov has taken over the party but that he is its child. He *believes* in these things.

Withal, Malenkov's mind is coldly rational and disciplined. He knows caution and patience, and it is interesting to note that he now echoes Stalin's boast of "strong nerves"—the implication being that he cannot be frightened into hasty action or concessions. A pudgy man in a drab tunic, Malenkov is not an inspiring leader, nor a profound thinker, nor yet a myth. Versatile like most other top Communists, he is an economist, and a fairly competent one. But primarily he is a bureaucrat and an administrator, with a keen understanding of the bases of power in the Soviet state and of the potentialities of propaganda. He may lack Stalin's judgment and magnetic name, but there is no reason why—with time—he will not do a good job of consolidating his hold on the party, running the state, and expanding industrial production.

WHAT ARE Malenkov's thoughts on the West and the cold war? A study of his two major pronouncements on the subject—one at the inauguration of the Cominform in 1947 and the other at the party congress last October—is fruitful. It shows that there has been little change in Malenkov's evaluation of the world scene. It also reveals an intimate connection between his own and Stalin's ideas on foreign affairs, as expounded last fall. Evidently the problem had been bandied about for years in the Politburo, with a fair degree of agreement.

Briefly, this is Malenkov's thesis. Taking advantage of the defeat of Japan and Germany and the weakening of France and Britain, the United States has been trying to establish hegemony over the world ever since the war. Under the banner of "Defense Against Communism," it has been converting former great powers into satellites, taking over their markets, and moving into their colonies. Naturally, the victimized nations resent this encroachment and may some day come to blows with the United States.

Moreover, as a result of the division of the world into two hostile camps, a depression stands on capitalist doorsteps. Economic collapse in the United States has been averted only by the conversion of industry to war purposes. And as the United States militarizes itself, it compels its satellites to follow suit. Thus anti-American resentment increases and pro-peace forces in Western Europe are strengthened.

On the other side is the "peace camp," led by the Soviet Union. It is strong enough to "drub" any aggressor, but it stands for peace, world trade, and the coexistence of capitalism and socialism "for a long time." Trade is the basis on which the "cold war" might be brought to a halt.

I think this is a fair condensation of Malenkov's views. Apparently he, like Stalin and Mao Tse-tung, feels that if Russia can stay out of war there will be sooner or later a crippling depression in the capitalist countries or perhaps even an armed conflict between the United States and its present allies. It looks, therefore, as if Moscow's foreign policy under Malenkov would remain largely unchanged. It seems clear, too, that the current policy pronouncements in Moscow—and especially Malenkov's address—reflect decisions made last summer, probably after General Eisenhower's nomination in July and before the party congress in October. It is still too early to guess what these decisions were, but one may surmise, again on the basis of Soviet publications, that they were influenced by the war weariness assumed to prevail in the United States. If that is so, we are about to see an intensification of a Soviet peace offensive.

MAJOR CHANGES in the party's policy are far more likely to be noted in the internal than in the external sphere. Almost certainly we shall see a tightening of discipline, purges that may reach into higher party echelons in every Communist country, an intensified campaign against deviations of every kind, including "Jewish bourgeois nationalism," and an unparalleled stress on increased production. The new Soviet man is sure to demand more sweat and sacrifice.

The change of dynasty in the Kremlin might eventually open up vast possibilities to the West. One is that Malenkov might be unable to match the unifying influence that the magic of Stalin's name has had on the Communist world. Another is that Mao Tse-tung, the surviving giant of communism, might now insist on more complete Chinese dominance in Asia. Militating against these possibilities is the incontestable fact that the Red world has been held together by more than the magic of Stalin's name. The tight party, police, and army web remains intact, and so do the benefits which, for instance, bind China to Russia. It is also true that Malenkov is far better prepared to take over Stalin's mantle than Stalin was to take over Lenin's. The West would do well to watch for opportunity, but it must be prudent in identifying it correctly. In the next few months we shall hear many rash counsels. If followed, they might prove more costly than anything done by the "new Soviet man."

Alvin Katz

YOU'RE A COMMUNIST AND I'M NOT!
YOU'RE A RED!
BLAH BLAH!
VOICE OF AMER.

VOICE OF AMERICA? . . *a Fantasy*

[*The other night the editors of* The Nation *dreamed they were somewhere in Western Europe listening to a French radio commentator broadcasting from Paris on a subject of great interest to Americans. Here is what they heard.*]

FOR some years now the Voice of America has been transmitting to us here in Western Europe the image of America. For countless hours the Voice has echoed over London, Paris, and Rome, over Sheffield, Stuttgart, Oslo, and Milan, giving us dramas, essays, tone poems, and folk songs. We have been favored with brilliant passages from Melville and with charming descriptions of the Rocky Mountains. And of course we have heard praises of NATO and ferocious attacks on communism. These were, if you will forgive us, a little heavy-handed for our taste. Nevertheless, we dozed patiently through them, waking up in time for the excellent jazz recordings.

Ah, this America! This formidable eater of breakfast cereals and enriched breads. This confident figure with his broad shoulders and well-filled teeth. This manly guy with his dogged convictions. We heard him portrayed—lover of baseball, whistler of Gershwin, reader of Whitman and Thoreau, in politics a Lincoln Republican or a Jefferson Democrat. A homely, winning fellow who loved nothing better than a peaceful week-end in the garage, tinkering with his incomparable automobile.

Naturally, we did not swallow this image whole. Notwithstanding a lamentable lack of Buicks and garbage-disposal mechanisms, we Europeans have managed to develop a few useful products, among them the critical eye and the worldly smile. And we could not resist making certain slight revisions in the official portrait.

We have had many opportunities to observe both G. I.'s and tourists. We see the movies of Hollywood. And so you will understand that to the image of the confident, well-fed face, we could not help adding a faint nervous twitch. To the literature of Whitman and Thoreau we added the comic book. The gay tune whistled by the American was, we imagined, less likely to be Gershwin than be-bop or the marines' anthem. And the object tinkered with in the garage, we suspected, might be an atomic bomb. We retouched the Voice's image with our fine Voltairean hand, and what emerged was a figure somewhat like ourselves. A little fearful, a little brave; a little debased, a little noble; influenced by great traditions and petty jealousies. In short, a man.

And then there opened Senator's McCarthy's investigation of the Voice. It was well covered by our press, and the reports offered a most intriguing prospect. We were to have a chance to learn who owned those anonymous voices we had been hearing.

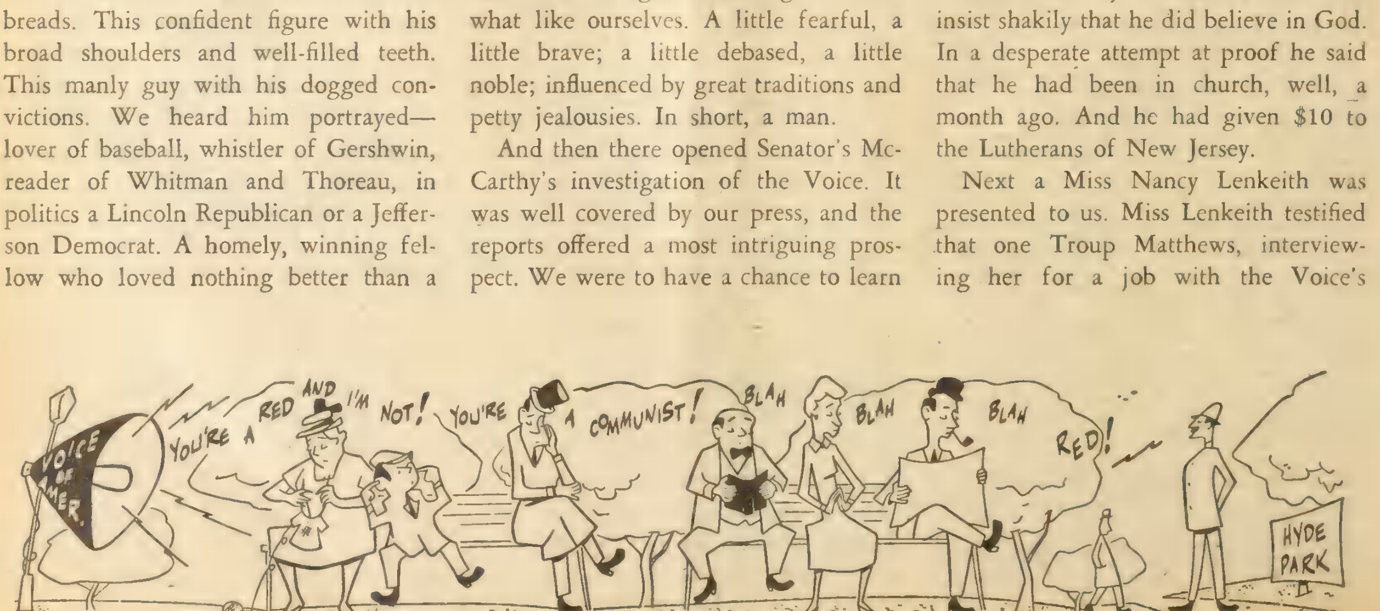
We met first a Dr. John Cocutz who testified he had been told that the head of the Voice's religious desk was an atheist. Dr. Cocutz was not sure of the man's name. But Senator McCarthy quickly ferreted it out. It was Roger Lyons.

Next appeared a Mrs. Patricia Shepherd. She had dated Mr. Lyons in the middle forties. "Roger was one of the first men I had met in New York. He was quite a brain and I wasn't. I was fascinated." Ah, this was more like it. Touchingly romantic, these Americans. Alas, the image was shattered by Mrs. Shepherd's next words. "He had no belief in God. He was going to a psychoanalyst and was very confused."

It was, we confess, a little mortifying to learn we had been hanging on the words of a Rumanian tattle-tale and an embittered lady of little brain. Hopefully we waited for the real, manly American to appear.

At last Mr. Lyons took the stand—to insist shakily that he did believe in God. In a desperate attempt at proof he said that he had been in church, well, a month ago. And he had given $10 to the Lutherans of New Jersey.

Next a Miss Nancy Lenkeith was presented to us. Miss Lenkeith testified that one Troup Matthews, interviewing her for a job with the Voice's


YOU'RE A RED AND I'M NOT!
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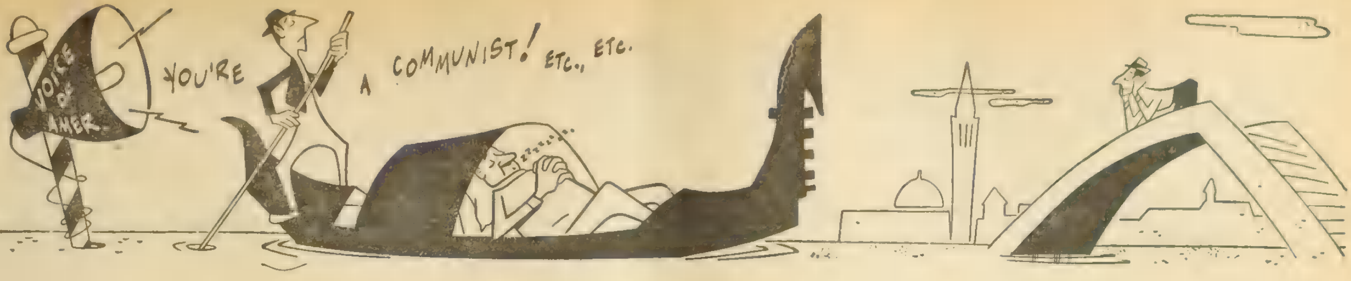

VOICE OF AMER.
YOU'RE
A COMMUNIST! ETC., ETC.

French section, had invited her "to join a collectivist group and start bearing children, although I was unmarried." Miss Lenkeith was "sort of stunned by the offer." But not so stunned, as our cafe wits noted, that she could not rally and accept the job.

Now the accusation of being in favor of seduction is hardly considered a shattering charge against a man, here in Europe. But we expected an American to come forward and defend himself. When Mr. Matthews finally appeared, however, the broad shoulders were bowed. "That collectivist idea," he said frantically; "I don't know where she got it! I'm a firm believer in monogamy. I've got a wife and four kids to prove it!"

It was during Miss Lenkeith's testimony, incidentally, that we in Europe got a fleeting glimpse of the American's famed sense of humor. Senator McCarthy interrupted the witness to urge that she postpone her shocking tale until a later secret session, in order to protect the innocence of children who might be watching the proceedings on television.

There followed one John C. Caldwell, pointing a damaging finger at the Voice's chief of policy, W. Bradley Connors. But Mr. Connors, as it turned out, was quite guiltless. Mr. Caldwell was forced to admit that Connors was not a disloyal American; he was simply "a ruthless opportunist."

And so it went. We were meeting at last the people behind the Voice of America, and we discovered they were a sad crew—disgruntled, malicious, and frightened. Listeners in Sicily were interested to learn that among those who spoke to them over the Voice were some self-styled vigilantes known to their co-workers as the "Mafia."

Then the shabby comedy turned bizarre. Under attack for allowing quotations from the works of Howard Fast to be broadcast, the State Department issued an order forbidding use of the words "of any known controversial person, Communist, fellow-traveler, etc." When asked just whom this blanket description included, Mr. Humphrey, who had issued the order, admitted, "We really don't know."

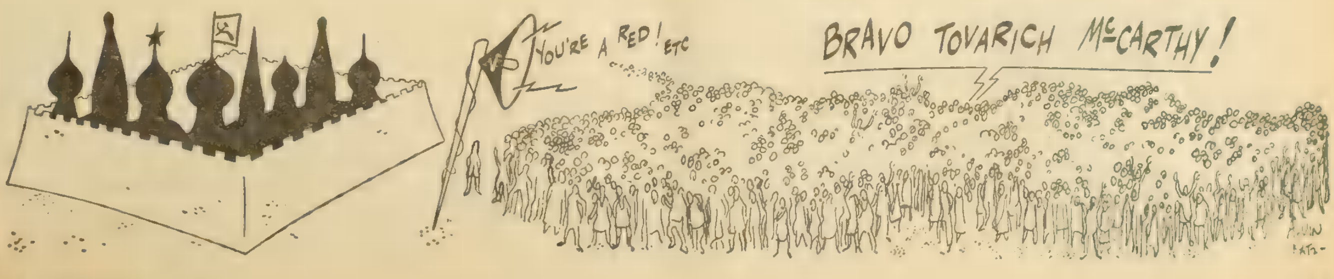
But we in Western Europe knew. We are not unacquainted with American history. It would include Franklin D. Roosevelt, for years a storm center of controversy. It would include Abraham Lincoln, who corresponded with Karl Marx. And certainly it would include Walt Whitman, who was fired from the editorship of the Brooklyn *Eagle* for radical sentiments, Thoreau, who wrote a tract advocating civil disobedience, and Thomas Jefferson, who wrote: "It behooves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself to resist invasions of it in the case of others; or their case may, by exchange of circumstances, become his own. It behooves him, too, in his own case, to give no example of concession, betraying the common right of independent opinion, by answering questions of faith, which the laws have left between God and himself."

Among the Europeans who would be banned there would assuredly be Stendhal, whom the police chief of Milan accused of holding "the most pernicious political ideas," and Zola, who leaped into the Dreyfus controversy, and gentle Proust, who circulated petitions in Zola's defense, not to mention Dante and Heinrich Heine, political exiles both.

Thinking thus, we read the news reports. We read them closely. And we saw, finally, the bizarre turn tragic, when Raymond Kaplan, a Voice of America engineer, committed suicide, writing in his last note: "Once the dogs are on you, everything you have done since the beginning of time becomes suspect." As a last irony, we read the announcement that Senator McCarthy had investigated Kaplan's loyalty and issued a posthumous clearance.

The Voice of America still echoes here in Europe. We trust you will understand when we confess that we no longer listen. There are undoubtedly courageous and attractive Americans, but we did not read of them appearing on McCarthy's witness stand. We read of slander, and back-stabbing, and nervous denials, and continual retreats by Secretary Dulles. We can hardly be blamed for the conclusion that the Voice we hear from now on will be the brass whoop of Senator McCarthy.

And so, in Rome, and Copenhagen, and Paris, when it comes time for the broadcast from America, you will excuse us for turning off the radio with a sardonic grin, and quietly going out for a caffè espresso, a glass of akquavit, a shot of cognac to help us enjoy our mood of meditative melancholy.



TOO MUCH CORN

Or Too Much Benson? . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

IT IS all beginning to look and sound very much like the great days of the Eightieth Congress, which bravely set out to bring back William McKinley and succeeded only in presenting Harry S. Truman with another four years in the White House. Where it looks and sounds that way most, just at present, is probably in Ezra Benson's Department of Agriculture. Take for instance the Corn Industry Conference which Secretary Benson called for March 4, (that it opened exactly twenty years to the day after Henry Wallace had brought a new idea about farm programs into the department was of course only an outlandish coincidence).

Secretary Benson

The reason for the meeting was the fact that the Department of Agriculture, through its Commodity Credit Corporation, currently holds some 280,000,000 bushels of corn, worth approximately $450,000,000. That is a great deal of corn, of course, but whether it is good or bad to have it depends on your point of view. If you are enthusiastic about the ever-normal-granary idea and want insurance against a possible poor crop year, it is good. From other points of view it is bad, and those points of view were well represented at the conference.

About half of those who attended the meeting were farmers and their spokesmen, including high officials of the Farm Bureau and the Grange but oddly enough not of the Farmers' Union, and half were big grain dealers and processors, including such men as Sylvester Myers, president of the Chicago Board of Trade, and J. William Brady, vice-president of the Corn Products Refining Company of New York. The industry people did the most significant talking. Brady set the key by complaining that the government's grain holdings scare people and depress the market; he demanded an end to the government's operations in this field. In the end the industry representatives were calling for a new set-up under which all the government's functions in respect to price supports—with the sole exception of the function of occasionally losing money—would be taken over by the private grain trade.

The tone of their remarks was so reactionary that even the Farm Bureau officials got worried, and when it was moved that a subcommittee be appointed to make formal recommendations along this line about half of the delegates did not vote.

The conference adjourned without quite making explicit the desire of the industry members for a corn price-support program handled entirely by themselves. It came very near it, however, and high officials in the Department of Agriculture feel much the same.

Secretary Benson's choice for president of the Commodity Credit Corporation is John H. Davis, who is on leave from his job as executive vice-president of the National Wool Marketing Corporation and who previously was with the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives. Mr. Davis has said that much of the heavy government buying could be handled more efficiently through commercial market channels.

When the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives met in New Orleans last January, its president, D. W. Brooks—now a member of Benson's top Agricultural Advisory Committee—came out flatly in favor of letting private enterprise handle the price-support program. Support loans would be made by bankers, and the grain on which loans were made would be stored by regular commercial operators; the sole important function of the Commodity Credit Corporation would be to underwrite the program and to stand the loss if there was one. With industry pressing in that direction and with so many of the Department of Agriculture people leaning that way without even being pushed, it is not hard to believe that some such program will ultimately be made official.

TO UNDERSTAND industry's enthusiasm for it one need only take a brief glance at the way the corn price-support program works. The Commodity Credit Corporation will make loans to a farmer up to 90 per cent of the parity-price value of his crop, taking title to his corn as security. If the market price goes up, the farmer simply sells his corn in the usual way and pays off the loan. If the market price drops, he in effect invites the government to foreclose on its loan, and the Commodity Credit Corporation takes physical possession of the corn. Ultimately, of course, the corporation has to dispose of it with the least possible disturbance to the market and the least possible loss to the government.

In this operation money is loaned and grain is stored; and for a long time the trade has been asking why all that lending and storing should not be done by the commercial operators. Let the farmer, it is argued, put his grain under loan with a private trader. He will get his money, just as he does now, and if the price drops, the trader will be reimbursed by the Commodity Credit Cor-

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BRUCE CATTON is contributing a series of articles about the new Washington Administration.

poration. A neater method for having the trade do all the money-making and the government all the money-losing would be hard to imagine.

The proposal also has its political appeal. It would make possible an apparent reduction in government spending. The reduction would be no more than apparent, but it would show up on the budget, or could be made to show up there. Like this:

The action arm, so to speak, of the Commodity Credit Corporation is the Production Marketing Administration. This has a large field staff for making loans, handling papers, operating the grain-storage facilities, and so on. If the loan-and-storage operation is turned over to private industry, all these people could be fired, and the saving could be pointed to with vast pride. To be sure, bankers and traders would be paid for making the loans, and grain dealers would be paid for receiving, storing, and marketing the grain; so in the end the cost to the government would be just as great as it is now, if not a little more. But the "saving" could be made to look good in the newspapers.

THE EXTENT to which the whole price-support system has lost favor in the Department of Agriculture has to be seen to be appreciated. The Secretary's economic adviser—the job held under Secretary Brannan by Louis Bean—is Don Paarlberg, formerly of the faculty of Purdue University. A little more than a year ago, when Dr. Paarlberg was presenting the "Case Against Price Supports" to the semi-annual meeting of the National Egg Products Association in Chicago, he remarked that "price supports for farm products are based on the assumption that a dollar is worth more in the pocket of a farmer than in the pocket of anyone else."

As a matter of simple fact, on farm policy this Administration is simply following the trail blazed by the Eightieth Congress. The Eightieth Congress passed a law forbidding the Commodity Credit Corporation to lease or acquire any real property for grain-storage purposes. The wording was such that the corporation could not even rent vacant lots to put up certain storage bins which it already owned. In its effect on the farmer this law operated just as the new price-support system now being proposed would operate—it left the farmer entirely at the mercy of the grain-storage monopolists.

As it turned out, the grain-storage people did not always have much mercy. They could compel the farmer to sell at their own price, and a great many times they did exactly that. And the farmer, in case anyone has forgotten, got so mad about it that in the fall of 1948 the Republicans lost an election which looked absolutely fool-proof.

"LIMELIGHT"

Chaplin and His Censors . . *by William Murray*

"WHEN any group of Americans, whether they were in the army or not, starts setting up its own little list of who is acceptable and who is not, and acting as though their judgment ought to be binding on all other Americans, then certain basic principles are being violated." The Very Reverend Francis B. Sayre, Jr., dean of the Episcopal Cathedral in Washington, who can by no stretch of innuendo be linked to communism, was protesting against the "servile brand of patriotism" recently demonstrated by the American Legion in its attempt to prevent showings of the Chaplin film "Limelight."

The Legion's first move was the adoption of a resolution by the national executive committee on October 12, 1952, urging motion-picture exhibitors to withhold presentation of "Limelight" until the Department of Justice could take action on Chaplin's reentry permit into the United States. On October 20, according to James F. O'Neil, director of publications for the Legion, Robert Benjamin and Arthur Krim of United Artists visited his office and told him that they were "stuck" with "Limelight" and had to go ahead with distribution plans. O'Neil replied that the Legion would not only take action against "Limelight" but also "consider the fact that United Artists is the distributor of the film," a thinly veiled threat of future boycott. He noted, he added, that United Artists also distributed "High Noon," implying that the Legion did not approve of that picture either.

As the Legion prepared to act upon its resolution, it acquired a powerful ally in Howard Hughes, board chairman of R.K.O. Radio Pictures Corporation and a principal stockholder in the R.K.O. Theaters Corporation, the theater chain which would exhibit "Limelight." Hughes wrote the Legion's Hollywood Post 43 that although he had no legal control over the theater corporation, he was doing his best to persuade the management to "take the necessary legal measures to cancel all bookings of 'Limelight'."

Soon, wherever the picture was to be shown, organized opposition developed. The pattern of action was simple. As the day for the scheduled showing approached, the local Legion post began to agitate, threatening picketing and a boycott, holding widely publicized press conferences, calling "citizens' rallies," and trying in other ways to intimidate the theater manager. Its campaign was frequently supported by other organizations—the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Amvets, the Catholic War Veterans, the Jewish War Veterans, the Disabled American Veterans, and all sorts of Americanism committees.

The theater manager found himself caught between the ruthless opposition

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WILLIAM MURRAY is a frequent contributor to The Nation.

of the pressure groups and the indifference of his parent organizations. R.K.O. Theaters Corporation turned its back on its own exhibitors, apparently in accord with the policies of Hughes. Theater Owners of America and the Allied States Association, the two leading exhibitor organizations, adopted a hands-off policy regarding Legion picket lines and refused to protect local theaters.

Brandel

Since the two associations comprise the majority of theaters in the country, a strong stand on their part would have done much to offset local pressure. Instead, they released a pious statement pointing out that the local managers and owners would have "to live with the people to whom they show their films."

A QUICK SURVEY of a few sample cities gives an idea of the effectiveness of the campaign, although it is hard to gauge accurately what the drawing power of "Limelight" would have been under normal conditions. In the New York area "Limelight" opened simultaneously in sixty-seven theaters for a scheduled week's run. There was almost no picketing, but the film was withdrawn in all but a few theaters after the first three days. In Columbus the same thing occurred, and the box office was weak. In Hollywood, after Legion Post 43 sent letters to 200 theater operators and threatened picketing, the scheduled showings were canceled. In Newburgh, New York, a large delegation from the local Legion post called at the theater before the opening, and the film was not presented. In Washington the two local theaters which advertised it were picketed, but a strong editorial campaign by the Washington *Post* did much to rally public support, and "Limelight" played to "good houses." In New Orleans the film was withdrawn after three days in spite of good business and favorable audience response. The local manager said that he had been instructed to withdraw it by the R. K. O. office in New York.

Whenever there was time to organize a defense, the attack was defeated. Unfortunately this was seldom the case. By now "Limelight" in the normal course of events should have been shown in approximately 2,500 theaters throughout the country. On February 15 it had been shown in only about 150. The power of an ignorant and irresponsible censorship has bene demonstrated.

The attack on Chaplin and "Limelight" benefited from the peculiar and very personal animosity of certain public figures toward the comedian. Nowhere is nonconformism so dreaded today as in Hollywood, and Chaplin has long been recognized by Hedda Hopper, Louella Parsons, and other apostles of mediocrity as one of a dying but still dangerous species—the individual with a mind and tastes of his own. The feeling against Chaplin probably dates back to "Monsieur Verdoux," in which he unloaded a good many of his ideas about contemporary society. Whatever the cause, personal or political, the pattern of the attack threatens to become a dangerously familiar one.

The campaign was well planned and faultlessly executed. No objections were offered while the film was still in production. By launching the attack at the last minute its instigators made sure that no support for Chaplin could be organized in time. McCarthy's methods were copied. Chaplin was accused of "pro-communism" and "pro-Communist activities." No proofs or facts of any kind were furnished. A secondary campaign laid emphasis on the comedian's personal life, especially his marriages to women considerably younger than himself. An explanation of the Legion's hostility was offered by Lewis K. Gough, the *tyrannosaurus rex* of the organization, in an interview with the press on February 25. "We fought for our country in three wars," said Mr. Gough, "and since we didn't achieve our objectives, we continue to fight for them now. We are continuing our collective efforts for Americanism and adequate national security." This is a statement of truly magnificent ambiguity. He added, referring to the Chaplin case: "If you carry this thinking to its logical conclusion, you will permit Communists to write books, to paint murals, to infiltrate every branch of educational and cultural life." The implication, of course, is that Chaplin is a Communist, although Mr. Gough did not risk saying so directly.

THE FIGHT against the spreading paralysis of censorship might seem hopeless were it not for the growing public awareness of the nature of the struggle. Newspapers have reported that the letters they received on "Limelight" ran about three to one in favor of at least offering the film. Exhibitors say they had many telephone calls objecting to cancelation of the showings. The Legion was forced to admit that it did not oppose the content of the film but only Chaplin as an individual. Mr. Gough remarked that the individual cannot be disassociated from his work; such a concept of censorship if consistently applied would remove most books from the shelves of our libraries and close most of our theaters.

Even leading business men, who usually prefer to remain opinionless and solvent, have recognized the danger. Gunther Lessing, chairman of the Society of Independent Motion Picture Producers and a member of the executive committee of the Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals, recently attacked pressure-group tactics. Mr. Lessing does not like Chaplin, has no desire to see "Limelight," and is himself a legionnaire, but he is too shrewd a business man not to know that the privileges of free business depend upon the privileges of free men. Richard Powell, president of the Television Writers of America, has urged return to the American tradition of "nothing sacred." "We can do this," he said, "only by smashing excessive censorship from sponsors, agencies, networks, pressure groups, pickets, professional black-listers and blackmailers, witch-hunters, and self-appointed guardians of 'our way of life'."

It must be encouraging to Dean Sayre to know that his is not a still, small voice of protest.

BOOKS

Fabulous Dialogue

A Review by Thomas Reed Powell

HOLMES-LASKI LETTERS. The Correspondence of Mr. Justice Holmes and Harold J. Laski, 1916-1935. Edited by Mark DeWolfe Howe. Harvard University Press. Two Volumes. $12.50.

IN JULY, 1916, an English lad of twenty-three who had come down from Oxford a few years before, had taught government at McGill for two years, and was then a junior instructor at Harvard was taken by his friend Felix Frankfurter from Cambridge to Beverly Farms for a call on Mr. Justice Holmes, who was more than fifty years his senior. The occasion was a memorable one for both. To Laski's polite note of appreciation the Justice quickly wrote a longer reply, and thus began the correspondence which it takes over 1,400 pages of far from large print to put between covers.

In this wealth of interchange there is not a page that this reader has not found thrilling. The main stuff of most of the letters is books and people. The writers swap views on history, philosophy, political theory, law, and literature in mutual concord and mutual dissent. It is a tribute to the civilized intellectual and emotional endowment of both that the wide differences between them never move to any departure from the high level of intellectual and affectionate regard and respect.

Witness this beginning of a Laski letter in 1927:

> *My dear Justice:* Your letter was indeed a delight; and though I should, I think, deny almost the whole of your economic diagnosis as born of a philosophy contradicted by the whole trend of modern fact and analysis, I enjoyed every word of it. I add that it is at bottom the economics of the soldier who accepts a rough equation between isness and oughtness. I see no validity in such a creed except upon principles I would deny at the stake.

In reply Holmes stood his ground with firmness, as in an earlier letter he had said:

> I haven't quite finished your book. You state the pros and cons fairly—but with an implied sympathy for beliefs that I believe to be noxious humbugs—that grieves me.

These opposing attitudes have long been familiar to all who have read other writings of both Holmes and Laski, and there are many thinkers who will be far from agreeing with either. The divergences should not be overemphasized here, for they do not bulk big in the collection as a whole. They should be mentioned mainly to highlight the fact that it was not kinship of viewpoint that drew the men together but the common sharing of the delight of letting free minds roam widely and deeply over the broadest range of human knowledge and thought. There could be no doubt that each was greatly sharpened by the other and that there was a zest in their thinking and their writing that could not be excited by any solitary enterprise of fashioning essays for an unknown audience.

The reading of both men was amazing. Laski roamed the more widely because he had more leisure and because so much of the reading was part of his job. He helped to compensate Holmes for his absorption in certioraris and conferences and opinions and the consequent denial of prolific personal contacts by filling his letters to the Justice with reports of many interesting conversations and with notices of what seem to be thousands of books old and new. There are at any rate many too many to count. Mr. Howe's superb work of editing has led him to give 40 pages of a Biographical Appendix and an index of 175 pages more. These items of course cover the references from Holmes as well as those from Laski.

Happily, doubtless, for the wider company which can find interest and delight in these rich volumes, it should be said that law and economics are but minor strands in the variegated texture of the correspondence. One may hope for informed reviews from philosophers and literary experts. Indeed, the letters themselves are a rich mine of reviews in these fields, often in a single sentence or brief paragraph. Both men had an instinct for the jugular, to borrow a Holmes phrase. The most learned tomes could be touched off briefly, as could the most learned men. In it all there was little if anything of the lamp.

With Laski all the learning and all the theory and theorizing seemed to be pure spontaneous fun. With Holmes it sometimes seemed that his reading was in part at least the offspring of a puritanical canon of the duty of self-improvement. But there is no doubt that he found Laski's learning and comments a great stimulation. He could hardly have responded so enthusiastically on any other hypothesis.

MORE COMPELLING than confident assertion of the merits of these reciprocating flashes would be copious quotation. Yet the temptation must be resisted as if a habit-forming drug. It would be equally hard to make a choice and hard to stop when once in swing. So instead, here is a suggestion to others which one may hope will bear occasional fruit. An essay and perhaps a book might well be written on each of the major lines of thought that recur with sufficient frequency. Not that the nuggets could be fired in a crucible to make a well-rounded and proportioned pattern or form. Neither Holmes nor Laski was a conventional systematizer, and some of their more fundamental prepossessions offer less in sight and delight than the many sparks struck off in quick passing. Or to change the figure, fragments of fleece on the hedges of time, as Holmes has put it. The fragments here ought not to be left ungathered and unwoven if there are masters of the several arts who could fashion from them a cloth of gold.

So wide is the range compassed by this almost weekly sharing of nearly twenty years that of necessity different readers will find different parts of major interest and delight. None, however, with a fair familiarity with matters of the mind should find much if any of it

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THOMAS REED POWELL, professor emeritus of the Harvard Law School, is the author of "Separation of Powers," "The Supreme Court and State Police Power," and other books, and a contributor to legal periodicals.

really hard sledding. If such spots are met here and there, the best advice is to have sufficient character to skip or skim for a little—but only for a little, lest a welcome bit be missed. And for any who would refrain from sampling because of hostility to views and causes which are here espoused by one friend or the other, one can only suggest that the deep divergences did not deprive them of serene and thrilling joy in sharing with each other their minds and hearts.

The Unreflecting Warrior

A Review by Edward Crankshaw

AMERICAN-RUSSIAN RELATIONS, 1781-1947. By William Appleton Williams. Rinehart and Company. $5.

EVEN in the heat of war the wise man snatches an occasional breathing space to recall how the war started and to reflect on what it is supposed to be about and how it is likely to end. Action begets action and soon develops a life and character of its own; and the unreflecting warrior finds himself caught up by an avalanche of unexplained cause and unforeseen effect which, if it does not overwhelm him, carries him a long way from where he wants to be, and always downward. Thus, in the so-called cold war we snowball on from day to day, from year to year, rarely asking where we are going, or why, until we find we have lost all flexibility and freedom of maneuver and the power to profit by our own mistakes, to say nothing of the mistakes of others: until, in a word, what should be a subtle and elaborate policy for action has been reduced to the intellectual content of a college yell swollen to the proportions of a national anthem.

This mindless emotionalism which passes for a considered attitude toward Russia, this progressive illiteracy which has done away with the rich vocabulary of negotiation in favor of a solitary swear word, "appeasement," this galloping paralysis of the independent mind may have gone too far to be cured by any means short of atom bombs exploding in our midst. But the least we can do is to try to cure it. And that is why I hail this book about Russo-American relations. Mr. Williams is one of the triers. He tries to get at the roots of our disease by causing the complete history of Russo-American relations to pass before our eyes in one immense sweep. It is a fascinating story.

The early days make aseptic reading. Russia was expanding. So was America. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams could happily confide in the Czar. His idea of the United States was "a nation coextensive with the North American continent, destined by God and nature to be the most populous and most powerful people ever combined under one social compact." In those days Russia saw in the United States a valuable counterpoise to England, and its attitude was the key to American expansion in a northwesterly direction. It was not until the Americans got to Oregon that Petersburg began to feel uneasy. But even then the Russians were quite realistic: "They have taken California, Oregon, and sooner or later they will get Alaska. It is inevitable. It cannot be prevented; and it would be better to yield with good grace and cede the territory." Russia, for its part, expected the United States to smile on the "manifest destiny" of Russia "on the Amur, and further south, even in Korea." It was about then that the New York *Herald* could write about Russia and America as "two young giants, engaged in the same work—that of expansion and progression . . . the interests of both demand that they should go hand in hand in their march to empire."

It looked as though they might. But they met head-on in China. Brooks Adams, who developed a theory of capitalist expansion not unlike Lenin's, with the difference that he was for it, wrote in 1899: "Eastern Asia now appears without much doubt to be the only district likely soon to be able to absorb any great manufactures. . . . Whether we like it or not, we are forced to compete for the seat of international exchanges, or, in other words, for the seat of empire." The competition grew strong, and Russia had to watch much American capital being poured into China, only drawing the line at an American proposal to construct a railway across Manchuria. Even Brooks Adams was fairly well satisfied. In terms which the Bolsheviks some decades later were to make their own he summarized the American achievement: "She has long held South America closed; she is now closing China; and while caging Europeans within their narrow peninsula, she is slowly suffocating them with her surplus." The only real competitor, he believed, was Russia. England was fast becoming an economic vassal of the United States.

DO AMERICANS read their own nineteenth-century history? I don't know. But I do know that the Russians read it. And since they still think of foreign policy in the terms of John Quincy Adams and his later descendant they not unnaturally imagine that the Americans still think like that too.

I have dwelt on these early days because they seem to me supremely important. Mr. Williams gives much more space to what happened after the Revolution, where he is on weaker ground. From 1917 onward American statesmen are hammered for their failure in logic and for the disastrous muddles which have arisen from this failure. Now this, in effect, is an indictment, not of individual statesmen like Wilson and Lansing, but of democracy. Democracy is, and must be, shot through with warm-hearted idealism and can never emulate the cold, calculating self-seeking of autocracy. Its tragedy lies largely in the awful mess that follows from the attempt to blend the interests of power with spontaneous human generosity. It is this that makes the Roosevelts and the Wilsons—and the Eisenhowers. And it always will. Further, if Wilson and Lansing had been as ready to do a deal with Lenin as Stalin was to do a deal with Hitler, there would be nothing to choose between Wilson and Stalin. In my view there is a great deal to choose between them. Stalin was a more im-

EDWARD CRANKSHAW is a leading British authority on Russia. During the war he spent eighteen months in Moscow with a British military mission and after the war published "Russia and Britain" and "Russia and the Russians." His latest book is "Cracks in the Kremlin Wall."

pressive animal than Wilson; but, if it comes to that, a Bengal tiger makes them both look shabby. More to the point, the policy of America, as of Britain, since the Revolution has been moved by hope; the policy of the Bolsheviks by the total denial of faith in human nature—or the negation of hope. You can take your choice; but a choice it has to be. Mr. Williams does not acknowledge this. And thus a great part of his book, his criticism of Wilson and Lansing and his championship of Robbins and Thompson, contains much special pleading. He puts the Americans and the Bolsheviks on a level. They were not on a level.

Nevertheless, muddles and idiocies there were in plenty. And the great merit of this account of them is that Mr. Williams shows us American policy as the Bolsheviks, still thinking in terms of Brooks Adams, themselves saw it. And as they see it now. His coda, a more generalized summary of Russo-American relations since 1939, is even better. The Western reaction to Lenin's challenge may have been foolish, vacillating, and misguided, but in broad lines it was inevitable. Where the West went wrong, no doubt, was at a later stage, when it was desirable to ask not only whether Stalin was having second thoughts but also what was the exact nature of those thoughts. Where the West, and above all America, went wrong in particular was in the closing stages of the last war when with skill, resolution, and a sense of reality there was a very real chance—which persisted, I believe, in a modified form until 1947.

In the days of Yalta it was clear what Stalin wanted. He wanted economic assistance on a large scale to rebuild the Soviet Union. He wanted a three-power agreement to regulate the world with particular reference to the security of the Soviet Union. He wanted, as part of this agreement, a recognized division of spheres of influence in Eastern Europe and an arrangement of frontiers calculated to render Germany innocuous and the Soviet Union strong. All these aims were expressly stated. What Stalin would have offered in exchange for a definite agreement on Eastern Europe and long-term credits from America we do not know because we never asked him. Churchill alone attempted a pilot

Encyclopedia of

ABERRATIONS

A PSYCHIATRIC HANDBOOK

Edited by EDWARD PODOLSKY, M.D.
State University of New York Medical College

With a Foreword by ALEXANDRA ADLER, M.D.
New York University College of Medicine

This is the first systematic exposition of human aberrational behavior. In this volume over fifty eminent psychologists and psychiatrists discuss all types of aberrations, with particular emphasis on their psychodynamics. The material is arranged in alphabetical sequence for easy reference.

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Autism, infantile
Auto-punishment

Benzedrine, addiction
Bestiality
Body image disturbances
Boredom
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Cacodaemonomania
Chloral delirium
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Claustrophobia
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Crime, neurotic
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Fellatio
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Hallucinations
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Hashish, addiction
Head banging
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Heterolalia
Homosexuality
Hysteria

Iconolagny
Illusions
Inferiority feelings
Intellectual
  malfunctioning

Kainotophobia
Kakorrhaphiophobia
Kleptomania

Language frustration
Laughter, fits of
Lesbianism
Logorrhea
Lying

Malingering
Masochism
Menstrual anomalies
Mescaline intoxication
Murderer, mind of
Mutism
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agreement granting him a free hand in Rumania and Bulgaria in exchange for a free hand in Greece and an equal share of interest in Yugoslavia.

The story of these years is all too clearly told by Mr. Williams. And any American who thinks that the cold war is wholly and in detail due to Stalin and yet is humble enough to wonder whether America and the West in general can humanly have been 100 per cent right all along should go out of his way to read it. It is the sort of story which, widely known and understood, might start in people a fruitful train of ideas. Or it might not. We are pretty far gone. One cannot help asking whether people who believe that Russia made the Chinese Revolution will ever have ideas again.

New Books in Brief

Cross-Country Highway

U. S. 40. By George R. Stewart. Houghton Mifflin Company. $5. Mr. Stewart, whose specialty is giving literary life to natural phenomena—his "Storm" and "Fire" will be remembered by many readers—here turns his descriptive talents to a great work of man, the highway that in linking Atlantic City to San Francisco presents a true cross-section of the continent. The text of his story of this route, which incorporates a number of famous roads, is lavishly supplemented with photographs. Many of these pictures, all the author's own work, have considerable aesthetic appeal. Their primary purpose, however, is documentary, and each is accompanied by a page or so of interpretation which proves once again Mr. Stewart's eye for significant detail.

"Modern routes," writes Mr. Stewart, "are actually the result of a compromise between the always inescapable facts of geography and the equally inescapable hand of the past." Ably assisted by that prince of cartographers, Erwin Raiz, he does a notable job in showing the interrelation of these two forces.

Man's Choice

WHO SPEAKS FOR MAN. By Norman Cousins. Macmillan. $3.50. Ever since the war Norman Cousins has been taking time off, now and then, from editing the *Saturday Review of Literature* to dart about the globe taking the temperature of human society and prescribing world federation as the only cure for its dangerous aggregation of illnesses. He observed the mushroom cloud at Bikini, the beginnings of reconstruction in Germany, and the air lift in Berlin. He interviewed Nehru, Thyssen, and the survivors of Hiroshima. On an assignment from the State Department to interpret America for the Asians he visited Japan, Korea, Hongkong, and India. In this book he describes his experiences and draws his conclusion, which is that man is now face to face with his ultimate decision—the choice between a world state and world destruction. "The end is the supreme development and release of conscience, manifesting itself not only as a brake on conduct but as a source of majestic inspiration in human affairs—on individual and group. . . . War is an invention of the human mind. The human mind can invent peace with justice." Alas, there are few things more soporific than restatements of high purposes with which everyone agrees, or more frustrating than noble aims which no one knows how to implement.

Parents and Children

DON'T BE AFRAID OF YOUR CHILD. By Hilde Bruch, M.D. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.75. Dr. Bruch would steer parents away from child-guidance books, particularly those which are rigidly authoritarian toward parents while counseling the most flexible permissiveness toward children. She sees parents as confused and trapped by simplifications and popularizations of the very theories which promise to liberate them. Parent-child relationships are mechanized even in the name of love: natural childbirth, demand feeding, and the rest become tests of motherliness, and the contributions of the psychologists have themselves become escapes from freedom.

Parents beset by impossible standards and artificial demands should be reassured by Dr. Bruch's calm emphasis on independent judgment. Some, while benefiting from her insights, will have reservations. It is at first refreshing but on second thought disquieting to read a book by a psychiatrist which does not take into account the formidable resistances in our society to the modern psychologies and to the innovations they have encouraged in education. These resistances are reinforced, not alone by the cultist excesses which she analyzes so soundly, but by reactionaries who fear psychology for its liberating potentialities, however much they may value it when it serves their interests. Recognition of these obstacles might have reminded her that such terms as "innate capacity" and "poorly gifted" are as loaded as "permissiveness" and "real love," and that surely she begs a big question when she settles for the child's development of "proper inner directives about his place in the world."

Dr. Bruch is right in pointing out that theory is not therapy. Yet some awareness of the implications of the terrible problems of freedom—as seen, for example, in Erich Fromm's "Escape from Freedom" and Erik Erikson's "Childhood and Society"—secures us at least from oversimplification, including Dr. Bruch's assurances that we can "simply" be ourselves.

MacKenzie King

THE INCREDIBLE CANADIAN. By Bruce Hutchison. Longmans, Green. $5. It is easy to understand why this study of MacKenzie King, the Liberal leader who dominated Canadian politics for thirty years, should have caused a furor north of the border. Seeking to explain "the mystery" of his subject—"outwardly the dullest . . . inwardly the most vivid, fascinating, and improbable issue of the Canadian race" the author carries candor almost to the point of cruelty. Yet immoral as King's means often were, Hutchison's final verdict seems to be that they were justified by his achievements in revolutionizing, almost stealthily, Canada's economy and in welding its disparate elements into a nation. Here is meat for controversy best left to Canadians. For readers in the United States the book is valuable for the vivid light it throws on recent

Canadian history. Hutchison, a former Parliamentary correspondent at Ottawa and now editor of a British Columbia paper, is a keen reporter. Despite a diffuse and somewhat purple style, he held this reviewer's interest to the end.

Student in Peking

OUT OF RED CHINA. By Liu Shaw-tong. Translated by Jack Chia and Henry Walter. Duell, Sloan and Pearce–Little, Brown. $4. Mr. Liu was a student in Peking when the Communists captured the city in 1948. To make a living he joined a Communist training group, became a "people's correspondent," and landed in the Propaganda Ministry, where he managed to forge the passes that enabled him to flee to Hongkong. His political views are those of a naive and self-centered urban youth, convinced that his hatred of communism is an earmark of liberalism. He tells us more about his joyous participation in office intrigue than about land redistribution.

Mr. Liu is now in Formosa, apparently serving as a propagandist. His two-year-old book, Dr. Hu Shih reveals in an enthusiastic preface, has been "somewhat freely embellished" in translation in this country. The product does credit neither to Dr. Hu Shih nor to its publishers.

Theater

Harold Clurman

IN OUR times, many things are big, very few have grandeur. We are more familiar with the complicated than with the complex. We have nerves rather than feelings. Our thinking is minute, tight, microscopic: we are able to write the Gettysburg address on a pinpoint and make a camel pass through a needle's eye, but our lives, thoughts, conceptions lack breadth, sinew, scope. Who paints pictures like Tintoretto? What men look like Rembrandt's? What women like Titian's? Who plans novels like "Les Misérables"? Who can act Shakespeare?

The half-pint will not do. Refinement is not enough. Excess must be the norm. We think of the Shakespearean actor of the past as an inspired monster. Look at the portraits of the older players in Shakespearean roles: they all have something *fabulous* about them—the wildness of Kean's eye, the defiant gruffness of Forrest's bearing, the melancholy in Booth, the painful delicacy of Barrymore's profile. Laurence Olivier's best Shakespearean performances are in minor character parts.

The City Center "Merchant of Venice" was a college-educated stock production. It had practically no direction whatsoever. There were some pretty dresses, a bit of haphazard choreography, intelligible diction, a sympathetic Prince of Morocco in Earle Hyman, and now and again a nice reading. In the midst of all this Luther Adler tried to give us a new, thoughtful, and in certain respects a highly original Shylock.

No one has yet decided exactly what "The Merchant of Venice" is. It was a farcical melodrama at one time, a humanized melodrama at another. It has been called a fairy tale, a tragi-comedy, an actor's vehicle, an anti-Semitic tract, a propaganda piece for tolerance, an Elizabethan potpourri, a bad play, and a masterpiece. It is probably all of these: that is its fascination. But it remains for the director who stages it to determine what it shall be in a particular production.

To me "The Merchant" seems quite clearly a poet's parable on the subject of wealth, justice, and love. Shakespeare's Venice is the city of pleasure and sensual romance founded on mercantile prosperity. The well-to-do wallow in luxury which verges on corruption. Their morality is Christian in name only. Shylock is the poisoned conscience of Venice. It depends on his services and despises him for it, as he in turn despises it for its hypocrisy. Venice spits on its own face by spitting on Shylock's. Shylock destroys himself by responding to the offense against him in terms of the city's own logic. Shylock's desire for revenge—all his arguments to justify his position—are part of a mercantile error: it takes no account of mercy or love. Shakespeare tells us in "The Merchant of Venice" that Shylock and his tormentors are opposite sides of the same counterfeit coin—the law, order, and justice of the ordinary world, a traffic in trade, wealth, enjoyment without love.

Luther Adler has tried to set a rational interpretation of Shylock's character within this pattern. His Shylock is a youngish Renaissance merchant—on the stage of the City Center he seemed the only Italian rather than the only "Jew." He is vigorous, shrewd, offended (rather than aggrieved), ironical, logical, and bitter with the conscious bitterness of a suppressed radical. He sheds few tears: he eschews pathos. He brings Antonio to trial to prove a point—that he (Shylock) will be defeated in the end even though "right" is on his side. There is a certain savage

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triumph in his defeat: Shylock has confirmed his own pessimism and his scorn. He knows for all time now that no one can expect honesty and goodness from the fawning tradesmen of falsely Christian faith.

This Shylock holds the attention. The actor is constantly making a point. He is plastically interesting, and he has real dramatic motivation throughout. There are splendid moments: for example, his anguished cry of "I am content" which reveals the knowledge that he can never win over the cruelty of the vested interests against him. Yet our sympathy is not won; Shylock's resentment does not stir us. We are not touched, exalted, or even—as in the case of the malevolent Shylocks of the past—repelled or horrified by him.

Adler's Shylock has vividness and power but insufficient depth. It is well conceived but emotionally thin. It is impelled by the actor's mind and will, not nourished by his emotions. It is somehow impersonal, lacking in warmth and mystery. It is small. This Shylock loves no one, and though he is vibrantly angry, also does not hate. He seems guilty of nothing—so he cannot suffer. And without suffering Shylock is nothing. For though Shylock must not be guilty in the meaning given to the term by his paltry accusers, he is guilty of a hate as sinful as the vileness that provoked it. The suffering which gave rise to and is the consequence of Shylock's sin is what redeems him for us.

Luther Adler is one of the very few actors among us who could even essay such a part as Shylock. The limitation of his effort here is part of the whole problem of the contemporary theater. To do Shakespeare on the heroic level one has to reach beyond the measure of the naturalistic, the sensible, the explicit. There must be a kind of metaphysical passion, a reaching inward, outward, upward, beyond the pale of the proved and the defined to music, to poetry, and to the suprapersonal—to that realm of imagination which is beyond formal explanation. But for that one has to have genius—or a director, a production idea, a Theater to prepare and aid in the quest.

Records

B. H. Haggin

ONE further observation on American radio music. Commenting last week on John Crosby's opinion that the thing to do was to eliminate not the American commercial system but its faults, I expressed my doubt that the system would correct the faults it was responsible for in network broadcasting of music—that a system which had exploited the advertising values of big-name performers would present chamber music. But what about "Omnibus," which represents the position that since commercial radio and television are here to stay the best way to use the Ford Foundation millions is for better programs within the framework of commercial radio and television? That's the way it would seem to the ex-network people at the Ford Foundation; but others might wonder whether the millions *are* best used for the amount of improvement possible within the framework of commercial radio and television—which is to say, for programs only as much better as commercial radio and television can be expected to sponsor. Maybe in time this will be very much better; but the music other than televised opera so far has been considerably worse. Consider that the public to which "Omnibus" addresses itself has for twenty-five years been hearing the New York Philharmonic and other orchestras in the standard repertory and occasionally in contemporary works by Stravinsky, Bartok, Berg, and Schönberg, by Copland and other Americans. And consider that to this public "Omnibus" has offered not just Ravel's "Mother Goose" but (*The Nation*, January 17) Helen Hayes in "a reading of Ravel's 'Mother Goose'"; not Musorgsky's "Pictures at an Exhibition" but, according to the newspaper report I read, Stokowski talking about a few of the pictures and playing only the passages related to them.

I said last week that the improvements in the situation are occurring *outside* of the framework of commercial radio. And they, it seems to me, are what foundation millions should be devoted to.

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HANDEL'S Sonatas Opus 1 for solo instrument and figured bass include six for violin, of which the best-known No. 13 in D is one of his finest works, No. 15 in E also is outstanding, and only No. 5 is uninteresting. Campoli's tone isn't compact and clear, but his phrasing is unaffected; and George Malcolm provides effective realizations of the bass on a lovely-sounding harpsichord (London).

Of the three Mozart sonatas recorded by Schneider and Kirkpatrick (Columbia) K.305 and 376 aren't interesting, but K.526 is one of the finest of the entire series, with a wonderful slow movement between its brilliant allegros. There can be some argument for the use of the harpsichord in the early K.305, but none for its use in the later works; and an argument against it is the brutal clatter produced by Kirkpatrick in these performances.

I like Mozart's Quartet K.493 for piano and strings better than the more familiar K.478; and while the performances by Curzon and members of the Amadeus Quartet (London) are good, they offer nothing like the wonderfully alive string playing by Schneider, Katims, and Miller in the performance of K.478 by the New York Quartet (Columbia), which is heard also in Beethoven's inconsequential Quartet Opus 16 on the reverse side.

A minor work of Mozart, his Divertimento K.247 for horns and strings, is played very beautifully by members of the Vienna Octet (London).

Boccherini's Quartet Opus 6 No. 1, with a lovely slow movement between its engaging allegros, is given a competent performance by the Quartetto della Scala (Urania); but one hears nothing like the extraordinary string playing and subtle phrasing of the Quartetto Italiano performance. On the same record are an inconsequential Sonata a tre by Giardini and a piece by Puccini.

Listening to the string quartet version of Haydn's "The Seven Last Words of the Savior on the Cross" again after a number of years I have been aware this time of the matured style of his writing in these seven slow movements, and the effect it has in the Schneider Quartet's powerfully phrased performance (Haydn Society). That the writing nevertheless again doesn't interest me is difficult to account for; all I can do is report the fact.

Something I have never been able to understand—whenever I have heard any of the music—is the Busoni cult; and the latest occasion to wonder at the intense devotion is a recording of the Sonata Opus 36A for piano and violin by Edward Weiss and Richard Burgin (Circle: Composers Workshop). The work, to my ears, is elaborately dull; Burgin's tone isn't always agreeable.

CORRECTION: The Kreisler recording of Mozart's Violin Concerto K.218 on the Victor Treasury LP that I reviewed two weeks ago is not, as I had thought, the one listed as HMV DB-815/8 in the 1936 Gramophone Shop Encyclopedia, but the one listed as DB-3734/6 in the 1942 Encyclopedia, and was first issued not in the mid-twenties but in the late thirties.

Art Notes

CHARLES HEIDENREICH's second one-man show in the United States is devoted exclusively to paintings in which broad masses of harmonized color are used to interpret figures, city streets, and still lifes.—*Salpeter to March 28.*

JULIO DE DIEGO has returned from Europe with impressions of Pompeian and Florentine scenes. He has incorporated his memories in a series of brightly colored fantastic canvases that people present-day Italian settings with figures from the past.—*Heller to March 31.*

THURLOE CONOLLY, Irish artist, is showing here for the second time. His paintings stem from Klee and primitive sources and in low-keyed colors recall decorative-art motifs and his own Irish landscape.—*Willard to March 28.*

MICHEL RAFAELLI, young French artist, shows drawings and lithographs of figures and still lifes rendered in crisp and rhythmic crayon strokes and printed in both black and white and in color. —*Wittenborn-Schultz to March 28.*

JOSEPH JESWALD includes in his second show semi-abstract paintings and drawings of the nude.—*A. F. I. to April 1.*

HENRY MITCHELL, winner of a Fulbright scholarship to Italy, presents a number of realistic sculptures. His subjects are taken from people caught in their daily work and treated in a pictorial and tense manner.—*Kraushaar to March 28.*

ALLEN WOLF. Paintings depicting with sympathy and warmth the teeming life of New York's lower East Side, with its tenements, push carts, and human figures.—*Barzansky to March 30.*

VLADIMIR NAIDITCH, a follower of the French "objective" school, shows an ingratiating series of landscapes, interiors, portraits, and nudes done in bright warm colors.—*Chapellier to March 27.*

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Letters

The "New Look": Some Like It . . .

Dear Sirs: I thought you'd like to know how much I admire the new format of the, I hope, perennial *Nation*. It is easier on the eyes and pleasanter to the touch. Good luck!

New York GEORGE W. JOEL

Dear Sirs: The "new look" is a substantial improvement, in my opinion. The cover is more attractive, and the "Around the U.S.A." page is brightened up. The back of the book also has greater visual appeal.

Los Angeles PHIL KERBY

Dear Sirs: I think the "new look" is a great improvement, much handsomer and much more legible. An improvement long overdue.

York, Pa. WALT PARTYMILLER

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on the new format! It is a handsome and workmanlike job. . . . The only thing I don't like is the mixture of type styles in the captions and the titles of books in the short reviews. . . . The cover is a knockout, and newsstand sales should reflect the magazine's enormously heightened appeal.

New York BETTY HULING

. . . But Some Don't

Dear Sirs: I am sorry to register my vigorous disapproval of the new style of cover. . . . It seems to me characterless, insipid, and thoroughly unattractive. I have long been and still am a warm admirer of *The Nation*. I do not like to see it take a step backward.

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Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Sirs: Your new format is terrible. Time was, we could fold the two-column page down the middle, and read each column in peace and comfort. Now we have to fold the paper twice to read the middle column. . . . I am glad that you at least kept your editorial columns two to the page. . . .

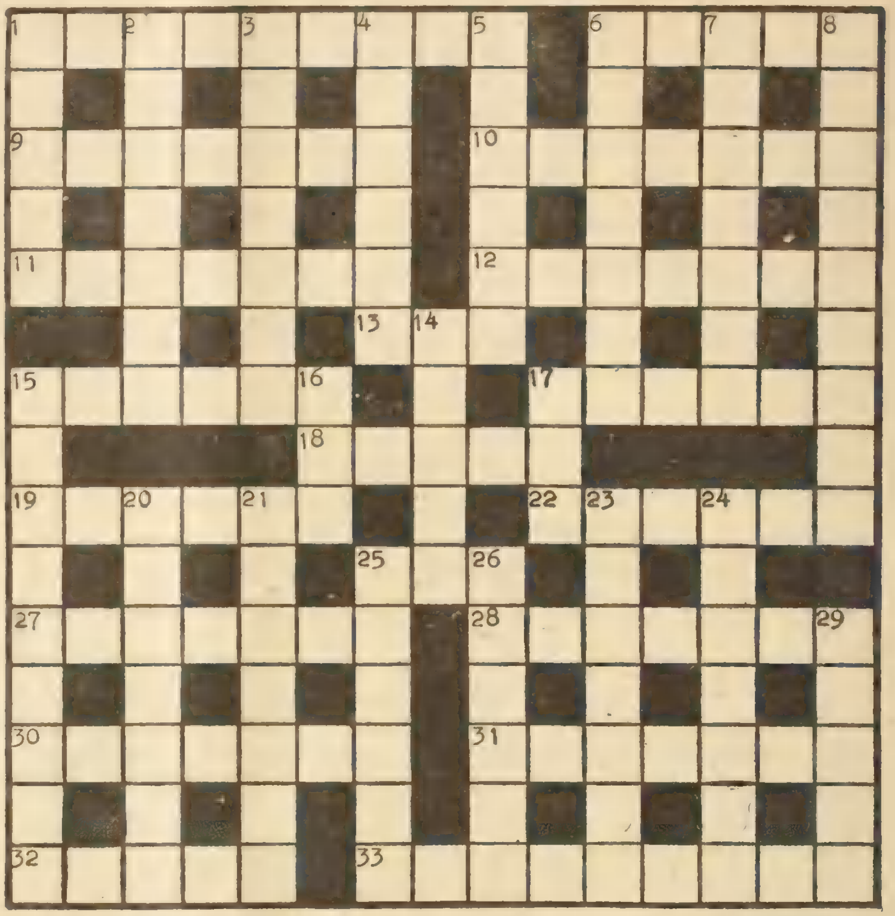
SOLON DE LEON

Long Island City, N. Y.

Dear Sirs: The "old" *Nation* represented typographical order, national tradition, and readability. I can hardly read this "new" magazine. Examine any of your pages by the yardstick of good

Crossword Puzzle No. 508

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 There's a certain amount of truth in the way I'm so sharp. (9)
6 See 6 down.
9 The sad state of British economy in the thirties? (7)
10 Take pains to make the mail gay. (7)
11 Bright but extravagant talk about getting the help back? (7)
12 In one's cups, perhaps, at an afternoon dance? (7)
13, 24 down and 32. What we want to do in good world leadership. (3, 7, 5)
15 See 6 down.
17 Proving at least one woman is a member of the bar. (6)
18 We were once told to remember what is mainly according to the fashion.
19 You're more likely to be destitute traveling on them than in them. (6)
22 See 16 down.
25 Notice a sphere would make them gather on the surface. (3)
27 Pokes fun at that which is no longer desired. (7)
28 A saint sat here. (7)
30 Sort of shook the head with a final admonition to be quiet. (7)
31 See 6 down.
32 See 13 across.
33 Useful if you can imply a builder unsettles your nerves. (5, 4)

DOWN

1 Zeal sounds more difficult without aspiration. (5)
2 Leigh Hunt said the maid-servant, the sailor, and the schoolboy enjoy one beyond all the rest of the world.
3 Implying stop the music? (7)
4 Bad in bowling, good at the fountain and the bar. (6)
5 You might make it seem like a race.
6, 31 across, 6 across, and 15 across. Questioning the language of uncivilized but fleet maidens? (4, 3, 3, 4, 5, 6)
7 Richmond is only part of what Grant takes! (7)
8 Certainly not a long speech, nor a very important one. (5, 4)
14 This animal shows spirit on a British penny. (5)
15 By implication the television picture's still good, and acts like a private counter. (6, 3)
16 and 22 across Indigestion? (It's more or less outlawed among the civilized.) (3, 6)
17 Around the trunk it might be live, but not around the neck. (3)
20 If this bird gets on, so could you.
21 What our predecessors, perhaps, called Tommies. (7)
23 Immediately after that, it's not here.
24 See 13 across.
25 Roger, as a tutor, has Mac all upset.
26 Conditions typified by the head of 7. (6)
29 Heights obtained by the conclusion of 14 and 6 across. (5)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 507

ACROSS:—1 INSCRIBING; 6 GLIB; 10 SCARVES; 11 SCOURED; 12 SUPEREMINENTLY; 14 EVASIONS; 15 GEMINI; 16 CATHER; 18 SEABOARD; 22 FOUR-LEAF CLOVER; 24 TEL AVIV; 25 CANASTA; 26 RODS; 27 KIND HEARTS.

DOWN:—1 INSISTENCE; 2 SCARPIA; 3 RIVERSIDE DRIVE; 4 BEST MAN; 5 NOSING; 7 LORELEI; 8 BADE; 9 COUNTERBALANCE; 13 WINDBREAKS; 17 TROLLED; 19 EFFACED; 20 ADVISOR; 21 NERVII; 23 STAR.

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printing composition and you will see how vapid throwing around of type defeats the advantages of a good cover. As it stands today, the format is amateurish in the worst sense of the word. . . . Advance cannot be achieved by flouting the past but requires careful modification of . . . traditions.

Philadelphia MAURICE SCHNEPS

The Editors Reply

Thanks to all our readers who wrote—pro or con. And thanks particularly to those who took the trouble to submit their own suggested lay-outs. As to the conclusions to be drawn, there don't seem to be any except that the appreciation of typography, like that of any other art, is a highly subjective matter. Letters run about fifty-fifty. One thing we should like to emphasize: our "new look" was planned by two of the leading designers in New York.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Where Credit Belongs

Dear Sirs: I was rather dismayed to find a startling error in an editorial paragraph on the Rosenberg case published in your issue of February 28. The paragraph states that "Judge Kaufman stayed execution again pending another appeal to the Supreme Court by defense counsel. . . ." You must know of course that the contrary is the fact, for Judge Kaufman refused any stay whatever and set the date for execution for the week of March 9. It was Judge Learned Hand—in all fairness to this good and wise man—who overruled Kaufman and did grant a stay until March 30 so that the appeal might reach the Supreme Court.

Hollywood, Cal. JOHN WEXLEY

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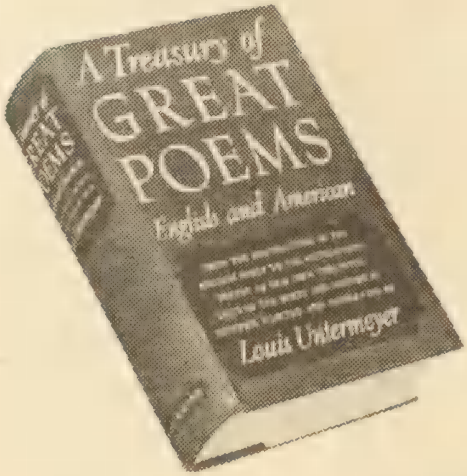

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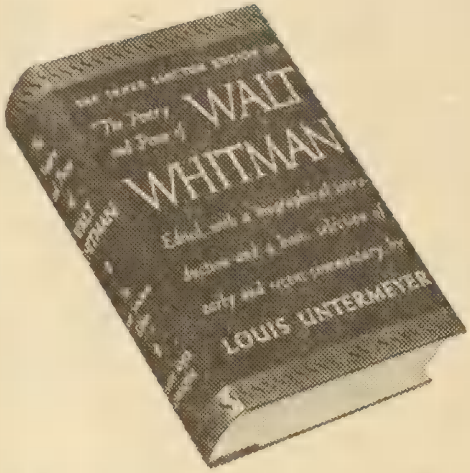

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**EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865**

Around

the U.S.A.

A People Comes of Age

Los Gatos, California

THERE are more than three million Mexican Americans in the Southwestern states today. Although a sizable racial minority, they have had no representation in state or national government and almost none, except in New Mexico, in local government. Until recently few of them ever voted or for that matter even bothered to register. One saw them working in the orchards and at the stoop crops, or on the roadbeds of the Southern Pacific and Santa Fe, but not going to the polls.

Mexican Americans have contributed materially to the wealth of the nation but got little of it back for themselves. The president of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce has said that they have California agriculture in the hollow of their hand, and lobbyists for the fruit interests insist that for every dollar the state spends on them for relief it gets back two. Yet when hundreds of private housing developments sprang up in Los Angeles after the war, only one builder, according to a Los Angeles housing official, would sell to persons of Mexican ancestry.

The political awakening of the Spanish-speaking minority began in Los Angeles in 1947, under the leadership of the Community Service Organization (C. S. O.). An editorial in the Los Angeles *Daily News* of June 9, 1948, stated that the goal of the organization was "the building of a hitherto relatively voiceless element in the community into an integrated responsible segment of society." To carry out its program the C. S. O. obtained the services of Fred Ross, formerly field organizer of the Industrial Areas Foundation of Chicago.

The C. S. O. has always stressed the ballot as a means to its ends. It sent volunteer Spanish-speaking deputy registrars into sections of Los Angeles that had never been registered before. With the slogan, "Vote for whomever you please, but please register and vote," it raised the percentage of voters in the city's population from 48 in 1948 to 55 in 1949. Of the Mexican Americans registered, 82 per cent voted, a considerably higher figure than the national average for municipal elections.

The deputy registrars found their kinsmen not apathetic about the ballot when it was a means of achieving some real community need, such as a storm sewer, traffic signal, or crosswalk. And residents of the community discovered that the city and county councilmen and commissioners paid more attention to their requests when their names were on the registration books.

• By 1948 the C. S. O. counted among its members social workers, professional men, laborers, storekeepers, and college students. In that year the organization's chairman, Edward Roybal, ran for the Council from the Ninth District and defeated the incumbent two to one. Los Angeles, with the largest Mexican American population of any city in North America (300,000) except Mexico City, had for the first time a representative of this group in the local government. Roybal has since been reelected without opposition.

During 1948 and 1949 much of the energy of the C. S. O. was devoted to the defense of civil rights. The organization appealed through Representative Holifield (D., Cal.) for modification of the discriminatory wording of the registration forms filled out by men entering the armed services—"Negro, Oriental, White, and Others"—and received assurances from the Secretary of Defense that the Personnel Policy Board would enforce President Truman's nondiscrimination policy in the army.

In the field of education it has protested against interpretations of I. Q. ratings which failed to consider such determining factors as the lower income and bilingual background of Mexican Americans. It has opposed basing the extension of the industrial-arts program on the increasing number of Negro and Mexican students and has encouraged the aspirations of these youths to enter the professions. It has cooperated with the educational authorities in obtaining instruction in adult-education centers to fit the people's needs.

The C. S. O. has been 100 per cent behind labor.

• The success of the C. S. O. in Los Angeles led to the founding of a branch in San Jose last May, and already the 36,000 Mexican Americans of Santa Clara County have been awakened to political consciousness. A bad situation existed there. Every year flash floods washed out numerous families living in the eastern foothills. The backing up of sewage and waste disposal from a packing plant made conditions still worse. The solution was mostly left to nature until the C. S. O. and the California Federation for Civic Unity went to work. "You've been trying to get results," their canvassers told the people, "when you haven't any voting power." Between cherry-picking and prune-picking 4,000 Mexican Americans were registered who had never been registered before.

On Election Day these Mexican Americans went to the polls. Only a few were challenged. The four o'clock edition of the San Jose *News* ran a headline, "Voters Questioned at Polls," but any intimidating effect it might have exerted on late voters was dispelled by the Spanish news announcer at six o'clock, who reminded his listeners of what their ballots could accomplish.

Mexican Americans are fighting discrimination against their own and other racial groups. In 1947 they ended segregation in the schools of El Modino, California, by electing one of their race, a barber, to the school board. In San Jose last fall they protested jointly with veterans' organizations against the refusal to sell a house in a Caucasian neighborhood to a Japanese American veteran. They have learned that people make their own history, and they want a part in the process.

G. W. SHERMAN

[*Mr. Sherman is a social worker and free-lance writer.*]

Volume 176, Number 13
New York, Saturday, March 28, 1953

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Get Your Scorecard!

Over the past week the Western world has been marking up the score of conciliatory gestures made by Moscow or Moscow satellites since the death of Stalin. A few days ago a foreign-affairs expert on the radio put the total at eleven. The board shows only one entry on the American side, but an important one—President Eisenhower's promise to meet the Russians "more than halfway." As this week opened, score-keepers were waiting for new moves at the United Nations, first of all in the matter of the Secretary Generalship. But they were prepared to await the arrival of Moscow's permanent delegate, Andrei Vishinsky, for any major change of front, such as a break in the Korean stalemate.

In general the Administration's policy has been to avoid unnecessary friction while demanding "deeds" as tokens of sincerity. At the same time we have been elaborately warned that deeds and words alike are probably no more than the conventional gambits used in opening a peace offensive—itself designed to slow down the processes of Western rearmament and integration while the new Soviet regime gets organized and ready to resume cold-war business as usual. The warning may be well founded, but it raises the old question: at what point does the West decide that Moscow's moves are intended to produce peace rather than time—or mere propaganda? We do not know, but what we hope is that behind the score board, diplomats of both sides, or friendly mediators, are making the preliminary private soundings that will provide the signal for wait-and-see to end and negotiations to begin. Peacemaking never gets under way in public. Meanwhile it can be taken as a good sign if Washington continues to soft-pedal the liberation-crusade theme, which is definitely this side of halfway toward peace.

Germans Bearing Gifts

Chancellor Adenauer has been hoping that he could bring to Washington, as a gift to the Eisenhower Administration, ratification of the treaties linking the Federal Republic with the European Defense Community. As has often happened before, his hopes are fulfilled. By a majority larger than was expected, 226 to 164, the German Bundestag approved the rearmament of West Germany and its integration into the contemplated six-nation European military alliance. There remain two further steps: the approval of the Bundesrat, or upper house, must be obtained, and the Federal Constitutional Court must decide on the compatibility of the treaties with a constitution that contains no provision for rearmament.

In France, which must also ratify the treaties to make them effective, the Bonn vote had contradictory effects. For some persons the fact that the Bundestag was the first legislature to meet the American request for early ratification puts France in an embarrassing position if its own approval is delayed. Others see in the collapse of the German opposition an additional reason to go slow. Since Adenauer is to follow M. Mayer in Washington, it is sure that the French premier will try to convince Eisenhower that French reluctance to ratify the treaties is based on strong reasons and still stronger emotions. France needs dollars, but needs still more a guaranty that it will not be attacked by Germany a fourth time.

Ellis Island and Its "Isolatoes"

C. L. R. James is a fifty-one-year-old West Indian intellectual—author of "The Black Jacobins" and other books—who came to this country in 1938 after some years' residence in Great Britain, where he served as special correspondent for the Manchester *Guardian* and the Glasgow *Herald.* To his amazement he developed strong attachment for the American scene and culture—a trip across the continent "permanently altered" his attitude toward the world—and he decided to remain here. In Great Britain he had been affiliated with a small Trotskyite group, but he is bitterly anti-Communist. A long involvement with the Immigration Service came to a climax last year with a stay on Ellis Island and, finally, a warrant of deportation. His case was argued on February 4 before the Circuit Court of Appeals, and decision is expected shortly.

While on Ellis Island, Mr. James wrote an interesting essay on Herman Melville which, together with an account of his experiences on the island, he has now published under the title "Mariners, Renegades, and Castaways" (copies, at $1, can be obtained by writing Mr. James, 1186 Broadway, New York 1, N. Y.) He finds a remarkable similarity of outlook, background, and condi-

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tion between the crew of the Pequod ("What a set these *Isolatoes* were!" wrote Melville; these "mariners, renegades, and castaways") and the aliens detained on Ellis Island. He finds a parallel, too, between Captain Ahab's pursuit of the White Whale "as the monomaniac incarnation of all those malicious agencies which some deep men feel eating in them," and the current policy of the Department of Justice toward the alien: the department's main purpose, he writes, "can be described as the extermination of the alien as a malignant pest." He has kind words for the staff on Ellis Island; what he complains about is an "anti-alien" crusade designed to reverse the historical traditions of the American people toward immigrants.

Fiscal Facts of Life

After two months in the White House the President is beginning to learn the fiscal facts of life. Gone with the wind are those airy campaign opinions about the possibility of huge cuts in expenditure; gone are the hopes held out for substantial reduction of taxes. Now he has discovered that cutting expenses is never easy, and unless Congress revolts, it is quite obvious that there will be no tax relief this year or perhaps next.

Quite properly Mr. Eisenhower is insisting that the budget must be balanced before tax reduction can be considered, and this has exposed him to a virulent blast from that G. O. P. veteran, Representative Daniel Reed of New York, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. Announcing that he had reluctantly abandoned his efforts to force a floor vote on his bill to reduce personal income taxes, Representative Reed said bitterly: "It is considered a crime for a person to buy a vote with money, but what shall we call it if a candidate for office gains office by making promises that are not fulfilled."

Mr. Reed has a point there, but the fact is that neither he nor the President nor any other politician had any right to hold out hopes of tax relief unless he was also prepared to advocate drastic changes in the nation's cold-war strategy. Probably one or two billions can be trimmed from the budget by increasing efficiency and exercising superfluities. But to achieve a balance, let alone a surplus for tax reduction, it would be necessary to recast the defense program in a smaller mold. Clearly the President does not think that is feasible under present international conditions. Indeed, he may find himself compelled to expand the program to provide stronger defenses against atomic attack.

The Threat of Surpluses

Commenting last week on his appointment of Lewis Douglas to head a study of foreign economic problems, the President remarked that the country must be sure that its surpluses are taken up. This is an approach to trade policies that has been unduly neglected of late. Since the war, by and large, surpluses have not been a serious problem; they have been taken care of by a vast expansion in domestic consumption and by the growth of exports financed to a considerable extent by grants and loans to foreign countries. Now a new phase appears to be at hand. Although domestic consumption remains very large, industrial production in many lines is beginning to overtake it. And in the field of agriculture we have mounting surpluses of several leading commodities. Export markets, however, are threatening to grow tighter, partly because of production recoveries abroad, partly because many foreign countries are becoming as reluctant to accept more American aid as Congress is to grant it. But the dollar gap remains. If it is filled by neither aid nor trade, it will be shrunk by a reduction in American exports on a scale that will create real surplus problems for many American farmers and some American industries.

This is something for Congress to think about next month when it takes up the renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. It can safely be prophesied that hearings on this measure will attract a host of special interests clamoring for maintenance of present protective duties, if not for higher ones. Should this pressure prove effective, it will not be just the foreigner who will pay. The cost will also fall heavily on American farmers and workers—on the growers of wheat and cotton and the makers of steel, machinery, trucks, and a host of other products. Here again is a challenge to Republican leadership and to the traditional high-tariff policy of the G. O. P.

Death of an Idealist

In the death of Haym Greenberg the world has lost a fine mind and an exceptional exponent of humanism. A citizen of this country, he was perhaps the chief political theoretician of Labor Zionism; he held high office in the Zionist movement, and was an author, editor, and orator of extraordinary gifts. But to say all this is to tell only half the story. For Haym Greenberg was preeminently a moral leader, devoted throughout his life to the concept that political action must be firmly based in humanism and cultural values. His Jewish nationalism was never chauvinism; it was always tinctured by his feeling for the universality of mankind. Speaking of the "territorial roots" which Israel has given the Jewish people, he once warned: "I would be less than honest if I failed to note a spiritual danger which may arise from the accentuation—or rather the hyperemphasis—of our new orientation toward space." Few men of our time were more sensitive than Haym Greenberg to the need for bringing into concord the divergent concepts of nationalism and internationalism.

Runaway Inquiries

AN INTERESTING aspect of the protracted controversy over the work of the House Committee on Un-American Activities has been that whenever public criticism of the committee has mounted it has been momentarily deflected by a fortuitous change in personnel or by pious expressions of an intention to tidy up its methods and procedures. During these spasms of contrition the big guns on the editorial desks have boomed forth the theme that there is nothing basically wrong with the committee's purposes or objectives; it is only its "methods" that are objectionable. But while these recurrent moods of public penance have quieted criticism, they have failed to produce significant reforms.

Recently still another batch of proposals to reform the methods of Congressional committees of inquiry has been stimulated by the "excesses" of current hearings. On February 10 Senator Kefauver introduced Senate Resolution 10, which would establish uniform rules for all such committees; Senator Morse followed up on February 20 by introducing a similar resolution (S. R. 83); and on March 12 Representative Kenneth B. Keating, the Republican chairman of the House Judiciary subcommittee to investigate the Department of Justice, announced a new set of rules for that committee. These latest proposals have evoked the usual editorial hosannahs with such familiar captions as "A Stand for Freedom," "Fair Investigatory Practices," "Back to Fact-finding," and "Curbing the Investigators." Again the public is being led to believe that the committees, regretting recent "excesses," will sin no more.

With requests for a hundred probes now pending, there can be no doubt that Congress should adopt a set of uniform rules governing the conduct of hearings. Each committee now makes its own rules, and while there is some similarity there is also much variation in practice. The proposals offered by Senator Morse impress us as being particularly good. Committee hearings could be called only with a minimum of twenty-four hours written notice to each member and by approval of a majority vote in a meeting at which a majority was present. Witnesses would have the right to be accompanied by counsel, and the rights of counsel would be defined. Testimony would have to be "relevant and germane." Witnesses would be given some indication in advance of the scope and subject matter of their examination. They would have the right to make complete answers and to offer concise explanations of their answers. They would also have the right to offer a statement at the conclusion of their testimony. More important, persons adversely affected by testimony would have the right to appear by counsel, to cross-examine adverse witnesses, and, subject to the discretion of the committee, to procure subpoenas calling for the production of documents and witnesses.

While even these rules fall short of the standards of impartiality and fairness that prevail in England under the Tribunals of Inquiry Act of 1921, they are a notable improvement over current practices here.

But the best rules cannot correct evils which flow not from the manner but from the nature of the inquiry. If Congress is investigating a matter entirely beyond the wide area of its legitimate concerns, fair codes of inquiry will not protect constitutional relations from the resulting damage. The basic question is simply this: Should there be no limitation whatever on the power of Congress to investigate? Can it investigate any subject it wishes, including those on which it could not legislate? If there is no limitation on the power, then Congress has acquired a new dominance not only over the executive and judicial branches of the government but over the people. While the courts are showing a willingness to restrict Congressional inquiries to the subject matter defined in the resolution of authorization, the larger question has not been answered. For example, can Congress, for any purpose, inquire into matters of individual conscience and belief? Most of the proposals for the reform of Congressional inquiries sidestep this issue. One proposal, for example, would preclude a committee from inquiring into such matters "unless a majority of the committee thought it was necessary!" And even Senator Morse, who has shown a lively awareness of the need for reform, would apparently place no limitation on the subjects into which such a committee might inquire. In a recent speech in Chicago he took the position that teachers have nothing to fear from the pending Congressional investigations of education.

BUT THERE are some subjects, surely, into which Congress should not be permitted to inquire, and these areas need to be defined. Recently Mr. Velde threatened to summon before the House Committee on Un-American Activities a number of leading Protestant clergymen who had criticized its work. As though in response to this suggestion, Glenn L. Archer, executive director of Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, announced that Mr. Velde and Senator Jenner should seriously consider "an inquiry into the un-American doctrines which are currently being taught in Roman Catholic parochial schools, many of which are receiving large amounts of public support." With the utmost respect for Mr. Archer and the organization for which he speaks, we trust that this suggestion will not be adopted. Nevertheless, it does raise an important question: If Congress has the right to meddle in the affairs of education, why should the parochial schools of the Catholic church enjoy a special immunity?

If there is no subject into which Congress cannot probe, then Congressional committees of inquiry can be used to break down the traditional separation of the powers of government. On the one hand, Senator McCarthy is asserting the power to dictate personnel policies and practices to the Executive branch of the government; on the other, the House Committee on Un-American Activities has virtually abandoned the fiction that it does not place individuals on trial. Recently, for example, Representative Donald L. Jackson, speaking for the committee, said: "We're not interested in textbooks . . . we're after Communists." If Congressional committees insist upon the power to "try" individuals, they are to this extent usurping the judicial function. And when such committees insist upon their power to subject private citizens—citizens not employed by any public agency—to a form of political catechism that finds no sanction in the Constitution, they are violating the spirit if not the letter of the First Amendment and encroaching on rights reserved to the people under the Ninth and Tenth. "Congressional investigations," said the New York *Times* the other day, "are not judicial proceedings. . . ." "Committees are not courts," echoed the New York *Herald Tribune*. But unfortunately a wealth of evidence indicates that the committees *are* functioning as if they were special tribunals set up to try political offenders.

NOT TO recognize this as a process of trial and punishment is to betray an amazing blindness to social reality. "No punishment?" asked counsel for the defendant in a famous early American case (40 Mo. 340, decided in 1867); "I defy the history of the world to invent a punishment more refined and ingenious than to punish a man through his love of truth. . . . It is indeed an ingenious punishment; it dispenses with statutes defining offenses and providing penalties therefor, it dispenses with courts, with all their paraphernalia of indictments by grand juries and trials by petit juries, executing the law upon offenders; all that is needed is that a law be passed every year or two requiring every citizen to swear that he has never wronged or defrauded anyone; that he has never slandered his neighbor; that he has never committed murder, burglary, larceny, adultery, or fornication; and if he cannot thus swear, then forbid him to follow any profession, trade, or calling, for that will not be punishment inflicted upon him, but a mere regulation." The same point, of course, is made in the old story about the Quaker and his dog Tray. "Go to," said the Quaker to poor Tray, "I will not kill thee, but I will give thee a bad name." And so he turned poor Tray into the streets with the cry of "Mad dog!" and then someone else did kill poor Tray.

Congress should of course be encouraged to adopt a uniform set of rules governing the conduct of committee hearings, but let no one believe that rules alone will check runaway inquiries. Now as always the best way to stop a runaway is to slam on the brakes, pull hard on the reins, and yell "whoa!"

J. Alvarez del Vayo

Rabelais: 1483-1953

THE anniversaries of the world's intellectual and spiritual heroes offer us a salutary opportunity to appraise ourselves and our progress. Last year we celebrated the birthdays of Victor Hugo and of Emile Zola. At present four hundred years after his death, another great Frenchman, François Rabelais, is being honored all over Europe.

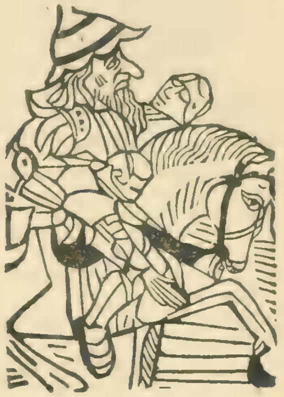
Rabelais represents better than anyone else certain aspects of the Man of the Renaissance and gives a measure of that extraordinary epoch in which Europe itself was re-created and renewed. He came upon the scene at a revolutionary moment. The outlines of the upper classes were crumbling. The feudal lord was ceasing to seem a paternal ruler; the church was devoting itself increasingly to the pursuit of wealth and power, and the papacy was discredited; the ancient brilliance of the Empire was tarnished. An insatiable thirst for knowledge turned the European man to philosophy, mathematics, physics, and medicine. At the same time the religious reformers, intentionally or not, were undermining the old social and cultural order and helping to open the way to a freer era.

In the sphere of literature this mission was undertaken by a master of satire, the author of a work of striking originality: "Les horribles espouvantables faicts et prouesses du très renommé Pantagruel, Roy des Dipsodes, fils du grand Géant Gargantua." This is the imaginary history of a dynasty of giants, remotely based on the chronicle of King Arthur and the Round Table. It was published under the nom de plume of Maistre Alcofribas Nasier, an anagram on François Rabelais.

The actual date of Rabelais' birth is still a matter of dispute, but the most generally accepted year, 1483, also saw the birth of Luther and Raphael, assuring him entry into the world in distinguished company. Rabelais began his higher education in a Franciscan monastery, where he learned Latin, studied scholastic philosophy, and entered into a correspondence with the French humanist Budaeus. His academic achievements brought him into conflict with the heads of the order and forced him to shift to a Benedictine monastery, where the atmosphere was more tolerant. He did not remain there long. Leaving the shelter of the cloister, he led for a time the life of a secular priest, defying ecclesiastical discipline and bringing upon himself charges of apostasy. He next enrolled at the University of Montpellier, where he studied medicine and obtained a bachelor's degree. To earn his daily bread he practiced as a physician in Montpellier and later in the city of Lyon, at that time an important cultural center in close contact with Basel, the residence of Erasmus, and with Geneva, shortly to become one of the strongholds of the Reformation. The publication of "Gargantua" made him famous overnight.

The theologians of the Sorbonne, whom he attacked with devastating humor, promptly condemned the book, but clerical censure could not stop its circulation or dull its effect. "Gargantua" encouraged the Paris Protestants to cover the walls of the royal palace with blasphemous posters denouncing the Pope and his cardinals. The ensuing uproar forced Calvin and the poet Marot to flee for their lives across the border; Rabelais himself was saved from severe persecution by the recognition of his talent in high places. The third volume of "Gargantua" appeared in 1546 under the protection of Francis I, who said he almost died laughing when he read it. Later, in a fourth volume, Rabelais used the conflict between the Pope and the new king, Henry II, as the starting-point for a riotous satire on the temporal ambitions of the papacy.

The reactionaries of his time were less benevolent toward him than the crown. The French Parliament was as bigoted as the Sorbonne and banned the sale of his book. In 1553 he was forced to relinquish his ecclesiastical position. His death in the same year may have been hastened by the intrigues and hostilities in which he was involved. Rabelais died in Paris and still rests in the rue des Jardins, buried under a tall tree that, like his fame, defied time, surviving until a few years ago.


From a 1532 edition of "Gargantua"

Many have seen in Rabelais only a kind of malicious faun, a cynic and a mocker—epithets to which Ronsard, the poet of the Pleiade, added that of drunkard. But his friend Du Bellay spoke of him as "l'utile and doux Rabelais." His immense talent as a writer permitted him to toss together facts and fables, myths, glosses, dialogues, observations, quotations, without ever burdening his story with pedantry. Besides being a great story teller, he was a superb polemicist who had declared war on the Middle Ages. He ridiculed without mercy everything in Europe's past that was sick, rotten, or against nature, beginning with war itself, but he was full of compassion for the oppressed and deceived. Every time he cracked his whip he felt it on his own flesh, for to him no protection was provided by the robes of doctor or monk.

It is this characteristic that especially distinguished him among the great writers of all periods who have not been satisfied with the pursuit of art for art's sake or for glory or wealth but have considered it their inescapable duty, at whatever cost, to take part in the social and political struggle of their time. His profound hatred of war makes him, even four centuries after his death, a *combattant de la paix.*

RED CHINA DIARY

I. Prague to Peking . . *by Desmond Donnelly*

[*This is the first of two articles by a Labor Member of Parliament who visited China a few months ago. The second will appear next week.*]

London

I WAS sitting on the lawn at home when the telephone rang. "Would you like to go to China in ten days' time, traveling via Moscow and Siberia?"

The invitation was from the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, a body sponsored by the Communist government. Questions flashed across my mind. Was this an attempt to get me involved in the germ-war scare or in the Pacific Peace Conference scheduled for the autumn? Was it to use me in some way for Communist propaganda in the Korean war? *But* would I be right to turn down an opportunity to be one of the first members of the British Parliament to see Red China since the revolution which has changed the government of one-fifth of all mankind? When I decided, curiosity won.

I was determined to see beyond the propaganda. To be fair and to try to understand, yet not to be hoodwinked. To be as objective as I could although the doctrines of communism are repugnant to me as a member of the British Labor Party.

We flew via Prague and Moscow. Prague is a beautiful but sad city. The people are well dressed and well fed but looked dazed. Slogans about American aggression shriek at you on every street corner. Difficult to find but nevertheless real was the feeling that the struggle for the body of Czechoslovakia still goes on in this no man's land of the cold war.

Flying over Russia, for five hundred miles beyond Minsk we scarcely saw a landmark, just forest and more forest. In fact, the only thing I recall was the old walled city of Smolensk and its railway junction. And then, towering on the skyline, we saw the white pinnacles of Moscow's new university, forty or fifty miles away. It stands nearly 1,000 feet high. One of my companions turned to me and said, "What a guiding beacon for enemy bombers if this country meant war." The buildings were begun in 1949 and open their doors next summer to 6,000 technical students.

We spent three days in Moscow before traveling east on the Russian internal airlines. There was great building activity, the university being only one of several skyscrapers in course of construction. East of the Ural Mountains new building was even more apparent. Between plane and plane, in a day at Novosibirsk and two days at Irkutsk, I saw cities of half a million people rising like the American boom towns of the Middle West. Factory chimneys towered against the sky. Construction seemed to be going on everywhere.

Many things reminded me of Victorian England, too. Plush draperies, heavy ornaments, and glittering steel bedsteads were the order of the day everywhere. In my hotel bedroom at Irkutsk, I had a brand new inkstand made of white marble weighing the best part of sixty pounds, with inkwells the size of large coffee pots. This obvious badge of privilege didn't prevent me from being badly bitten by bedbugs that night.

Going east again across Outer Mongolia, we stopped to refuel in the Gobi Desert. While waiting I played football with two Russian boys, children of the refueling staff. In the air once more, we climbed eastward across the mountains which lay between us and China.

Suddenly somebody said, "There's the Great Wall of China." Winding its way over the hills and down through valleys, it was exactly as I had pictured it. Twenty minutes later the hills disappeared, the flat plains of China lay below us and then the green roofs of Peking.

We were met at the airport by half a dozen ministers and officials and a crowd of schoolgirls carrying bunches of flowers. At first I dismissed this as typical delegation-reception technique, intended to win us by flattery. However, as the days went by I could not deny the genuine warmth of the welcome we got, especially from the ordinary people in the shops and streets.

THE MOST extraordinary thing I saw in Peking was three men chasing two flies. And the explanation was almost as surprising as the sight. A new health drive had been initiated by the Communist government a year before. Posters, propaganda, and meetings of all kinds were used to try to rid China of the germs of the past. Then suddenly had come the germ-war scare. The effect was electric. In this hot Eastern city, with the temperature in the eighties, not a fly was to be seen—not in the bazaars and food markets or in the streets and narrow alleys between the houses.

The flies have been eradicated by a universal effort to avoid leaving food or waste around. But the health campaign has gone much farther. A typical poster advertised vaccination against smallpox. In the center a smiling girl was being vaccinated and not minding. On the left was someone who had evidently not been vaccinated and was dying. On the right a girl was standing immune while cartoon germs buzzed round her. An inset at the bottom showed an American airman spraying germs from his plane. The Chinese claim that in three years 307,000,000 people have been vaccinated.

Inflation and food supplies were two of the biggest tasks facing the Reds after the revolution. All the evidence seemed to be that food supplies were now adequate: there was nothing like the poverty in Peking that I had seen in parts of Russia.

To stabilize real wages, the Communists have instituted a system of fixing wages not in money but in units. A man's daily wage can be any number of units, and each morning the newspapers publish the value of the unit in Chinese people's dollars, based on the cost of living at current prices. If prices go up or down, his wages go up or down.

Many shops contained such articles as can be bought in almost any British or American city. I had expected to find the shops state-owned, but in Peking there were only two state stores and in Shanghai three or four. These had much the same range of articles as the privately owned shops, but I found them to be busier and was told this was because prices were slightly lower. The state store I visited in Shanghai was just like a London department store. You could buy almost anything you liked. (I was very glad to get a box of American cigars, unobtainable in England.)

Most people dress much as they used to, but the official classes, men and women, wear a new drill uniform without badges or medals of any kind, rather like the early Russian Communist uniform. The color varies according to one's category in the regime. For instance, a Foreign Office official I met wore brown. The Chinese even sent a tailor to our hotel asking us if we would like a uniform ourselves. The color we were offered was blue, the badge of the intellectual. Modesty compelled me to decline.

I ASKED about trials and executions, particularly about the so-called mass courts in which the accused is tried in front of several thousand people and a general vote taken at the end. Here is what a professor of law at Peking University told me:

"Certainly these trials have occurred. If a person has racketeered in vice or been guilty of murder and has been able to get away with it because he was given political protection by Chiang Kai-shek's regime, the people naturally want to square accounts with him as soon as he loses his political power. The sort of person subjected to this type of treatment was frequently a feudal landlord. Anybody who had a charge to make could come forward in front of the whole community. Frequently indictments took several hours. The accused then had the opportunity of replying, calling any witnesses he liked."

"But what chance has the poor chap of getting anybody to testify for him, in such a hostile atmosphere?" I interjected.

The professor dismissed my question by saying there was much more toleration in China than I was prepared to concede, and went on: "When the evidence has been heard on both sides, there is a general discussion. At the end a vote is taken. What could be more democratic?"

"But what happens if there is a large dissenting minority?"

"Oh well, the discussion goes on again. We have no need to hurry in China," said the professor.

In Peking jail I was told that 70 per cent of the prisoners were political and the other 30 per cent guilty of regular crimes. When pressed on this point, the governor said that one typical "reactionary political" crime was rape. When I asked him how this could possibly be classified as political, he said, "Oh, you don't understand. All this sort of thing was associated with the Chiang Kai-shek regime."

Shanghai jail was grim in the extreme. In each tiny little cell five or six men were silently squatting the hours and the years away. Here and there in the jails I ran across what we in Britain call discussion groups—people sitting and talking together. I asked what they were doing and was told that they were being "remolded."

This "remolding" is a feature of Communist China, for the government is trying to carry with it as many people as possible. If you are prepared to abide by the rules of the new regime and to "remold" yourself, then there is a place for you. Discussion groups for the "remolded" go on everywhere. Even the university student who was attached to me as an interpreter was going through a course of "remolding" in order to be equipped with "the weapons of Marxism-Leninism as expounded by Mao Tse-tung."

One person who had "remolded" himself extremely well and found that the new society had glittering prizes to offer was ex-General Fu, one of Chiang Kai-shek's former generals and the man who surrendered Peking to the Communists three years ago. I was amazed to find Mr. Fu a minister in the new government, in charge of water conservation and drainage, one of the key posts in the battle for food production. He still looked and spoke like a martinet as he ordered tea for us to drink.

LAND REFORM is the key to Mao Tse-tung's power. In the early years of the Chinese Communist Party, after its foundation in 1920, the doctrinaire theoreticians always insisted that the revolution would have to be made by the industrial workers in the cities—the orthodox Marxist convention. Mao, however, said that in China, with its 400,000,000 peasants, it must be an agrarian revolution. In 1927 the party leadership split, and Mao was driven into the countryside in disgrace. Himself the son of a peasant farmer, the indigenous product of the Chinese village, he organized his own Communist Party in the villages, built it up through the years, and finally brought it to victory. Long before the end the theoreticians threw in their hands and acknowledged that he had been right.

In the old days peasants used to live or die on the food they produced from holdings averaging one-ninth of an acre. A trick of the weather could mean death. Yet some landlords owned many acres. Mao proposed to confiscate the land and divide it equally among everybody. Now he has done it, more than trebling the average holding. He has also given 40,000,000 shareholders a vast vested interest in his regime.

Having asked to see examples of the new land reform, I was sent to a village about twenty miles from Peking. The village had been given only eight hours' notice that we were were coming, and it was clearly no showpiece, for though it was clean and tidy everybody still lived in mud huts. It had one shop, which was the village cooperative. For its news about the outside world it depended on a wall newspaper where items were chalked up on a blackboard.

I was surprised to find that even in the village there was scarcely a fly about.

One of the people with whom I spoke was the president of the local Peasants' Association. I asked him what he did before the revolution. He said he was a peddler, but because he was the only person who had agitated against the landlords he was made head of the Peasants' Association as soon as the local landlord was ousted. He took me to the landlord's house, which was now the village hospital clinic. Patients were attended twice a week by two Chinese doctors who came on their bicycles, since cars are practically non-existent.

Although there were so few cars, I had one placed at my disposal—a large black American Cadillac which had been captured from Chiang Kai-shek. Was I allowed to go where I wanted to, or was I to see only what was good for me? Well, I had this car and a chauffeur and an interpreter, and whenever I asked for anything, it always seemed that my request was granted if it was humanly possible.

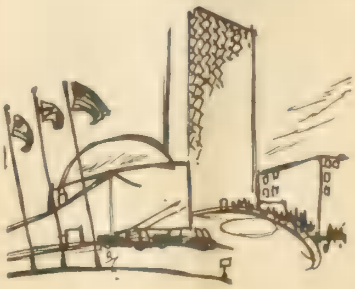
MOVE THE U. N.?

The Neutral-Host Concept . . *by Jean Berlitz*

THE United Nations is sick. The symptoms, apparent to many for years, are now past concealment, and the most optimistic friends cannot deny a vast sadness. Confronted from the beginning with unforeseen world conditions for which it was structurally unprepared, the U. N. drags out its chronic invalidism in the chromium and glass cage on East Forty-second Street. Its decline is not, however, incurable. A remedy is available, and its use would give a tremendous lift to U. N. activities. The United Nations should move to a healthier climate, outside New York City.

The need for heroic treatment is undeniable. The history of the U. N. is one of failure and feebleness, of distortions of original purpose, of solemn resolutions remaining always a dead letter, of accumulating blots on its good name. Mutual distrust between East and West has blocked all progress and been the great impediment to a fair functioning of the organism. And this distrust is constantly exacerbated by the location of the United Nations inside the territory of one of the antagonists. About this, indeed, something can be done.

What would the Americans think if U. N. headquarters had been placed in Moscow or Leningrad, if pro-American members of the Secretariat or anyone who at any time had expressed his faith in the capitalist system were evicted from the organization after examination by a Communist commission, if a secret agreement to that effect had been signed by the Secretary General and the Russian government? True the Russians themselves have made no move to correct this state of affairs, probably because the discredit which it throws upon the organization serves their purpose. But it is amazing that the leaders of the great powers should have placed an international organization which was to maintain peace between two conflicting ideologies in the stronghold of one of them.



At the time persons who were fearful of American isolationism argued that the new organization must be installed in the New World in order to secure America's continued interest in world affairs. To this it was replied that the United States, whether it liked it or not, had become a world power with corresponding commitments. It was surely not occupying Germany and Japan because of its membership in the United Nations. Similarly there is little doubt that the United States would have intervened in Korea even if the United Nations had not existed. When New York was chosen for U. N. headquarters, some observers remarked that while the League of Nations had died from the absence of the United States, the United Nations might die from its ubiquitous presence.

Certainly the United States heavily dominates the administration of the United Nations and retains over the American members of the Secretariat an influence incompatible with the independence and international character of the organization. Even the foreign staff, completely submerged in the American scene, is being gradually Americanized. The recent row over "insecurity" in the Secretariat has proved that the United Nations cannot remain within the territory of a great power without losing more and more of its international character. Its removal to the milder political climate of a small neutral country is essential to its survival.

It may even be argued that the United Nations should not have its headquarters in any of the big cities of the world; it should not be subjected to any kind of mob influence. From this point of view New York is a particularly bad site, being extraordinarily vulnerable to minor disturbances unrelated to international developments. A city like New York can be badly tied up, for example, by a numerically trivial number of strikers, a handful of determined

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JEAN BERLITZ is the pseudonym of a member of the U. N. Secretariat now stationed abroad.

men like the tugboat crews. Even the physical conditions in the glass menagerie on the East River are a needless handicap—four skyscraping smokestacks from the power house a block away poisoning the atmosphere with their fumes, the United Nations shadowed and discolored by the Consolidated Edison Company, a more powerful and at present more useful institution.

THE OUTBREAK of war would make a neutral location for the U. N. imperative. One bomb, not aimed at the U. N. as such but at a vital American port and a major industrial center, would paralyze if not destroy the world organization. The tall glass Secretariat building would become an empty shell at the first blow—the specialized personnel, the documents, the sum total of the U. N.'s assets and negotiating tools scattered to the winds when they would be most needed.

One argument advanced against transferring U. N. headquarters to another place is the money that has been spent on the present structure. It is easily answered. Apart from the fact that the Secretariat building was cleverly designed so that it could be converted into an office building, the initial cost has already been repaid, in practice if not in theory, by the profits accruing to Americans from the U. N.'s presence here.

Much is made of the fact that the United States pays about 40 per cent of the U. N. budget. It is forgotten that some 90 per cent of the salaries of the staff, the entire amount spent for administrative expenses and for paper, equipment, printing, and so on, the disbursements of the national delegations and their families, of the foreign visitors and press, all revert to the United States. The United States has probably not only recouped its own 40 per cent share of the $40,000,000 budget of the United Nations but has received in the form of dollar payments within its territory the major part of the 60 per cent contributed by other countries. The United States can write off the cost of the headquarters buildings and still show a profit.

From the financial angle the removal of the United Nations from New York would have another advantage. Because of the universal dollar shortage many countries are hard put to find the currency to pay for their share of the budget and the expenses of their national delegation in one of the most expensive cities of the world.

The American people should not regard the transfer of U. N. headquarters to another site as a blow to their pride. An error was made. Let it be rectified. The moment is eminently suitable for a vigorous effort to give a new look to international politics.

LESS POWER TO YOU!

The Attack on Public Power . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

THE forced resignation of Claude R. Wickard as head of the Rural Electrification Administration does not stand by itself. It is part of the present Administration's relentless attack on the whole public-power program. I do not mean that the program cannot continue without Mr. Wickard. What makes his removal important is the way it was done and accompanying events.

The job of administrator of the R. E. A. is supposed to be non-political and for a fixed number of years. Mr. Wickard's term had approximately three years to run. He resigned because the high command in the Department of Agriculture, of which the R. E. A. is a part, made it clear that if he did not jump he would be pushed. Oddly enough, this marked the coming home to roost of a rather clumsily begotten chicken which first took flight in the regime of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Roosevelt dismissed Arthur E. Morgan from the chairmanship of the Tennessee Valley Authority after a public disagreement between Morgan and David Lilienthal, a T. V. A. director, over negotiations to buy the Tennessee Electric Power Company. Morgan fought his dismissal in the courts—like Wickard, he held a non-political job for a stated term of years—and the courts finally ruled in effect that the President had the power to say whether the occupant of such a job had conducted himself in a way to warrant his dismissal.

In the act creating the R. E. A. tenure of office was defined in roughly the same language as in the act creating the T. V. A. This fact and the court decision in the Morgan case were cited to Wickard to indicate that the President could summarily remove him if he chose. When Wickard protested that there was no proper ground for his removal, he was informed that inasmuch as he had been a Cabinet member under a Democratic President he was a political character and consequently did not belong in a non-political job.

So Wickard resigned. Behind his resignation is the big argument now going on over one of the fundamental features of the public-power program—the R. E. A.'s authority to lend money to cooperatives and groups of cooperatives which wish to build electric transmission and generating facilities. With such loans the rural-electrification co-ops are out from under the dominance of the public utilities. Without them they are at the utilities' mercy.

The R. E. A. makes its loans only in areas where insufficient power is available at reasonable rates to meet the needs of the members of the rural co-ops. In

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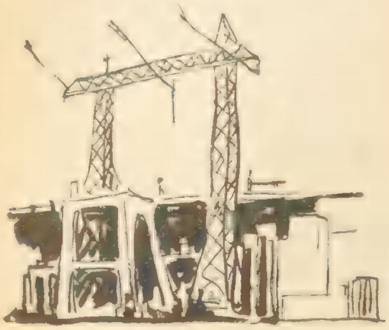
BRUCE CATTON is a contributing editor of The Nation.

the past the utilities have sometimes taken over co-ops that were not able to get an adequate power supply. Proponents of the R. E. A.'s loan program believe that if it is sufficiently weakened, there will be many more such cases. A co-op unable to build transmission lines or generating facilities would be easy prey for the nearest utility.



Wickard's forced resignation is taken as a strong indication that the R. E. A. is to be directed by someone much less anxious to push the electrification program. It may be significant that on the day it was announced there were persistent rumors that his successor would be Ancher Nelson, lieutenant governor of Minnesota and a former vice-president of the Minnesota Rural Electric Cooperative Association. At the last Republican National Convention, Nelson sat in with the group that was drafting the agricultural plank and displayed a good deal of antipathy toward loans for generating plants and transmission lines.

Before Wickard's resignation the R. E. A. program had already taken a couple of serious blows in the sacred name of economy. Just after President Eisenhower took office, he ordered all departments and agencies to review their construction programs and halt nonessential projects. On the heels of the White House order Secretary of Agriculture Benson directed his subordinates to hold spending and commitments in the department for the balance of the fiscal year at the January level. In January the R. E. A. had lent just under $10,000,000. It can therefore lend slightly less than $60,000,000 during the six months that will end July 1. It has available, however, in budget authorizations for loans, $91,000,000, plus some $16,000,000 from loans previously revoked. The economy order, therefore, knocked $47,000,000 off the lending program for the first half of 1953.

Meanwhile under the White House order the army has stopped construction of Table Rock Dam in Missouri, which was to have provided extensive generating capacity for R. E. A. co-ops. Originally, the government had built Bull Shoals Dam to meet the co-ops' needs, but construction of a defense aluminum plant in Arkansas diverted that power. Now there will not be enough electricity generated to meet the needs of co-ops in Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Kansas.

EVEN MORE SERIOUS consequences to the public-power program may flow from some recent court decisions. The Supreme Court of Arkansas has ruled that the federal government has no authority to sell steam-generated power. Under acts of Congress, said the court, the government can sell hydroelectric power at wholesale, but it cannot sell it at retail by integrating steam power into public projects. If applied all across the board, this ruling could badly cripple government power projects which use steam power to firm-up water power.

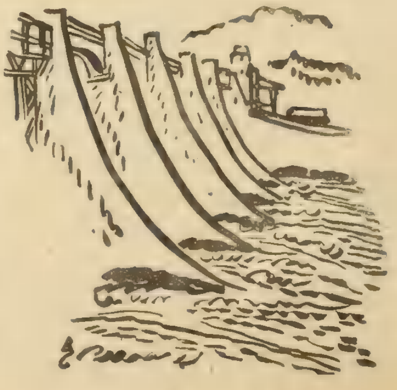
And now the United States Supreme Court has upheld the granting of a license to the Virginia Electric Power Company on the famous Roanoke Rapids site.

The army engineers had drafted, and Congress had approved, a development plan for the Roanoke River basin. One project had been built by the government upstream, at Bugg's Island. The existence of Bugg's Island dam, which is principally a water-storage and flow-regulating work, immediately made the Roanoke Rapids site feasible for power development. In effect, the government has made it possible to generate large quantities of hydroelectric power at Roanoke Rapids, and a private company reaps the benefit.

The shadow of this decision may fall a long way. Conceivably, it may reach all the way to Idaho, where the great Hell's Canyon site on the Snake River is wanted by a private power company. In each case a river is under development by the government, and a power company is eager to generate power at a likely site on the river. Pending before the Federal Power Commission is an application by the Idaho Power Company to develop a power project at Ox Bow—a site that will be inundated if the long-dreamed-of federal project at Hell's Canyon is built. And it will not be long before the commission is revamped by new appointments made by this Administration.

AS A CLIMAX TO all these attacks on public power there may be revived the famous "de-socializing" plan proposed last year by Charles E. Wilson, the former head of General Electric who served as Defense Mobilization Administrator. Mr. Wilson proposed that the government sell off its entire public power plant—T. V. A., the Columbia River developments, Hoover Dam, and all the rest. The money received would go to shrink the government debt; the properties in question would start to pay taxes; the government would be out of the electric-power business; and there would be an end to "creeping socialism," once and for all.

Nothing was said about this during the campaign last summer, but in September the usually well-informed magazine *U. S. News and World Report* remarked that "the plan will be explored, and may get a try, if Republicans control the White House and Congress after next January 20." Moreover, when General Eisenhower discussed river development in a speech at Seattle last October, he said: "I am convinced, out of my experience with some very big jobs, that the way to do it is by a sharing of effort rather than by its concentration. That means the full use of private resources, plus a local-state-federal partnership, here in the state of Washington and the Northwest, rather than dependence upon a daily directive from Washington, D. C."



THAT CRITICAL STRIKE

Can It Be Avoided? . . *by John T. Dunlop*

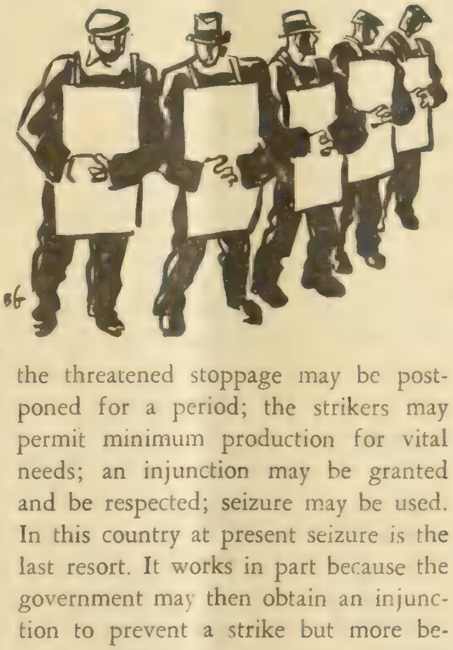
THERE can be no single standardized formula for settling what are called "emergency" disputes between labor and management—that is, disputes in areas vital to the defense, health, or safety of the nation. For there is no way to still the insistent question: if it fails, then what? If mediation fails, then what? If fact-finding and recommendations do not produce a settlement, then what? If seizure and injunction accomplish nothing, then what? If the leaders are put in jail and there is still no settlement, then what?

Ways of *stimulating* settlements, however, do exist—mediation, fact-finding and recommendations, and more mediation. And about these a number of useful things can be said. It is a basic premise that every labor dispute, certainly every "emergency" dispute, is in some respect unique. Accordingly, procedures for stimulating a settlement should be so far as possible tailor-made to the case. A single legislative prescription for all situations, including those that may conceivably arise in the future, will inevitably be ill adapted to many of them.

No machinery to settle disputes can remain the same over a long period of time. Use changes it. Grievance machinery set up in a contract five years ago works differently today. The Railway Labor Act and the emergency boards appointed under it, for instance, operate differently now that the parties have adjusted their tactics to the existence of these boards. The principle remains true even when the parties using the machinery change or when recourse to it is infrequent. Mr. Lewis and the United Mine Workers were fined once for contempt of an injunction. On the second round Judge Keech found no violation. This experience has not been missed by other unions.

The very label of an "emergency" dispute depends on the imminence of the danger. And on this there may be great difficulty in getting any consensus, since judgment involves assumptions about the future and the enemy. It seems to me that, in the end, the President should make the decision. No one else has all the information or should be saddled with the responsibility.

In the handling of emergency disputes two separate questions must be considered: how to keep essential production or services going, and how to settle the dispute. Continued production can be secured in a number of ways: the threatened stoppage may be postponed for a period; the strikers may permit minimum production for vital needs; an injunction may be granted and be respected; seizure may be used. In this country at present seizure is the last resort. It works in part because the government may then obtain an injunction to prevent a strike but more because of the current moral conviction that "you don't strike against the government." In a different context this moral sanction might not work.



The most important question before the country at present in the field of labor legislation is not how to settle emergency disputes or revise the Taft-Hartley act, but rather by what process laws affecting collective bargaining are to be enacted. We face two broad alternatives. The first would make the legal framework of collective bargaining primarily a product of the political process: the details of a labor law depend narrowly upon the division in Congress on particular amendments. The second approach would place the responsibility more directly on labor and management. This approach would also cause the two parties to take a more active part in the *administration* of the legal process of collective bargaining. As a country we are far along on the first course, and in my judgment it is a very dangerous road.

IF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING is to be the cornerstone of our national labor policy, its legal framework cannot remain a partisan political matter. Neither industry nor labor can tolerate a change in the legal status of collective bargaining every two or four years after the election returns are in. Stable industrial relations cannot be built on such a shifting foundation.

Labor and industry must share actively in the development of a substitute for the Taft-Hartley act. The parties most directly affected should assume some responsibility for the legal framework of collective bargaining. The usual Congressional hearings are not enough, for in these, people state only their formal positions. In advance there must be informal consultations between representatives of union and management, with the assistance of neutrals. The next labor law must not be thrust down the throat of either side.

It seems certain that statutory provisions for dealing with emergency disputes will be on the books for some time to come. Unfortunately these provisions are likely to be influenced more by the politicians than by the parties to collective bargaining. It has occurred to me that there is an approach to the problem which deserves some attention.

The emergency provisions of the

JOHN T. DUNLOP, professor of economics at Harvard University, has been a member of some of the most important labor boards in the country and is the author of several books on collective bargaining and other aspects of the trade-union movement.

Taft-Hartley law have been invoked on ten occasions—in three coal cases, two maritime cases, and one each in meat packing, telephones, non-ferrous metals, atomic energy, and pipe manufacturing. Emergency disputes can arise in only a few sections of the economy, the most important being railroads, atomic energy, coal, shipping, and steel. In looking over this area of potential trouble it is interesting to observe that special machinery is in existence for the railroads and atomic energy. In my judgment emergency disputes have been most adequately handled in these two sectors because the machinery in both cases was in the main either designed by the parties to the dispute or if by others had won their full support and cooperation.

I believe that every attempt should be made in those sectors where there is no special machinery—coal, shipping, steel —to encourage the parties to develop their own procedures to mitigate emergency stoppages. The interposition of additional private machinery, or quasi-public machinery, is desirable between the initial breakdown of collective bargaining and resort to emergency-dispute procedures. The parties can help to develop "another place to go" before there is resort to generalized emergency procedure. If more legislation seems necessary, let a law be passed requesting the parties in these industries to submit to Congress within a year their suggestions for mitigating emergency-dispute stoppages. I have great confidence in the ability of the parties to develop such procedures. They can work out their own conciliation steps; they may decide to limit stoppages to some fraction of the total production of the industry; they may mutually select new wage leaders more apt to reach agreement; they may declare in advance their willingness to handle vital cargo or production. In brief, the subject of emergency disputes should itself, at the request of the government, become a subject of bargaining between the parties. The Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service should take the lead in urging and aiding the parties in these directions.

In short, my suggestion is that the parties be encouraged to interpose a layer of private devices for settling disputes or insuring essential production and services before the general emergency-dispute provisions are invoked. These devices would of course be designed to suit the special problems of each industry.

I feel sure that in twenty-five years the emergency dispute will have ceased to be a serious problem. The public will have insisted that something be done about serious stoppages in vital areas. Under this pressure the parties in the several industries will develop their own procedures. I suggest that this approach be stimulated and hastened as a matter of public policy.

QUIRINO vs. U. S.

Philippine Land Reform . . *by Robert H. Sollen*

TWICE in recent months American technical-aid specialists in the Philippines have recommended immediate and sweeping land reforms as the best way to avert threatened rural revolt. And twice the Philippine government under President Elpidio Quirino has denounced these reports as "exaggeration," "party-line" propaganda, and "interference" with the internal affairs of the republic.

Now the only high Philippine official who has supported the principle of land reform has quit. "It would be useless for me to continue . . . killing Huks," said Ramón Magsaysay in resigning last month from his post as Quirino's Secretary of Defense, "as long as the administration continues to foster conditions which provide fertile soil for communism." Magsaysay then joined the opposition Nationalista Party and announced that he would be available for nomination for the presidency in the next election.

Ideologically, Magsaysay belongs with the new democratic Citizens' Party rather than with the Nationalistas, who are as reactionary as Quirino's Liberals. But he evidently feels that the new party is too weak to do him any good and for tactical reasons is going along with the Nationalistas. He was the only important member of the Quirino government who believed that communism could best be fought by raising the living standards of workers and farmers. The Nationalistas are accepting him not for his program but for his popularity among the common people.

American conclusions about the incredibly bad conditions in rural areas of the Islands are formulated in two documents. The first was prepared by Robert S. Hardie, land-tenure specialist of the Mutual Security Administration; the second is the work of Robert T. McMillan and other M. S. A. rural sociologists in collaboration with their counterparts on the Philippine Council for United States Aid (PHILCUSA). Hardie warned:

> Misery and unrest among tenants is being used to advance the goal of communism in Asia. . . . Open and violent rebellion, rooted in and fed by tenant discontent, threatens the very existence of the Philippine Republic. Land-tenure practices . . . threaten the United States position in Asia.

Quirino and certain members of the Philippine Congress denounced Hardie's report so violently that last December the American embassy in Manila

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ROBERT H. SOLLEN, formerly of the Milwaukee Journal, *visited the Philippines last year during a swing through the Far East.*

canceled plans for its general circulation. Eugenio Perez, speaker of the Philippine House of Representatives, demanded that M. S. A. personnel in Manila be screened for "Communist sympathies," and linked Hardie to the "Communist line."

When the M. S. A. finally released the report, it had been thoroughly substantiated by the PHILCUSA findings, and both are supported by every recent agricultural, economic, and sociological study of the Philippines.

Various surveys have shown that from 3 to 10 per cent of the Filipino people own and control from 80 to 95 per cent of the nation's wealth. The middle class has been virtually eliminated. According to Hardie, about 35 per cent of the farmers are tenants and another 16 per cent are part owners. Tenancy runs up to 70 per cent in the areas where unrest is the greatest.

Rice yield per acre is no better than it was in 1918 and is now the second lowest in Asia. Half the farmers are working less than one-fifth of the tillable land; one-half of the tillable land is divided among one-eighth of the farms.

The PHILCUSA report points out that nearly half the Philippine villagers and farmers are worse off than they were ten years ago. Farmers are almost constantly in debt as the result of low yields, high rents, high taxes, and a credit system which demands up to 300 per cent a year interest on loans. The average owner-operator nets not more than $273 a year against family expenses of $544. The average tenant nets $183 against family expenses of $313.

SINCE ABOUT 72 per cent of the 21,000,000 Filipinos make their living from farming, agricultural reform is of primary importance. But the landowners and money lenders will not let go. Landowners pay an average land tax of 1 per cent a year and collect about 50 per cent of the yield in rent. It is not surprising that they oppose social change.

The head of the Mutual Security Administration in the Philippines, Dr. Roland R. Renne, supports Hardie's contentions. "Most farm families," he has stated, "lack fair returns for what they produce. There is need for cheaper and more widespread rural credit, for more equitable returns to tenants and small owners, for more opportunity for tenants to own land, and for other incentives that will encourage farm families to expand their operations." Dr. Renne has had no easy time with Philippine officialdom. Congress insists on playing politics with M. S. A. money, even to the extent of wanting funds distributed according to congressional districts. Dr. Renne has told the Congress that American-aid funds are for boosting national living standards, not for Congressmen to use as political leverage.

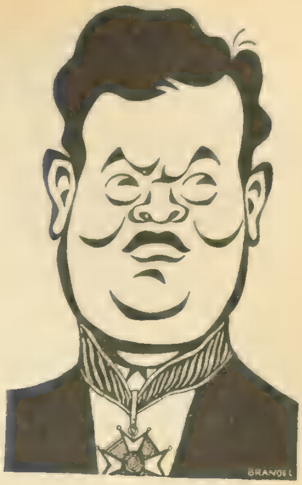
Meanwhile, President Quirino asserts that his program for resettling peasants on undeveloped public lands will ease the problem of land tenancy and rural insecurity. Hardie, however, anticipated this contention. His report says:

> The thought that the solution to Philippine agrarian unrest is to be found in the settlement of undeveloped areas is based on a false appraisal of the problem. Firstly, . . . increases in population will alone serve to neutralize the planned effects of emigration. Secondly, the acquisition and settlement of such land by one in the status of a typical Luzon tenant requires cash reserves he does not have. Lastly, . . . these newly developed areas are after all a part of the Philippines and subject to the laws and customs of the land. If not corrected, pernicious land-tenure practices which have led to violent rebellion in Luzon will be transported to the newly developed area [largely in Mindanao] and thus spread the misery and unrest. . . . Settlement of new areas is an imperative but it is no substitute for land-tenure reform.

It maintains also that undeveloped public lands cannot begin to absorb the number of families looking for land.

McMillan, who in the course of his sociological research has lived for months at a time with Filipino farmers, makes a strong plea for credit reform and, indeed, managed to push through Congress a law to aid small rural banks and provide reasonable credit facilities for rural development.

The Hardie report calls for government purchase of big landholdings, land redistribution through sale to tenants, and a rural economy based on owner-operated family-size farms. For those who must remain tenants, it advocates a land-rent ceiling of 25 per cent of the harvest and written tenancy contracts phrased in simple language. Landholders, it says, should take their money out of the land and put it into industrial production. "Industrial development suffers . . . as long as rentier wealth lies dormant in land."



Ramón Magsaysay

A Philippine law provides that if the landlord and tenant enter a contract, the rent is held to 30 per cent of the harvest. Most tenants, however, hesitate to bargain with their landlords for fear of being thrown off the land. A Philippine agricultural official who is also a landowner told me that his tenants pay him 50 per cent of their harvest under a verbal agreement. The effect of the law has been negligible compared with the extent of the tenancy problem.

We interviewed several farm families outside of Manila; we were not inclined to venture far into Huk territory. Most farmers said they were not getting enough from their own rice crop to feed their families. They ate almost nothing but rice and fish. Dr. Juan Salced, Jr., Secretary of Health, has said that "most of the people, especially in rural areas, suffer from some form of malnutrition."

During its nearly half-century of rule the United States did little to develop the Philippines for the benefit of the inhabitants. Recognizing at long last the danger of the situation, it has now recommended action and offered to cooperate. But the Philippine government refuses to go along with the American recommendations. Since it offers no substitute of any real value, the United States government should stand firm. It should again tell the Philippines that it cannot continue to bolster an economic and social system that breeds only social injustice and violence. In return for economic aid it must demand full cooperation in administering the program and democratic land reforms. Because of the impatience of the masses and the fast action of the Communists the reforms must be immediate and complete.

BOOKS

Prodigy's Escape

A Review by E. T. Bell

EX-PRODIGY. MY CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH. By Norbert Wiener. Simon and Schuster. $3.95.

A SUITABLE subtitle for this remarkably frank book might be, "How not to raise a gifted child." As Wiener implies, literate parents today know more than their ancestors of fifty years ago did about what to do and what not to do with a prodigy, thanks partly, as Wiener admits, to the work of Freud, although he explicitly repudiates the "Freudian jargon."

Poetry, music, and mathematics have had more than their share of prodigies. Of the mathematicians, some fulfilled their early promise; others did not. Pascal (1623-62), a self-torturing neurotic, never achieved the mathematical eminence his childhood seemed to promise. Gauss (1777-1855), the most astonishing example of precocity on record, became one of the three universally acknowledged greatest mathematicians in all history. Pascal's education was dominated by his scholarly father; Gauss's father was a laborer with only an elementary-school education, who never understood his son and who did all in his power to thwart the boy's intellectual ambitions. The contrast between Pascal and Gauss illustrates a radical difference between two types of prodigy: the sponge that seems capable of absorbing any given amount of erudition and even doing something with some of it; the born creator who takes what little he may need from the past and then strikes out on his own to explore unmapped territory. The creators usually start early, not later than about twenty. There is but one instance of a first-rank mathematician, Sophus Lie (1842-1899), starting late. Till he was twenty-eight Lie had little interest in mathematics. Then he suddenly woke up and in a matter of months accomplished the work of years and established himself.

WHERE DOES Wiener, now fifty-eight, fit into this scale? He undertakes to tell us. He had a scholarly, slave-driving father—although Wiener does not put the fact so harshly—and an inordinately ambitious mother. After an abortive start in biology and another in philosophy, apparently under the common delusion of the very young that whoever knows something of philosophy knows everything of everything, young Wiener turned to mathematics, where his talent lay. About the same time he shook off the clutch of his parents, as kindly as he could but none the less resolutely. Some years later he married. One of the finest things in the book is his tribute to his wife.

Wiener's father, a Russian Jew, emigrated from White Russia to the United States, pausing on the way in Berlin. "He arrived in New Orleans in 1880 with 50 cents in his pocket"—and a considerable stock of combative arrogance. Then followed the usual immigrant's saga of odd jobs for which he was not suited, till somehow he reached Kansas City. There he got a chance to exploit his philological and linguistic abilities by learning and teaching Gaelic. This earned him the honorary title of the "Russian Irishman." Though the father's personal adventures are absorbing, as Wiener retells them, the only one relevant here is his foray into pedagogy, with his son's precocious mind as the coveted booty. How successful he was may be inferred from Norbert's academic career: entered college before the age of twelve; bachelor's degree before fifteen; doctorate (from Harvard) before nineteen. It took the prodigy several years to break away from the implied paternal discipline and begin to outgrow and to live down his prodigious youth. He only really found himself when he began doing mathematical research of more than temporary interest. His childhood, apart from the incessant cramming, had been like that of any normal American boy, including games and fights.

THERE IS so much of interest in this honest autobiography that we must pass on to a few significant samples of the whole. At Harvard, Wiener had a short exposure to biology. He dropped the subject because his manual "clumsiness" made experiment unattainable. But it was not all a waste of time; years later he was to recall enough of what he had learned to help him in the field where he has done his most individual work, communications—the (possible) topology of the nervous system being one detail of the comprehensive program. Some of this appears in his popular book, "Cybernetics." Incidentally, the success of that book astonished Wiener's publishers and perhaps himself.

On the social level at Harvard the young prodigy suffered humiliations, partly on account of his "Jewishness." The snobbish exclusiveness—or what he took for that—and the pronounced anti-Semitism gave him a galling sense of inferiority. Why this obviously superior young man should have felt himself an inferior freak is not clear. He was not alone in his precocity. In 1909 there were other prodigies with him—Roger Sessions, then nearly fifteen and a first-year graduate student, and A. A. Berle, among others. One of them achieved an unenviable fame as a prodigy: W. J. Sidis, a grievously miseducated young man who finally rebelled against his upbringing and his journalistic fame. He accomplished nothing.

Wiener sampled the Philosophy Department at Harvard. It evidently has survived his pungent comments. Some of his portraits of the Harvard faculty are done in chemically pure caustic. President Lowell happily has passed on; so he is spared the discomfort of seeing himself as Wiener saw him. Likewise for W. F. Osgood, the czar of Harvard mathematics in his day, who

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E. T. BELL, professor of mathematics at the California Institute of Technology, is the author of numerous books on mathematics and allied subjects, the latest being "Mathematics, Queen and Servant of Science." Under the name of John Taine he has written many exciting whodunits.

according to Wiener was so chagrined at his failure to grasp the revolutionary Lebesgue theory of integration, which lay right under his hand, that he forbade the teaching of it at Harvard.

Wiener's emancipation began at the age of nineteen, when (1913) he went to Cambridge, England, to study under Bertrand Russell. His appraisal of the English upper classes will not please our friends across the Atlantic. He found them snobbish and callously cruel to their social inferiors. After meeting some of the leading British mathematicians, who befriended him, he modified this somewhat brash opinion. Russell of course was cordial and helpful. His liberalism was warming after the cold New England Puritanism.

Trips to Germany (Munich), back to Cambridge, then to Göttingen, broadened his mind if not always his sympathies. The family went along. When the war broke in 1918, he returned to Columbia University, where he was unpopular. From all these journeyings we get sketches by a young man just emerging from adolescence of some of the "greats" in the mathematics of the near past—Hardy, Landau, Klein, and the last of the giants from the nineteenth century, Hilbert. All are now dead.

AT THE AGE of twenty-one Wiener finally grew up and escaped from his father, then professor of Russian at Harvard. He became a docent at Harvard and lectured to the girls at Radcliffe, much to his own embarrassment and theirs. An instructorship at Harvard seemed on the way, but he did not get it, because of a student prank remembered against him from his days as an undergraduate. When it seemed that America must enter the war, he joined the "Harvard Regiment." He now had definitely abandoned philosophy for mathematics, and was rewarded with an instructorship at the University of Maine. If what he says about that seat of learning is just, it should retaliate by bestowing an honorary degree on him.

As his next attempt to get into step and make himself socially acceptable he went to the touted O. T. C. camp at Plattsburg, hoping for a commission—which he did not get. He was inexperienced enough to be shocked by the "bottle-drinking and foul-mouthedness of even these gentlemen sham-soldiers." Determined to do his share in the war, he joined up as an enlisted man, after being rejected for officer training on account of his eyes. He returned to mathematics, making a living in Albany by hack work on the "Encyclopaedia Britannica." He next applied for a position at the University of Puerto Rico. His application was ignored. Finally he got real war work at the Aberdeen Proving Ground, where he could use his mathematical ability.

Among his other misadventures was a spell as a feature writer on the Boston *Herald*. He was fired when he wrote up the atrocious conditions in the Lawrence mills. Wiener has never lacked either moral or physical courage. He even joined Calvin Coolidge's citizen volunteers in their attempt to curb violence during the Boston police strike, and so had a part in Coolidge's election to the Presidency of the United States. At last, at the age of twenty-five, he got an appointment to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he has done creative mathematics ever since.

Looking back on his varied career, with its false starts and its wasteful excursions into blind alleys, what does Wiener think of it all now? Would he educate his own children as he was educated? The answer is inconclusive; the circumstances would have to be taken into account. For his defeated father, who might have been a great philologist, he has only sympathy. In mathematics he has been fortunate. Nearly all his early work, including his study of biology and perhaps even some of the lore he absorbed from the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," has proved useful in his final attack on the problem of communication. His studies on Brownian motion, mathematical logic, the theory of probability, periodgram analysis, and so on have fused together into what his colleagues call "Wienerian mathematics," a peculiarly personal creation of wide applicability to many disparate problems. Without looking for the author's name on a paper, any trained mathematician would recognize Wiener if indeed he were the author. And although there are no formulas in his autobiography, his acquaintances will spot him instantly.

New Books in Brief

Able Liberal

YOU NEVER LEAVE BROOKLYN. The Autobiography of Emanuel Celler. John Day. $3.75. A record of thirty years in Congress by a liberal who has fought for civil rights, civil liberties, freer immigration, anti-monopoly legislation, and support for Israel. Mr. Celler is no great shakes as a writer, but his book can be recommended as a simple, modest self-portrait of an able Congressman who has almost always been on the side of the angels.

With Relevance for Our Time

ESSAYS ON CHURCH AND STATE. By Lord Acton. Introduction by Douglas Woodruff. Viking. $6. Among the great Victorians whose work is being exhumed and reevaluated, Lord Acton, historian, political scientist, and philosopher, is one whose thought has a particular relevance for our time. He had, as Mr. Woodruff points out, "a prophetic preoccupation with the very questions with which the twentieth century has found itself preoccupied." His first concern was the relation of the moral ends of society to moral means. He wrestled unremittingly with such problems as how to safeguard freedom without undermining the necessary authority of the state.

Acton was not always consistent in his ideas, but he was consistent in his championship of "freedom of conscience, that is, of what is highest and best in man." A devout Catholic, his distinction between "the things of Caesar and the things of God," together with his refusal to condone the perpetuation of historical errors in the supposed interests of the church, brought him at times into conflict with the hierarchy. The "Essays on Church and State," for instance, the product of his early years, originally appeared in a short-lived series of lay Catholic reviews which became the victims of clerical hostility. Most of them deal with church history and politics. There is, however, one long discussion of the causes of the American Civil War, written in May, 1861, which does little credit either to Acton's prescience, since it assumes permanent disruption of the Union, or to his liberalism, since it includes something like a defense of slavery. Even so, its analysis of the problems of federal democracy are well worth reading.

ACTON'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY: AN ANALYSIS. By G. E. Fasnacht. Viking. $4. Mr. Fasnacht's volume, which draws on MS notes, as well as published lectures and letters, provides a guide to Acton's thought in his later and more liberal years, organized under such headings as The Theory of Conscience; English and American Political Traditions; The State, Government, and Democracy; Socialism; and The History of Freedom. It is not easy, however, to arrange the products of Acton's mind—a mind always alert to the interconnection of ideas—in such convenient compartments, and Mr. Fasnacht has been unable to avoid some repetitions. Nevertheless, his book does provide the student with the essence of Acton.

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Life in the Midwest

AMOS BERRY. By Allan Seager. Simon and Schuster. $3.95. An ambitious but not altogether successful novel that attempts to combine the psychological, the historical, the philosophical levels in fiction. The protagonist is a respectable Middle Western business man whose wife is secretly planning to divorce him. The story is told by his son, who is determined to break with the conventions that have destroyed his father and to become a poet. The town life of the Middle West from the early 1900's to the present is done well; the psychological insights of the novel hardly need the melodrama which is inserted to support them. The contrast between the hidden conflicts of conventional success and the fulfilment of the artist's life is rather flat. In the end the son understands the father's compulsion to murder and to commit suicide, but most people in similar circumstances merely go on living.

In Post-War Italy

THE FIFTH GENERATION. By Dante Arfelli. Translated by Adrienne Foulke. Scribner's. $3.50. This is a novel of post-war Italy with the thesis that maturity of outlook has no reward in the present moral vortex. It is a convincing work as long as Mr. Arfelli writes about what he knows from his own experience. His protagonists, Berto the extrovert and Claudio the reflective type, make sense to the reader when they talk of their own time. But when Arfelli, who is too young to have remembered much of the rise of Fascism, tries to characterize the tensions of that period, he lapses into flaccid fabrication. Pitted against such Italian writers as Pratolini and Berto, of whose work his is an echo in a minor key, Arfelli suffers on every level. His characters lack the humanity of Pratolini's; his political issues lack the conviction, the searing moral fire of Berto. "The Fifth Generation" is longer and more ambitious than Arfelli's first novel, "The Unwanted," but the author does not yet make the grade with a foreign audience. The story of how these two young men cope with the war, the false armistice, and the problems which beset their ruined country somehow fails to move us. Since the translation is exceptionally smooth, it cannot be held responsibile.

In the Publishing World

LANDFALL. By Helen Hull. Coward-McCann. $3.50. Another well-written but undistinguished novel, accomplished in detail, rather tedious in effect. Miss Hull's satiric gift appears to advantage in the minor portraits of the publishing world. The story gets bogged down in the domestic relationship between a capable female editor and an errant academic husband. Career versus love, complicated by the husband's illness and dependence on the heroine, solved by her decision to abandon—guess what?

Theater

Harold Clurman

I ENJOYED the new production of "Porgy and Bess" (Ziegfeld Theater) very much. In a sense, there is little more to say about it, not only because it has become a kind of classic, but because the quality of its emotion is one which communicates itself easily and directly, and one accepts it without critical cavil.

Gershwin's music has a certain smart sophistication, but its outstanding characteristic, it seems to me, is warm sentiment or a kind of yearning for sentiment. It is as if a skilful popular composer were trying to reach some area of feeling beyond the clatter and glister of "Broadway's" surface, an area purer, richer, more tender than what others were satisfied with.

Everyone in the twenties seemed to be dizzied by the brilliant energy and prosperity of the times, but the more sensitive found themselves lonely and wistful. They were "a lookin' for a home"—a safe place amid the surrounding jungle in which there might be some repose, sweetness, heart. The music of

"Porgy and Bess" voices that quest. It is no accident that George Gershwin, who was Jewish, should have found the material for his masterpiece in what amounts to a Negro folk tale—and that the combination, with the aid of the highly gifted lyrics of Ira Gershwin, should have a lasting appeal for all Americans.

For me the most characteristic numbers in "Porgy and Bess" are not the gay and witty "It Ain't Necessarily So," which has a significantly mock-heroic aspect, or "A Woman Is a Sometime Thing," but the love duets, "Bess, You Is My Woman Now" and "I Loves You, Porgy." They are almost hymns of longing, expressions of desire which transcend their personal objects.

The new production has admirable brio and fine touches of color. It is genuinely lively. That its exuberance is sometimes indiscriminate and that the storm scene is awkwardly staged—owing to the scenic arrangement—seem to me minor faults. The director, Robert Breen, is to be congratulated, as is most of the cast. Leslie Scott's Porgy is unaffected and affecting. Leontyne Price as Bess is vocally lovely as well as otherwise attractive, and while Cab Calloway does not make one forget Avon Long's electric Sportin' Life, he (Calloway) has a "classy" musical style which inspires his delivery of the numbers and his acting.

YOU MAY THINK Albert Husson's "My Three Angels"—originally "La Cuisine des Anges"—(Morosco Theater) a wicked prank or simply a pleasantly puckish comedy. But I could not help seeing it as a malicious fairy tale of contemporary France. It twists the familiar pattern of, let us say, "The Passing of the Third Floor Back" or "The Servant in the House," in which a moral, nearly divine stranger brings contentment to a disturbed household. In "My Three Angels" three convicts in French Guiana—two of them murderers, the third a thief—set everything aright in the home of an honest French family in straitened circumstances by killing two distasteful business men.

To understand how such a story can be made into an often hilarious play—something the French press and public designate as *délicieux*—one has to know the mental climate of France today. As a result of the events of 1939-45—the betrayal of their country by some of their most revered leaders, the breakdown of their illusions during the war and the occupation, and the terrible wounds inflicted on their self-esteem—all "righteousness" is now suspect to the French. A "respectable" citizen—particularly one of the solid upper middle class—ninety-nine times out of hundred is regarded as the worst kind of fraud. The "hero" of the new French drama therefore is either an almost sadistically mad religious fanatic or the blackest sort of sinner—in either case, a demon of some sort. It is as if the French did not trust anyone but a blackguard, that is, a frank, determined, unblinking blackguard.

In "My Three Angels," which shows the smiling phase of this new cynicism (it has its pathetic and even "noble" side), the criminals are likable fellows with a keen understanding of life, and the business men—scions of the old Third Republic—are mean, cold, wretchedly calculating creatures, who deserve nothing better than the venomously farcical death they are dealt. "The means justify the ends," one of the three says with cherubic assurance.

Another reason for the play's success in Paris is that it is written in a style which corresponds to its artistic meaning: the avenging "angels" speak like poets with positively exquisite delicacy and wit, while the bourgeois speak with boorish bluntness. Thus the play possessed a literary allure in the original which it lacks in the American version by Sam and Bella Spewack.

The fairy-tale feeling of "My Three Angels" is rather neglected in the current production, making the play rather less distinctive than it might be. Only Walter Slezak as the most unregenerate of the play's villainous "heroes" gives his part the proper style of charming mischief. The others—none of whom is bad—are directed too prosaically. Be that as it may, it is only fair to point out that the scene in which the younger of the two victims writhes in a death agony (from snake-bite) while the three "angels" calmly go on discussing their plans is one of the most outrageously comic to be seen on any stage anywhere. It convulsed me with astonished laughter—and I did not seem to be alone in this.

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Films

Manny Farber

THE directors of two new films—"The Naked Spur" and "Jeopardy"—having worked on a number of low-budget thrillers, claim space this week for a notation of their talents. John Sturges, director of "Jeopardy," is a deft mechanic who has turned out such pictures as "Mystery Street" and "The Case Against O'Hara." He has almost Defoe's talent for creating circumstantial detail, along with the ability to make hard-to-do things seem easy. Interested in the problem of how "people like you and me" express ourselves at work, Sturges steers his films away from melodrama into literate, semi-documentary studies of such subjects as law-office routine or sleuthing in a college laboratory. He has a restrained hand with actors, a moderately realistic camera style, and a remarkable talent for letting us know what goes on in the minds of people faced with a scientific or mechanical problem.

Only as individual a director as Sturges could have concocted anything worth seeing out of "Jeopardy," with its picture-postcard settings, ragged dialogue, and Pearl White-type thrills that have been guidebooked by a dozen other hair-raising films. The story, which could have been worked out for a radio play, has Barry Sullivan trapped under a jetty, with only his wife (chief desperate star Stanwyck) to save him from drowning in the in-coming tide. The help she finally gets turns out to be a sex-starved killer (Ralph Meeker) who commandeers her car to escape from his crime. Some of the dialogue sounds as if it came from a *Collier's* gangster: "Is there anything your husband has that I could use?" leers Meeker. However, Sturges has lowered the temperature of this frantic story by turning it into a kind of examination of wild landscape, car problems, and how one can outwit nature on a holiday trip along the coast of Lower California. By searching with the lens into every corner of a late-model Ford convertible and creating interest in such things as lug-wrenches, spinning wheels, and raising a car without a jack, Sturges made a fine study in car mania, one that speeds along at a fast clip and would be clear and suspenseful even to a deaf person.

Anthony Mann, director of "The Naked Spur," is good at making action films come to life after the sun sets, when in delicately underlighted episodes he demonstrates that nothing is more fascinating than an objective study of nihilistic evil, death, and destruction. The Marquis de Sade of the Metro directing crew, Mann not only gives genuine form and style to his cruel-toned works but has almost vindicated Hollywood's technique with mountain slides, Indian fights, and shooting matches by showing how a deluge of violence scenes can create striking visual rhythms that are like powerful if devastating music. Mann did a careful and artful job with the ingredients of "The Naked Spur," but he got some of his material—the theme of human greed—distinctly third-hand via the Huston "Sierra Madre" epic. Just five people—a cagy desperado, a merciless pursuer, an old prospector, a dishonorable cavalryman, and an attractive blonde—go along on the hoked-up ride through the rocky hills of Colorado.

Each of the roles, except Millard Mitchell's slow-witted prospector, is played as if the actor thought he could do this job blindfolded at the bottom of a well. For a while Robert Ryan and his companion in flight, Janet Leigh, are as mean a couple of coyotes as you will find in a Western, but then Leigh casts off her unglamorous disguise, and Ryan starts in with his oily Iago-type expressions of self-assured evil. Perhaps there is too much predictable plot complication here to please old Anthony Mann fans, but his particular gifts are evident anyway: the unique love scene that is cut in against the eerie patter of rain on outdoor eating utensils; the three-way shooting match around a rocky cliff that builds up a frightening chorus with the ping of bullets on rocks. A laudable achievement, too, is the way all that Technicolor landscape is kept under control, seeming to be as plain and solid around the cowboys as in any good black-and-white horse opry.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE record "First Chair" (Columbia), which is being sold for the benefit of the Philadelphia Orchestra Pension Fund, presents the orchestra's great solo oboe, Marcel Tabuteau, in Handel's beautiful Concerto No. 3; its great solo flute, William Kincaid, whose unique silvery tone is heard in Griffes's Poem, a work I don't care for; its great solo horn, Mason Jones, who amazes one with the extraordinary beauty of his tone, its fluidity and subtle inflection in an engaging Larghetto by Chabrier; its brilliant solo trumpet, Samuel Krauss, in Purcell's Trumpet Voluntary; its fine solo clarinet, Anthony Gigliotti, in the inconsequential Weber Concertino (why not a movement of Mozart's Clarinet Concerto?); its excellent solo bassoon, Sol Schoenbach, in an inconsequential Concert Piece by Burrell Phillips (again why not Mozart?); its solo cellist, Lorne Monroe, whose technique in an engaging Weber Adagio and Rondo is dazzling, but whose tone is made edged and brash by the recording; and its concert-master, Jacob Krachmalnick, whose tone also is poorly reproduced in Beethoven's uninteresting Romance No. 2 (again why not a Mozart concerto movement?). The beautiful sound of the entire orchestra is well reproduced in the Purcell, Griffes, Handel, and Chabrier pieces, but acquires a hash of distortion in the Weber Concertino and Phillips piece.

Handel's Concertos Op. 4 Nos. 1 and 2 for organ and orchestra (London) I don't find interesting. The performances by Jeanne Demessieux with L'Orchestre de la Suisse romande under Ansermet are good.

In Berlioz's rarely played Funeral and Triumphal Symphony (Lyrichord) the operation of the Berlioz mind, always interesting for itself, this time produces music which doesn't persuade and affect me as it usually does. The performance by Cologne brass and string orchestras and chorus under Fritz Straub's direction seems good, except that I can imagine the finale more impressive played a little more slowly.

The charming Rossini pieces brilliantly orchestrated by Respighi in "Rossiniana" are played well by the Covent Garden Opera Orchestra under Braithwaite (MGM). On the same record are the less consequential Cimarosa pieces orchestrated by Malipiero in "Cimarosiana" and the Overture to "Il Matrimonio Segreto." Surfaces are noisy.

In Toscanini's 1936 recording of the Brahms-Haydn Variations one can hear how marvelously sensitized the New York Philharmonic was to his direction; in his new recording of this lovely piece (RCA Victor) one hears how close the NBC Symphony's playing has come to the 1936 Philharmonic's—close, but to my ears still not all the way. As for Toscanini himself, I was struck by a couple of details—a slowing down in the second part of Variation 3 that I felt was disproportionate to the basic tempo established in the first part, and a similar acceleration in the final passacaglia—details which struck me, and which I mention, only because one of Toscanini's outstanding characteristics is his sense for coherence in tempo, which is evident in his treatment of the same two passages in the 1936 performance. The two details don't make the new performance anything less than a superb one; and the record also offers a magnificent performance of Elgar's "Enigma" Variations.

Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 5 is played by Schmidt-Isserstedt and the Hamburg Radio Symphony with the traditional distortions that make it sentimental and hysterical (London).

I enjoy some passages of Stravinsky's Piano Concerto (1923-24) now that I didn't when I first heard the work almost thirty years ago; but I still don't like it as much as some of the subsequent works in which he used the same method with increasing elaboration and expertness. It is performed effectively (RCA Victor) by Stravinsky with a Victor orchestra and his son Soulima as solo pianist. Stravinsky also conducts the orchestra in the Scherzo à la russe that he wrote for Paul Whiteman, and a chorus of men and boys in a Pater Noster and Ave Maria—none of which pieces I care for.

Prokofiev's Symphony No. 5 (1944), one of the best of his later works, and unusual in the sustained and involved construction of its first and third movements, is given an excellent performance by Tuxen with the fine Danish State Radio Symphony (London).

Roger Goeb's Symphony No. 3 is for Stokowski, who conducts the performance (RCA Victor), one of the works in which "the most talented American composers are expressing through Tone and Rhythm our conception of the life of action and feeling of America"; but I can only report that its "complex interweaving of dynamic rhythm and vigorous melodic lines" communicates nothing at all to me. The same for Bartok's Sonata for two pianos and percussion, in which Stokowski conducts Gerson Yessin and Raymond Viola, pianists, and Elayne Jones and Alfred Howard, percussionists, and concerning which he emits long stretches of his portentous-sounding zero-talk. The performances are excellent.

Art Notes

FRANK DUNCAN shows oils and water colors of still lifes and landscapes. The landscapes are of Majorca, Spain, and Rhode Island. His colors are warm and pleasant with greens and reds predominating.—*Durlacher to April 4.*

MICHEL G. GILBERT, French-born painter, has had three shows at this gallery. These recent neo-Impressionist paintings are landscapes of Paris and New England.—*Passedoit to April 4.*

ANTONIO FRASCONI, a native Uruguayan who has lived in the United States for the past eight years, is a leading woodcut artist. These powerful color blocks depict the activity around the Brooklyn Bridge and the Fulton Fish Market in strong, opaque colors. —*Weyhe to April 14.*

JEANNETTE M. GENIUS, a Southern artist, in her first New York show exhibits a group of semi-abstractions concerned with buildings and figures. They are light and gay in color treatment with interesting textures.—*Contemporary Arts to April 3.*

SIDNEY SIMON in his third one-man show presents New York scenes in segmented, semi-transparent paintings that suggest various French influences. —*Grand Central Moderns to April 7.*

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Letters

Intolerance in Italy

Dear Sirs: The battle for religious liberty in Italy is being lost. Notwithstanding the promises of the Gasperi government, and the guaranties of the constitution, the Peace Treaty of 1947, and the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation of 1949, Italy's clerical government continually violates religious freedom. The Vatican-controlled officials of Italy are using every device to impose their control on Italian life.

On Reformation Sunday, October 30, 1949, a seminary for the retraining of Roman Catholic priests was opened in Portici at Naples—the Evangelical Biblical Institute. It was founded and financed by me and a group of American friends. I am an American and for more than a quarter of a century I was active as a minister and school teacher in New York and New Jersey. At present the school and its enlarged activities have friends and supporters all over the United States.

Since the summer of 1952 the Roman church has shown increasing opposition to the school, and last January I was ordered to leave the country. An appeal to Prime Minister de Gasperi was fruitless.

American correspondents in Italy asked me why I was being expelled, but an Associated Press dispatch in one Rome newspaper had already given the answer. "Caliandro's troubles," it said, "follow difficulties reported for the past three years by the Church of Christ, the Baptists, and the Pentecostals. . . . The order from the Interior Ministry expelling Caliandro was the latest move in a three-year strife between Italy's Catholic government and some Protestant Evangelical groups."

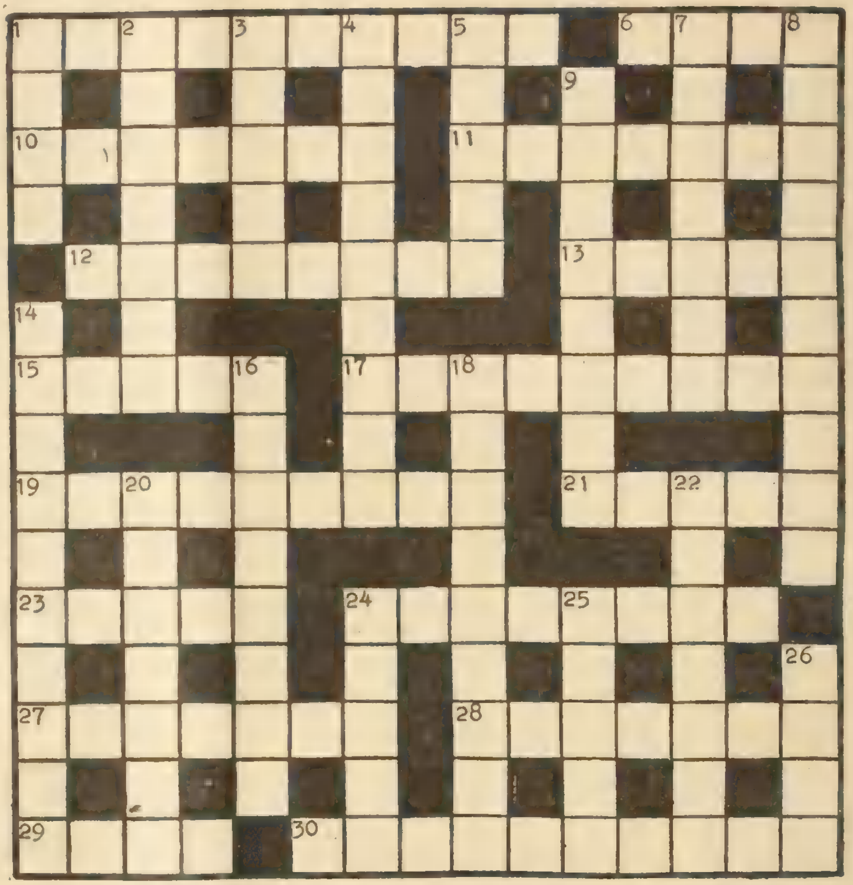
We are continuing our work at Portici as if nothing had happened. Many people, including civic leaders and intellectuals, are assuring us of their support and openly criticizing the action of the Italian government.

The Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation of 1949 between the United States and Italy guarantees to the nationals of both countries full religious liberty in the following terms:

> The nationals of either high contracting party shall within the territories of the other high contracting party be permitted to exercise liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, and they may, whether individually, collectively, or in

Crossword Puzzle No. 509

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 6, 18 down and 24 down. Giving the third and last three members of the orchestra the lead in pot-pourri? (7, 3, 4, 6, 3, 5)
10 He has the make-up of a cad and a liar! (7)
11 See 19 across.
12 Cereal desserts—on the house, perhaps. (8)
13 Para, by a different name, sounds like one associated with a talking animal. (5)
15 Katisha was such a daughter-in-law.
17 It might be the base of what affects you, in one sense. (9)
19, 11, 29, and 1 down. Implying the most devout Quaker is required to fix locks? (3, 4, 2, 7, 4, 4)
21 Joseph Rodman, perhaps, sort of acted like Maud Muller. (5)
23 "That bustle so illustrious
'Tis almost consequence,
Is the ——— of death."
Emily Dickinson. (5)
24 Sharp change of course, more or less outmoded in marine warfare?
27 Where there's no hope of getting praised? (7)
28 Tug commander, perhaps, with a crop of flax. (7)
29 See 19 across.
30 Observes an animal found in an island of the Dutch East Indies. (10)

DOWN

1 See 19 across.
2 To plead for the life of Rana, in an immature way? (7)
3 Descriptive of Cinna's people? (5)
4 Spooner certainly wouldn't imply a burning spirit here. (4, 5)
5 Handles a broken shaft, evidently. (5)
7 Would Wagner's opera cycle have such a form? (7)
8 Does it put a strain on the commander of a merchant vessel? (10)
9 The mixed breed that Master Cratchit is superior to? (8)
14 Warm up the bird, and give it to the master; the people here are filled with disbelief. (10)
16 Sounds like a tough description of ai for a salientian. (4, 4)
18 See 1 across.
20 Implies the service entrance when one does. (7)
22 A synonym is contained in 4 down.
24 See 1 across.
25 Rise aloft, like one who might 28 if decapitated. (5)
26 Time for Irving's Bones to get away from tiresome platitudes. (4)

• ✻ •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 508

ACROSS:—1 APHORISMS; 9 DOLEFUL; 10 MYALGIA; 11 RADIANT; 12 TEABALL; 13, 24 and 32 SEE AMERICA FIRST; 17 BERTHA; 18 ALAMO; 19 UPPERS; 25 ADS; 27 DERIDES; 28 THERESA; 30 OSHKOSH; 33 MASON JARS.

DOWN:—1 ARDOR; 2 HOLIDAY; 3 REFRAIN; 4 SPLITS; 5 SEMITE; 6, 31, 6 across and 15 across WHAT ARE THE WILD WAVES SAYING; 7 VAGRANT; 8 SMALL TALK; 14 ELAND; 15 SOUNDS OFF; 16 and 22 GAS ATTACK; 17 BOA; 20 PERCHER; 21 REDCOAT; 23 THEREON; 25 ASCHAM; 26 STATES; 29 ANDES.

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As an American, I know that the United States government faithfully lives up to the letter as well as to the spirit of this treaty. I cannot say the same thing for Italy, where I have resided since it went into effect.

A very large number of fine Italian citizens complain with much feeling that the American government is lending its support to the so-called Christian Democratic Party of Mr. de Gasperi. This government is a purely clerical government—not democratic and not Christian. ANTHONY CALIANDRO,
Director, Evangelical Biblical Institute of Italy

Portici, Naples, Italy

That Plea for Heretics

Dear Sirs: After reading in your January 3 issue the extracts from Dr. Macbeath's Plea for Heretics, I wrote the author for permission to publish in pamphlet form the entire remarkable address. He gave me permission, and the full text can now be obtained at 15 cents per single copy or $10 per hundred by writing to me at 507 East Orange Grove Avenue, Pasadena, California. If there is any profit left after the cost of printing 1,000 copies has been covered, it will be used to start a fund for doing what Professor Macbeath says we *must* do—put some of our *ideas* into intelligent *action.*

Pasadena, Cal. J. G. MOORE

In Defense of Ingersoll

Dear Sirs: I confess that as an inveterate agnostic I was shocked to read the notice in *The Nation* of Cramer's new biography of Ingersoll, and particularly the statement that there was a generous amount of showmanship and "rascality" in Ingersoll. . . . The late Haldeman-Julius asked me about three years ago to review critically Ingersoll's attacks on orthodox religion, Christian and Jewish. I consented rather reluctantly. . . . My surprise was pleasant and keen. Ingersoll is extremely modern and philosophical as well as scientific. . . . He cannot be dismissed as a Quixote or as a mere phrase-monger.

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Around the U.S.A.

Pittsburgh Rushes Off in All Directions

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

PITTSBURGH was stirred to its depths not long ago by the disclosures of Matthew Cvetic. of a "I was a Communist" fame, and the subsequent activity of Judge Michael A. Musmanno, which was patterned after that of Senator McCarthy on a national level. Names from Mr. Cvetic's memory filled the pages of the Pittsburgh newspapers, and humble clerks in obscure social-work agencies lost their jobs as poor security risks. On the heels of Mr. Cvetic's confessions, Judge Musmanno pounced on the local Communist Party headquarters, and finding that it contained no copy of the United States Constitution, ordered the rooms padlocked and the officers arrested.

Judge Musmanno then stepped out of the robes of a Common Pleas jurist and as a private citizen prosecuted Steve Nelson, Andrew Onda, and James Dolsen. Having obtained their conviction as Communists under a state sedition law—they have since been indicted under federal law—he became justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

• Concomitantly Pittsburgh has shown a feverish desire to better itself, in all directions. A new airport has been built. ALCOA has erected a great aluminum building, United States Steel a steel building. Slum areas are being razed for public auditoriums, parks, and parking lots. The Golden Triangle is bursting with derricks and bulldozers.

The exciting experiments with gamma globulin for polio originated in Pittsburgh. The city water department puts fluorides in the water. A local FEPC ordinance is passed. International art exhibitions and music festivals are held. Pittsburgh's institutions of learning import famous names in every field—for example, Dr. Benjamin Spock in pediatrics and Dr. Roy Harris in music.

With Dr. Harris's appointment at the Pennsylvania College for Women the city's craving for superiority collided with its craving for conformity. Rover boys Musmanno and Cvetic ran across Dr. Harris's name in the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Not only had he been affiliated with some of those organizations on the Attorney General's list, but he had dedicated a musical work to the Red Army. Judge Musmanno promptly persuaded his local post to send him as a delegate to the next meeting of the American Legion, and there he offered a resolution denouncing Dr. Harris for alleged subversive leanings. Impassioned as always, he cried, "Dr. Harris must leave Pittsburgh. He is a disgrace to Pittsburgh."

Colonel John H. Shenkel, chairman of the Americanism Committee of the Legion for the past eighteen years, opposed Musmanno and his resolution. The committee unanimously recommended its rejection.

• Meanwhile Mr. Cvetic had written a letter to the paper and been answered. He was reminded that Dr. Harris had made the dedication in question in 1943, when several million other Americans, including General Eisenhower, were hailing the Soviet Union and the Red Army, and that thorough investigation by the Pennsylvania College for Women had completely cleared Dr. Harris of disloyalty.

Dr. Harris expressed disgust with the effrontery of Musmanno and Cvetic and asserted his willingness to defend himself under oath before the House Un-American Activities Committee. He said further, "I hope that the committee would be eager also to investigate the reprehensible practice of exploiting our hatred and fear of communism for personal, political, or financial gain."

At its March meeting the American Legion rejected the Musmanno resolution. The Judge withdrew gracefully, telling the delegates that since Dr. Harris was willing to appear before the committee, he was satisfied. When asked whether he too would be willing to appear before the committee to repeat his charge under oath, he replied, "I will answer it this way. I am at the disposal of my government at any time, whether on the battlefield or in public service."

TERRY MILLER

[*Terry Miller is a free-lance writer in Pittsburgh.*]

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Volume 176, Number 14
New York, Saturday, April 4, 1953

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The Shape of Things

EDITORIALS

The Brightening Eastern Sky

As we go to press, China has announced its readiness to cooperate in hurdling the last barrier to the long-sought truce in Korea. Thus, according to Peking, the American—and United Nations—demand that prisoners are to be repatriated only on a "voluntary" basis is to be met. Only those prisoners would be returned home who want to go. Others would be turned over to a "neutral state" pending a final disposition of their status. This is substantially the plan which India earlier presented before the current session of the General Assembly and which, in an amended form, was turned down by China.

At no time since the outbreak of the Korean war has the outlook for peace been greater. Peking has made its bid; it is up to the West to meet it.

Softening Up the F. T. C.

The appointment of Edward F. Howrey to a seven-year term on the Federal Trade Commission—he will be the new chairman—is quite in keeping with the what-is-good-for-business-is-good-for-the-country philosophy of the Eisenhower Administration. Bruce Catton, who was apparently the first reporter to note the significance of the selection, pointed out in *The Nation* of March 14 that Mr. Howrey will not have to bone up on the work or procedures of the commission. For twenty years now he has represented a powerful clientèle of special interests before it and is perhaps the best-known and most influential lobbyist in the field.

But the appointment involves another issue. In a conservative understatement the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* notes that the appointment of Mr. Howrey was "inadequately reported." It is not surprising, therefore, that the nomination should have been quickly approved by the Senate Commerce Committee. Is this another instance of the Democrats' electing to "play dead" in the hopeful anticipation that the Republicans will dig their own graves?

Trans-Channel Trade

At the meeting of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation in Paris last week Britain succeeded in banishing some of the doubts about its policies that had been agitating the European chancelleries. In the first place it announced that the unrestricted proportion of its European imports, reduced during last year's crisis from 90 to 44 per cent, would be raised to 56 per cent and that foreign-exchange allowances for British tourists would be increased from £25 to £40. These moves, together with a parallel relaxation of import quotas by the West German government, should help to lift the total of intra-European trade and prove of particular assistance to France and Italy, which have been suffering from a decline in exports.

Even more welcome was the British readiness to stay in the European Payments Union for another year unless there was a unanimous agreement to transform the union into a larger system. This quieted fear of a private deal between Britain and the United States to restore sterling convertibility. Whatever its hopes may have been, the recent British mission to Washington obviously learned that the Eisenhower Administration was either unwilling or unable to make commitments in this direction.

As a result the Churchill government seems to have decided that a purely Commonwealth approach to the problem must be abandoned in favor of one that embraces the whole Western European partnership. We may expect, therefore, to see new efforts to strengthen economic ties between Europe and the sterling area as the first step in collective action for trade expansion and general currency convertibility. In theory such a plan would be much more warmly received than any unilateral scheme: in practice, since it will be much harder to turn down, it may prove more embarrassing.

Mayer Heads for Trouble

If Prime Minister René Mayer's mission had ended in Washington it could have been defined as very successful. Indo-China, one of the chief concerns of the French government, is now definitely included in the field of American international obligations. The joint warning to Communist China that aggressive warfare anywhere in the Far East would be considered a violation of a Korean armistice and would "have the most serious consequences" implies an American commitment to military support of France in Indo-China which goes far beyond the agreements made at the last NATO meeting.

The amount of additional American financial aid to be allocated to winning the fight in Indo-China was not stated. It was left to be settled at the next NATO meeting in Paris, starting on April 23. But it may be assumed that once the agreement has been made in principle and the plans for military action accepted, the money will be forthcoming.

The French also obtained full recognition of "the im-

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portance of the settlement of the question of the Saar"—an asset in Premier Mayer's balance-sheet. But on this point there is a countervailing liability. The French ministers had to reciprocate by pledging themselves to speed ratification of the European Army treaty and by identifying themselves with the official American view that in the recent overtures of the new Russian government there has been little to encourage hope of negotiation. These two concessions are already being criticized in influential non-Communist circles in France. Premier Mayer must complete his mission at home, and it is an easy prediction that his next appearance in the French Parliament will prove more hazardous than his visit to Washington.

Tito Makes a Hit

London

Tito's visit was epitomized by the incident at the luncheon given for him by the Labor Party's National Executive at the House of Commons. Before his arrival there was some concern that he would be monopolized by Aneurin Bevan, who had interviewed him summer before last. But when Sir Waldron Smithers, the half-comic pre-Victorian Conservative strode in and exchanged some words with him in the Serbo-Croat he had picked up while fighting at Salonika in World War I, it was apparent that Tito was doing all right.

The indignant letters of Catholic leaders, plus Evelyn Waugh and Graham Greene, were passed off rather lightly. Communist protests were so mild as to seem *pro forma.* The bulk of the British people were prepared to welcome Tito heartily because there is high regard here for a brave patriot, particularly when his patriotism is in Britain's interest. Anthony Eden and the Foreign Office were won over by his cooperation in helping to rebuild the East Mediterranean section of the *cordon sanitaire.*

Tito said on leaving that he had "attained all we hoped for." It had previously been taken for granted that any attack on Yugoslavia by the Cominform countries would be considered a cause for war by the West, but considerable remained to be done in planning and implementing a counter-strategy. During Tito's visit it became clearer that Britain will be the funnel through which Western aid to Tito will flow. Anglo-Yugoslav military talks will be resumed in Belgrade shortly. Tito was satisfied.

ANDREW ROTH

Last of the New Dealers

Frances Perkins, the last of the New Dealers, is retiring from the federal service after completing a seven-year term on the Civil Service Commission. As Secretary of Labor in the original Roosevelt Cabinet, Miss Perkins faced tremendous handicaps: she was the first woman to serve in the Cabinet—and a cruel cross this proved to be—and she was not "of labor." But she managed to ride out storms of abuse without losing her admirable sense of humor or her capacity for efficient public service. Miss Perkins probably had a clearer conception of the New Deal and was more unselfishly dedicated to the achievement of its goals than any of her colleagues. The list of social achievement with which her name is associated is indeed impressive. Always a modest person, Miss Perkins left Washington so quietly that her departure was scarcely noticed in the press. She has our best wishes.

The Bohlen Affair

THE PROBLEM with the Bohlen affair is how to score it. Who won? who lost? how should the final score be reckoned?

Defeated on the main issue, McCarthy and "the little group of wilful" Senators who supported him made several telling points. Mr. Bohlen's usefulness as a career diplomat has been seriously impaired. The demoralization of the foreign service has been accelerated. Congress has again won the right to inspect confidential F. B. I. reports. More important, McCarthy has again succeeded in raising a doubt in the public's mind about the integrity of the State Department's conduct of foreign affairs—a doubt which he will exploit to the full whenever the international situation gives him an opportunity. Nor has McCarthy surrendered. With three of his henchmen he serves on the Senate Appropriations Committee, and he has already promised Mr. Dulles a lively session when the Secretary of State appears before the committee in support of his department's budget. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the Bricker amendment will be used even more effectively than the attack on the Bohlen appointment to embarrass the Administration. The fight on the Bohlen appointment was so timed in relation to the death of Stalin as to make it an ideal means of warning the Administration what to expect should it open negotiations with the Russians for a general settlement. There can be no doubt, as the sharp exchange between Mr. Dulles and Senator McCarran indicated, that the Bohlen affair was regarded by both sides as the "acid test"—the test, that is, of who is directing foreign policy. McCarthy can count votes as accurately as the next man. He knew he could not prevent Bohlen's confirmation; his real objective was to establish a beachhead from which a broader attack on the Administration might be launched. The beachhead was won.

Nevertheless, the Administration seems to have racked up more points than McCarthy. The haste with which Joe's most ardent admirers deserted him on this issue is a fair measure of the ground he has lost. It means something when the New York *World Telegram* denounces McCarthy for his "back-alley tactics" and refers to him as "this loud-mouthed rowdy," when the Hearst *Journal-American* interrupts its red-baiting long enough to say "we've had enough of this kind of malicious mischief in American life," and when the New York *Daily News* concedes that its hero was "off the beam" in the Bohlen case. "Not since F. D. R. wrecked the national support accorded him in 1936 with his controversial court-enlarging plan of the following February," writes Frank Conniff in the *Journal-American* (March 25), "has a politician dissipated his reservoir of support as quickly as Battling Joe."

Nor can there be much doubt that McCarthy made a serious mistake in isolating himself on the fringe of his own party. The bitter clashes with Senators Knowland and Taft, the sharp comments by Senators Tobey (who suggested that the Senate's theme song should be "I'm forever chasing rumors") and Flanders, and the President's more-in-sorrow-than-in-anger rebuke, certainly did not enhance McCarthy's prestige. Of even greater importance, in our view, is the fact that McCarthy's vicious attack on Bohlen created a new awareness of the assorted evils for which his name is now a label. Columnists referred tartly to the "fifth column" in government that has been leaking information to McCarthy and McCarran, called attention to McCarthy's brazen lying with a new directness and emphasis, and noted with asperity how the F. B. I. carelessly includes in security reports gossip of a "poison pen" madness that should promptly call for an investigation of the letter-writers. The Bohlen affair, moreover, was reported with a vividness of detail that has not always characterized the coverage of McCarthy's adventures in slander.

TO ENLARGE the scope of the survey somewhat, just how do things now stand with McCarthy, Velde, and Jenner? To Velde's sharp setback in his exchange with the clergy may now be added McCarthy's first tactical defeat. In the last sixty days McCarthy and his colleagues have sent more fresh recruits to his opponents than have enlisted in the last six years. Despite some division, the Protestant leadership has been deeply offended by their threats and is now thoroughly aroused. An influential sector of Catholic opinion—witness caustic editorials in *America* and the *Commonweal* and Dr. George N. Shuster's fine speech in Washington—has been alienated by the bigotry and recklessness of McCarthy and McCarran. Telecasts of recent inquisitions have brought a new understanding of the ugly menace of McCarthyism to thousands who were formerly indifferent or uninformed. A large audience heard one witness demand that the Senate find out how McCarthy "was able to bank 175,000 bucks while making a salary of $15,000 a year."

It is doubtless true that McCarthy, Velde, and Jenner, in their more recent sorties, have succeeded in rallying the malcontents and consolidating the support which is theirs as a matter of psychological and political affinity.

But these gains have been purchased at an extremely high price. However one totals the score, the gains in the fight against McCarthy of recent weeks have been sufficient to give new hope to a large and growing opposition. If the Democratic leadership in Congress—note an honorable exception for Senator Lehman—would only emerge from its long hibernation and join the fray, it is possible that 1954 might find McCarthy, Velde, and Jenner on the run. It is much too early to crow, but the suggestion we advanced some weeks ago that a revolt against McCarthy was in the making has been borne out by the losses he has sustained in the Bohlen affair. No Paul Revere has yet ridden forth to sound the alarm, but here and there Minute Men have begun to assemble.

BRICKER AMENDMENT

The Treaty-Making Power . . *by Merlo J. Pusey*

A FLANKING movement against American leadership in world affairs has gained alarming headway in Congress. Led by Senator John W. Bricker of Ohio, it has easily won adherents by playing upon fears that the power to make treaties may be used to curtail or destroy our rights and liberties. With the aid of this lusty hobgoblin, the Senator is dangerously near to setting the country back more than a century and a half in its foreign relations.

More specifically, the appealing idea that Senator Bricker holds out to his colleagues and to the country is a way of preventing the internationalists from supplanting the Bill of Rights with new-fangled foreign agreements. Unless the Constitution is amended, he contends, the whole structure of our government may be altered through the treaty power. To counteract that peril, he would clamp severe restraints on the President and the State Department and transfer a large measure of control over foreign relations to Congress.

Some observers of the Washington scene believe that Senator Bricker is striking obliquely at the United Nations. With the U. N. Charter coming up for automatic revision in 1955, the neo-isolationists in Congress would like nothing better than to force a retreat from our U. N. commitments. Whether that is part of Mr. Bricker's game or whether he is sincerely concerned about a possible eclipse of rights is a matter of little consequence. The effects of blunderbussing can be just as disastrous as those of malicious scheming.

Thus far Senator Bricker has been astonishingly successful in convincing his fellow-legislators that his proposed constitutional amendment is an urgently necessary reform. His new resolution has been introduced with sixty-four sponsors—precisely the number of votes needed to push it through the Senate. And an Associated Press inquiry among members of the Eighty-third Congress indicates that they favor by eight to one the "principle" on which Mr. Bricker has taken his stand.

Apparently the strategy of the sponsors is to bring the resolution to a vote in the Senate as soon as possible—before either Congress or the country is fully aware of what is happening. If the Senate can be induced thus to vote no confidence in itself as the guardian of the treaty-making process, it is assumed that the House will quickly acquiesce. For many years the House has had an itch for some measure of control over foreign relations, and if it finds the Senate ready to hand over some of its exclusive power in this field, nothing is likely to stop the Bricker drive. In view of their frequent complaints about treaty encroachments on their local laws, the state legislatures may be expected to join eagerly in forging fetters for the treaty-makers.

Some stout opposition to the plan appeared at the hearings before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee, and the Departments of State and Justice will soon voice their apprehension. President Eisenhower has spoken mildly against the resolution at two press conferences, but there is no assurance that the Administration can overcome the momentum that the Bricker bandwagon has already attained. The chairman of the subcommittee in charge of the measure is Senator Langer, one of the two members of the Senate who voted against approval of the United Nations treaty. Considering all the circumstances, it looks as if only a tidal wave of public opinion could save the treaty power from a clumsy overhauling by its enemies.

NOW TAKE a close-up view of this backward-looking resolution. Senator Bricker lays greatest stress on Section 1, which reads:

> A provision of a treaty which denies or abridges any right enumerated in this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect.

One might suppose from the nature of this prohibition that the people had been deprived of some highly prized rights by treaties surreptitiously approved by the Senate and blindly upheld by the Supreme Court. But nothing of the sort has happened. Indeed, sponsors of the amendment cannot point to a single treaty in all our history that represents an abuse of power. What they are trying to do is to upset a system that has worked reasonably well for more than a century and a half in order to

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MERLO J. PUSEY, associate editor of the Washington Post, *is author of a biography of Charles Evans Hughes that won a Pulitzer Prize.*

prevent even consideration of suggested future treaties which they fear would prove unwise.

The chief explanation given for this distrust of our treaty-making system is an alleged Achilles' heel in the Constitution. The supremacy clause of that document provides that the Constitution and federal laws "made in Pursuance thereof" and "all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States" shall be "the supreme Law of the Land." Treaties, the revisionists note, are thus put in a less restricted category than are statutes. Consequently the power given to the President and the Senate is unlimited, and treaties can be made to override the Constitution.

It happens that there was a good historical reason for separating treaties and statutes in the supremacy clause. The Founding Fathers did this to avoid casting any reflection on the treaties that had previously been made under the old Articles of Confederation, including the peace treaty with England. Obviously these could not have been saved if the Constitution had recognized only treaties to be made under its own terms. So James Madison and his confrères brought within the "supreme Law of the Land" all treaties made "under the Authority of the United States."

WHAT, THEN, is the authority of the United States? Since the adoption of the Constitution it must be the authority given the United States by that document. Ours is a government of limited powers, and no limits are more rigidly fixed than those which safeguard the rights and freedoms of the people. To assume that a treaty made "under the Authority of the United States" can demolish rights which all officials of the United States are forbidden to infringe is to inflate the treaty clause beyond all reason and to drain the substance from the remainder of the Constitution.

It is not necessary, however, to rely upon logic alone. The Supreme Court has repeatedly said that treaties cannot override constitutional rights. The Bricker forces like to point to *Missouri* v. *Holland,* in which the court upheld a treaty with Great Britain in behalf of Canada for the protection of migratory birds. An act of Congress for the same purpose had previously been held unconstitutional in a lower court because the control of birds is one of the powers reserved to the states by the Tenth Amendment. When it became a question of dealing with another nation in regard to migratory birds, however, the federal government had to act, because the states are not permitted to deal directly with foreign powers. In this sense the resort to the treaty power did create national authority that could not otherwise have been exercised. But Justice Holmes was careful to point out in the opinion upholding the statute which gave effect to the migratory-bird treaty that the power to make treaties is not unlimited. "The treaty in question," he wrote, "does not contravene any prohibitory words to be found in the Constitution."

Senator Bricker

Still more explicit is the court's opinion in *Geofroy* v. *Riggs* (1890), when it upheld the right of a French citizen to inherit land in the District of Columbia under the Treaty of 1853. In explaining the scope of the treaty power the court observed:

> It would not be contended that it extends so far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids, or a change in the character of the government . . .

Instead of being unlimited, the treaty power is circumscribed by some of the severest restraints known to our check-and-balance system. If the President should ever violate his oath by sponsoring a treaty in conflict with the Bill of Rights, it could be voted down by one-third plus one of the Senate. Should the Senate be tricked or intimidated, the offensive treaty could be upset by the Supreme Court. And even if a majority of the Supreme Court should succumb to the virus of some new and subversive internationalism, Congress could nullify the treaty overnight, so far as any domestic repercussions might be concerned, by passing a simple resolution.

The "menacing loophole" in the Constitution that the revisionists talk about, therefore, simply does not exist. It is readily apparent from the resolution itself, moreover, that Senator Bricker is not merely trying to keep the treaty power in its traditional groove. Section 2 would create a no man's land in which the treaty power could not operate. This it would do by outlawing any treaty permitting a foreign power or international organization "to supervise, control, or adjudicate" constitutional rights of American citizens within the United States "or any other matter essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States."

NO ONE KNOWS precisely what is meant by the latter phrase. Presumably it forbids American participation in the International Monetary Fund, the International Telecommunications Union, the World Health Organization, and all similar agencies maintaining some degree of supervision over activities that are usually left to domestic regulation. The language strongly suggests also that international control of atomic energy—the only hope of arresting the race in atomic weapons—would be placed beyond reach of the treaty power. Senator Bricker vehemently rejects this interpretation but offers no comprehensive guide to indicate what is, or is not, "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States."

Some experts believe that Section 2 would leave the United States without power to enter into agreements to resist aggression through the United Nations, for this sort of activity is supervised and controlled by the Security Council. The United Nations Charter contemplates the creation of a Military Staff Committee that would control all the anti-aggression forces assigned to U. N. duty. Already an international agency controls our vast investment of men and money in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Would these defense arrangements also be outlawed?

It is true, of course, that the prevailing concept of what is within a nation's domestic jurisdiction changes from time to time. As free nations are driven into closer relationships for their own protection, what is regarded as domestic will inevitably be narrowed and what is regarded as international will be expanded. Meanwhile, however, it would be suicidal for a leading world power to deny itself the authority to place under allied control activities that may previously have been regarded as domestic. In these days of cold war and perpetual crises the risk of having our foreign policies upset by an arbitrary formula fabricated from such unpredictable phrases as "domestic jurisdiction" ought to send cold chills up the spine of any responsible statesman.

WHILE narrowing the scope of the treaty power, Mr. Bricker would also make it more difficult to get a treaty into operation. Section 3 of his resolution provides that "a treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through the enactment of appropriate legislation by the Congress." A similar provision was defeated in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 by a vote of eight to one. Nothing has since happened to reflect on the soundness of that judgment.

There are, to be sure, many instances in which treaties by their own terms require separate legislation to make them effective as internal law. The Genocide Convention and the present drafts of the proposed Conventions on Human Rights and Freedom of Information, about which Senator Bricker and his cohorts protest so much, are all non-self-executing. There seems to be little chance of these conventions getting through the Senate, but in any event they would encounter precisely the sort of double check that Senator Bricker is trying to impose on all treaties.

A lower court in California gave a good deal of impetus to the Bricker movement when it held that a pledge in the United Nations Charter to promote human rights without distinctions as to race is the law of the land. That had not been the understanding when the Charter was drafted and ratified. The Supreme Court of California soon set the situation right, however, by ruling that the pledge in the Charter is not self-executing. The court found in the equal-protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment ample authority to strike down the racial discriminations of California's Alien Land Law.

No constitutional amendment is needed, therefore, to regulate the translation of treaties into law. If an extra check seems desirable in specific instances, it can be required by the President or by the Senate in consenting to ratification. And where there is no reason for such precautions, as in the adoption of treaties of friendship and commerce, which have traditionally been self-executing, time-wasting rigmarole should be avoided. There has been no abuse of this power, and a compulsory double ratification would serve only the purpose of obstruction.

It is sometimes said that this provision requiring an act of Congress to make such treaties the law of the land would bring American practice into line with that of other countries. But that is a reckless half-truth. Under a parliamentary system the party or coalition in power can automatically put its treaties through the legislature which it controls. The nearest approach to this that could be made under our Presidential system would be to have treaties approved by simple majorities in the House and Senate. At various times there has been strong agitation for a reform of this sort. But it finds no place in the Bricker amendment. The Brickerites retain the two-thirds-vote hurdle in the Senate and pile on top of it the requirement of majority votes in the House and Senate. No major country burdens its Foreign Office with such futile supererogation.

SOME OFFICIALS in the State Department are even more worried over the squeeze play that Section 4 of the resolution would authorize as to executive agreements. In the first century and a half of its existence the United States entered into nearly 2,000 pacts of which 1,200 were executive agreements. Even such vital actions as the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands and Texas and the surrender of Germany in 1945 were accomplished through executive agreements. John Bassett Moore once said that without this power the Secretary of State would find it "impossible to conduct the business of his office." Yet Senator Bricker would lift control over this function out of the executive branch and confer it upon Congress.

Mr. Bricker's resolution closes in on executive agreements like two jaws of a vise. On one side he would allow the President to make "executive or other agreements" only "in the manner and to the extent to be prescribed by law." Apparently the President could not even agree to receive a foreign dignitary, to exchange ambassadors, or to halt a war by means of a truce without Congressional consent. With the Senate still plagued by filibusters, our relations with our allies could thus be paralyzed by a handful of malcontents.

The other jaw of the vise is a rigid provision that executive agreements "shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties, or the making of treaties, by this article." In other words, Congress would have to give its consent after as well as before the making of such agreements. While most executive agreements, in current practice, do have legislative sanction in one form or another, these rigid limitations would impose critical handicaps on the day-to-day conduct of our foreign affairs.

Especially disastrous, if the amendment should be literally enforced, would be the effect on the President's power as commander-in-chief of the armed forces to make agreements with our allies in time of war. In practice, however, public sentiment would probably demand a free hand for the President in the conduct of a war, and this segment of the resolution would become a dead letter. Where the pinch would be more likely to come would be in arranging the numerous details incident to the making of peace.

It is doubtful whether any proposed amendment fraught with so much danger to our constitutional system and to our standing as a nation has ever won so much favor in the Senate. Apparently legislators have viewed it as a mild and relatively harmless protest against some international policies which do not have their sympathy. If so, they are harboring a dangerous illusion. The Bricker Resolution strikes directly at the ties that hold the free world together. Its approval as constitutional law would cause dismay to our friends all over the globe and give our enemies new hope that the American giant is bent on self-defeat if not self-destruction.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

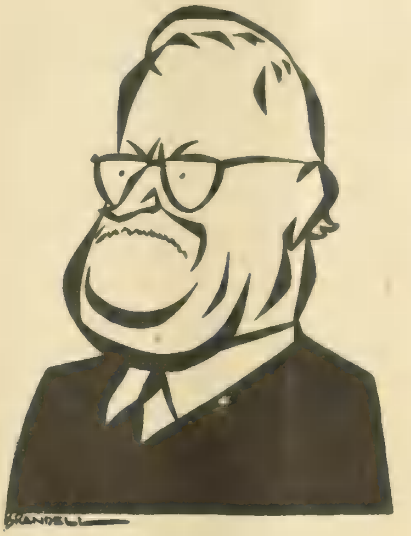
Vishinsky Returns

MR. VISHINSKY returned to New York at a good moment. Two pieces of week-end news—the amnesty and reduction of sentences decreed for many classes of prisoners in Russia by the Soviet government and the Communist offer to exchange sick and wounded prisoners in Korea, coupled with the proposal for a resumption of the truce talks—made a profound impression in the United Nations. But even if an armistice should be concluded, the political problems surrounding the Korean conflict would remain and would keep Mr. Vishinsky very busy.

It is true that the expectation of drastic action in the Far East after the advent of the new Administration in Washington has not been fulfilled. But the fact remains, in the opinion of many qualified observers here, that final defeat of Communist China has become a fixed goal of American foreign policy. Only by keeping that most important fact in mind can the complexity of the situation be fully grasped.

The "roll-back" policy applied to China cannot be taken lightly. It is inspired by the conviction of powerful groups in this country that the third world war will be lost or won on the battlefields of Asia, and that unless the Communist regime in China is overthrown, nothing can prevent the rest of the Asiatic continent from becoming Communist sooner or later. The only alternative would be for Mao Tse-tung to turn Titoist and break with Moscow, but every present sign points in the opposite direction.

As long as this view prevails in influential American circles, it is most unlikely that Vishinsky can accept a peace formula for Korea that leaves the diplomatic position of Communist China unchanged. To do so would violate the solidarity between the Soviet Union and Communist China, which seems to have increased rather than diminished in strength since the death of Stalin.


Andrei Vishinsky

As far as Russia is concerned, any agreement on Korea must include the assurance that a representative of Mao Tse-tung will one day replace Chiang Kai-shek's spokesman at the U. N. This demand becomes more imperative in the degree in which American policy is directed toward the defeat of Chinese communism and American help is sent to the lord of Formosa. Membership in the United Nations would of course offer only a minimum of diplomatic protection; but Mr. Vishinsky will fight to obtain this minimum. This is not pure speculation. The government of New Delhi, which has continued to explore the sentiments of Peking, has come to the same conclusion.

I am convinced that Mr. Vishinsky brings with him definite instructions to extend to the United Nations the campaign for a general settlement of all pending questions—Korea, Germany, and the rest—launched by Premier Malenkov and sustained by the series of conciliatory gestures which have been the subject of so many comments during the past few weeks. The majority of these comments are, however, inspired by views that seem to me fundamentally wrong. The Soviet peace campaign is being interpreted as the desperate action of scared men or as the wise action of new and wiser men, instead of as an established policy, clearly defined by both Stalin and Malenkov at the last party congress.

As the danger grows that the cold war may degenerate into actual war, Soviet diplomacy is expanding its activity in all directions. Until a Big Four conference or an Eisenhower-Malenkov meeting is arranged, Soviet propaganda will use any medium and every opportunity to repeat its thesis of coexistence and its suggestion of a large-scale top-level debate on major issues. The United Nations provides an ideal forum for such propaganda. Mr. Vishinsky's appointment as permanent delegate does not therefore mean—as has been generally assumed—that he has been demoted, but rather that the diplomatic importance of the U. N. is being emphasized. Now Mr. Vishinsky will be at the U. N. permanently. He will be seeing delegates, he will have the tribune of the Security Council at his disposal, and will be able to complement the work of Mr. Molotov in Moscow.

Of course the debate this week in the Political Committee that ended in the defeat of the Czechoslovak resolution charging the United States with using Mutual Security funds to finance espionage and subversion in the countries of the Soviet area hardly offered evidence that the Soviet tone had substantially changed. Mr. Gromyko may have felt compensated by the number of abstentions—fourteen this time—and by the fact that the representatives of several Arab states, in explaining their abstention, identified themselves with the Russian denunciation of "international Zionism." But let no one be deceived by the violent tone of the Soviet speeches. It would be utterly wrong to deduce from them that Malenkov's peace campaign has been merely an episode. Nor should Mr. Vishinsky's mission be judged by the first days of his reappearance in the United Nations. It is a long-term operation.

A Fillip for Labor

The U. A. W. Convention . . *by Arthur Eggleston*

Atlantic City, N. J.

THE fourteenth constitutional convention of the C. I. O. United Automobile Workers made one thing clear: the C. I. O. is not going to disintegrate. It has strengthened its bargaining position with the American Federation of Labor in the coming unity talks, and if the U. A. W.'s economic and political program is carried out, it should be stronger in other ways. The breach between the two biggest unions in the C. I. O., which together account for over 50 per cent of its 4,200,000 members, appears to have been closed by the assurance given the U. A. W. delegates by David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers, that "the Steelworkers will not destroy the C. I. O." Both unions will drive for a guaranteed annual wage and for organic unity with the A. F. of L. without sacrifice of industrial-union principles.

Organized labor's most imperative need has been to clear up the low-wage, non-union areas, particularly in the South. If, by a miracle, unity with the A. F. of L. could be achieved, many obstacles to an effective organizing drive would be removed. One difficulty, however, would remain—the attitude of both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. toward the United Mine Workers and other independent unions. It is with these unions that the fiercest jurisdictional battles are fought, and "organizing the already organized" dissipates the energies and funds of all.

The problem of run-away plants is acute for all labor organizations. It will be attacked from two sides if a real organizing drive is launched and if the automobile workers and the steelworkers carry out their announced purpose to make a guaranteed annual wage "the next major collective-bargaining goal" in coming contract negotiations. This two-pronged attack on insecurity means of course a head-on clash with powerful employer groups which in 1946 chose the South as a "refuge" from unionism.

The delegates approved almost unanimously a statement on foreign policy proposing that the United States continue efforts "to find a basis for negotiating settlements of issues which threaten war between the Communist and the free nations of the world." While not expressing confidence in the *bona fides* of Premier Malenkov's remark of March 15 that there are no disputed or undecided questions that cannot be decided by "peaceful means," the resolution declared that this "can be determined by sitting down with the leaders of the Kremlin and talking concrete cases." One of the concrete cases cited was Korea.

Walter Reuther

The same statement denounced "reckless military adventurers" who would support Chiang Kai-shek's "hopeless attempts to reestablish himself as a leader of the Chinese people." It condemned any despotism which thwarts the aspirations of the peoples of the world for freedom, whether "imposed by other nations which bind them to colonial status, or by foreign corporations which extract the wealth without just recompense, or by their ruling classes which monopolize their land and exploit the workers." The Bricker resolution limiting the power of government to make treaties was strongly opposed, and President Eisenhower was criticized because "on the crucial question of Korea immoral and unrealizable campaign promises have evaporated."

On the domestic front, the U. A. W. expressed its belief that President Eisenhower's election was a personal triumph and that "the American people in no sense repudiated the goals for human welfare and economic and social progress they have indorsed in the past twenty years." In agreement with the increasing number of labor leaders who object to making the labor movement the "captive" of one political party, the convention called for a "new alignment of political forces in America," with a clear demarcation between a party "standing for the people" and a party "representing prosperity, privilege, and profits."

The best way to achieve this end was held to be the encouragement of "an independent political-action movement" by labor, working farmers, and other liberal forces. The practical steps proposed were to throw full labor support behind liberals in Congress, state legislatures, and local governing bodies, to keep an accurate record of votes in the Eighty-third Congress, and to call a national conference of labor, farm, and other liberal forces in the spring of 1956, before the party conventions. In the meantime similar conferences should be held in each state to map plans for state and Congressional elections. But the immediate task was to set up local labor and farmer committees to build "independent political-action machinery in every Congressional district in which the U. A. W.–C. I. O. has membership." (The U. A. W. has local unions in some thirty states.)

ARTHUR EGGLESTON has been a labor reporter for many years.

The convention took a strong position on the subject of civil liberties. "Step by step a rule of fear and smear is being imposed upon us by some who see in it a road to political power and by others who hope to turn it to profitable account in a business way," the convention's resolution declared. "Under the guise of protecting us from Communists, unscrupulous men are using their posts in Congressional investigating committees to denounce their fellow-citizens without proof, condemning them on charges of anonymous informers, denying them the right to know and to confront their accusers, and refusing them fair opportunity to speak up in their own defense."

While Congressional committees get the headlines, the U. A. W. declared, the Defense Department's Industrial Employment Board, the Atomic Energy Commission, and various "loyalty" programs are equally guilty of denying due process to persons accused or suspected. U. A. W. members were asked to cooperate with church leaders, educators, and parents "in defending our schools against the attack of unscrupulous investigators and to fight back against every assault that is made upon the liberties of the American people." The resolution, however, was weakened by the fact that it called merely for amendment of the Smith act, the McCarran Internal Security Act, and the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act "so that these laws will fully protect the security of our nation without endangering the civil liberties of the people." The theory that the danger to civil liberties is only a by-product of these acts can hardly be substantiated.

A twenty-three-point legislative program formulated by the convention included defense of the Employment Act of 1946 as insurance against future unemployment, amendment of the Taft-Hartley act, repeal of little Taft-Hartley acts, blocking of the offshore-oil steal, tax relief for low-income groups to increase purchasing power, defense of the social-security system and state unemployment insurance laws, provisions for low-cost housing, an adequate health program, and raising the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour.

On the debit side of the convention ledger should be placed the decision to give the International Executive Board greater power "to run the local down on the bottom," as one delegate put it. A proposal by the top leadership to permit the International Board to review decisions of trial committees in local unions was adopted by overwhelming vote. President Reuther said the purpose of the change was "to make it possible that in cases of specific kinds of charges . . . charges related to (1) people who are either Communists or Fascists, (2) people who are racketeers or gangsters, and (3) people involved in embezzlement or fraud, the International Executive, if it believed there was a miscarriage of justice, could have the case retried." Since Reuther controlled 90 per cent or more of the delegates, the opposition, though highly articulate, was ineffective.

The larger implications of this grant of power to the International to retry a case already decided by a local union trial committee may be more important than its effect within the U. A. W. Congress is now considering measures which would permit the government to exercise strict political control over dissenting unions by setting up official black lists of officers, members, and even of unions. The action of the U. A. W. could enable proponents of such measures to cite this limitation of local-union autonomy as a precedent for Congressional action. In fact, they have already cited a similar case. After the C. I. O. expelled a number of its unions, witnesses before the Humphrey subcommittee of the Senate Labor Committee referred to its action as a precedent for the government.

THE REAL PROKOFIEV

Now It Can Be Told . . *by Alexander Werth*

Paris

IF SERGEI PROKOFIEV realized that he was dying at the same time as Stalin, a grin must have spread across his face. It must have seemed as ironical as anything that had happened to him since he returned to the Soviet Union from his Paris "exile" in 1934, including the denunciation of him by Zhdanov and the new pundits of the Composers' Union in 1948 as one of the evil Western influences in Russia, and the description of him by that triumphant little mediocrity Tikhon Khrennikov in 1949 as a hang-over of Diaghilev decadence.

Prokofiev met the attacks on him with greater equanimity and dignity than most of the other composers. Shostakovich ate platefuls of humble pie. So did Khachaturian. Miaskovsky was broken-hearted. Prokofiev shrugged his shoulders and while agreeing, in his letter to the Composers' Union, that there was a lot to be said for Socialist realism, warned musicians against the dangers of sinking into platitude and mediocrity.

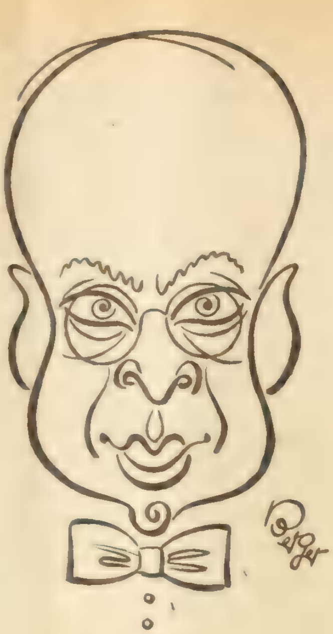
> I never had the slightest doubt [he wrote] about the importance of melody, and I consider it by far the most important element in music. Nothing is more difficult to discover than a melody which would be immediately understandable even to the uninitiated listener and, at the same time, be original. Here the composer is beset by numerous dangers: he is apt to become trivial and vulgar or else dish out a repetition of something already heard before. . . . One must be particularly vigilant to make a melody simple, but without allowing it to become cheap, sickly, or imitative rubbish.

ALEXANDER WERTH, now The Nation's *Paris correspondent, spent many years in Russia. He is the author of "Musical Uproar in Moscow."*

Comrades Khrennikov and company could put that in their pipes and smoke it. What had they ever written to equal, in the way of melody, the choruses of "Alexander Nevsky," the great main theme of Prokofiev's "Ode to Stalin," the scherzo of his Fifth Symphony, or some of the tunes of "Romeo" and "Cinderella"? These were all written during Prokofiev's last, or "Soviet," period, in which, as he admitted, he had "got nearer to the people" than ever before.

But his arrogance in 1948-49 was provocative, and the Khrennikovs made him suffer for it. The opera he composed during this period, which he promised would be in the "new line," was disdainfully rejected by the Composers' Union, though it dealt with a war theme and was full of "folk elements." But gradually a *modus vivendi* was established between Prokofiev and the party. The composer was willing to go halfway, and the party decided it would be folly to waste or drive to despair the most brilliant of Soviet musicians. So Prokofiev wrote his "Peace Oratorio" for a children's chorus, with its Peter and the Wolf elements—which were quite acceptable—and with the highly "prokofievist" satirical movement about the American capitalists and warmongers, which was even more acceptable. Much else that he wrote received high praise, and finally his Seventh Symphony, apparently his last work, was greeted by the Soviet press with unanimous enthusiasm; the critics remarked on his marvelous lyrical genius, a genius which had so often been hidden in the past behind a façade of sardonic sophistication. This Seventh Symphony was, indeed, regarded as a sort of final reconciliation between Prokofiev and the Stalin regime, though perhaps the praise was partly at least a sop to a sick man who had been treated a little too rough and who was, after all, probably the greatest Soviet composer.

PROKOFIEV had a curiously mixed attitude to the Soviet Union. There were undoubtedly moments when he hankered for the "artistic freedom" of the West. Yet he was profoundly Russian at heart, and even the bureaucrats of the Composers' Union could not destroy his feeling that he had deep roots in the country. He was quite sincere when he said that he loved inventing good melodies and that originality did not exclude "Russianism."


Prokofiev

Although writing odes to Stalin was not quite in his line, it must have given him great satisfaction to feel that he had written by far the loveliest of those odes—his "Zdravitsa" of 1939. In the last few years he seems to have decided that, on balance, there was more for him to do, and a wider audience for his work, in the Soviet Union than in the West. Obviously he was unhappy about some things: the deportation to the north of his half-Spanish, half-French ex-wife, who had an incurable habit of hobnobbing with foreign diplomats in Moscow, cannot have been a pleasant experience for him.

I used to see Prokofiev very often during my years in Moscow. He was a familiar figure at concerts, with his tall lanky body, his long gorilla-like arms with the fine pianist's hands at the end of them, and the grin that was boyish at one moment and disdainful and cynical the next. He looked juvenile in his fifties, and yet formidably certain of himself and of his reputation.

I remember having a long talk with him in 1945, when he had just completed his Fifth Symphony. He loved to show off his English, which he spoke fluently and almost without accent. Of his new symphony, he said:

> The idea of this symphony is a pretty old one—many of the themes are two or three years old; I set them down in my theme book and then put them aside. When the time came, I was ready to work very fast—I wrote the whole thing in a month, on a three- or four-line score. Then I stopped for a month or two and took the thing up again, and in another month I finished it.

"How," I asked, "do the themes come to you?"

> Well, I somehow have a feeling that a musical idea wants to pop out [that was the exact word he used]; sometimes it happens when I am sitting at the piano, sometimes not. Sometimes a theme comes in the middle of the night; I then turn on the light and write it down. If I leave it till the morning, I am apt to forget. I believe in the Schumann principle of composing in your head and then checking it on the piano. Eventually the themes begin to group themselves into a composition—if one is certain enough that they belong to the same composition.

On the subject of style Prokofiev said:

> If a composer has discovered a language, an idiom, of his own, and then goes on using it forever, he dies as an artist. In the main I have my language, but I don't want to be satisfied with it and go to sleep in the happy belief that having mastered the "Prokofiev language" I need not look for anything new. Too much has been said about the "grotesque" in my music. It's the talk of ignoramuses with untrained ears. They did not realize that there was a strong lyrical strain in my first period, as well as later.

And on his own taste in music:

> I like Brahms, but when I analyze Brahms, I find that he is never perfect. His melodies are weaker than Chopin's or Liszt's. His orchestration and counterpoint are not of the highest quality; and yet he has something of the essence of music which is truly captivating. I prefer Beethoven to Mozart—in spite of my "Mozartian" Classical Symphony. But I've loved Beethoven ever since childhood. I frankly prefer Schumann to Chopin, even though Chopin had a better mastery of his material, was a better melodist, and was technically much superior. And naturally I prefer Moussorgsky to Tchaikovsky; Tchaikovsky had immense creative power, but his composing power was not so hot! Rachmaninov—well, I'd rather say nothing about him. The truth is—we hated each other's guts!

Pleased with his colloquialisms, Prokofiev grinned broadly. He then said he was "interested" in what Shostakovich was doing, though he thought he had not concentrated on melody sufficiently and was apt to ramble. "I don't think he should cover such enormous space in his symphonies; he should be more precise and compact."

"What about Soviet music generally?" I asked. He gave a grin and a shrug and a vague gesture of deprecation—or of comic despair. "Need we talk about that?" he laughed. But then he continued:

> No, we really have some good men. There's old man Miaskovsky. A lot of his stuff is good, if only he weren't so lazy about inventing anything fresh. Khachaturian is gifted, but he'll have to work a lot more before he really attains perfection. Of the younger people, I'd say the best were Weinberg—very interesting, very free; Knipper, who has a marvelous sense of the orchestra and whose handling of Oriental themes is sometimes very good; and Gabriel Popov—he is still "soft" and lacking in a proper constructive sense, but he is talented, and may produce results in time.

All this was pretty lukewarm praise; he had named only six Soviet composers who he thought were good or potentially good.

"But the others, Mr. Prokofiev?"

"What others? Oh, those"—he hesitated for a second—"those babes in arms!"

It was the "babes in arms" who, three years later, were to tell Prokofiev how to compose "acceptable" music. I did not do him the disservice of quoting his remark, but the "babes in arms" knew what he thought of them, for caution and discretion were not among Prokofiev's virtues.

Perhaps the greatest miracle of Prokofiev is that, unlike Shostakovich, most of whose latest music is little more than imitation Moussorgsky, he should have managed in some measure to adapt his creative genius to the musical world of the "babes in arms"—and still remain his own unmistakable self, and make the "babes" look silly.

RED CHINA DIARY

II. Germ-War Exhibit . . *by Desmond Donnelly*

London

AS TO THE germ war, to my amazement the Chinese never mentioned it, nor did they raise the question of the Korean prisoners unless I brought it up first myself. On my last night in Peking I was approached by Dr. Joseph Needham, a British scientist then visiting China. At that time I did not know the object of his visit. Later I was to discover that he was one of the authors of the germ-war report now published. He asked me and my M.P. colleagues if we would like to visit a germ-war exhibition incognito before we left for Nanking. "Sure," we said.

It was dark when we arrived, and I noticed as the car swung in through the gates that troops kept the entrance clear so that no one could see who was in the car. The exhibition was well done, but anybody knows that an exhibition is not necessarily evidence. It began with panels of enlargements of pages taken from *Life* and *Time* dealing with American investigations into germ warfare It continued with details of the alleged incidents—the time, place, and so on. There were pictures of Chinese peasants who had given testimony and pictures and case histories of the people who had died of the various diseases which the Chinese claim were spread by American airmen. A whole section was devoted to insects in test tubes and rats in spirit bottles which it was claimed had been dropped from the air, and some of which it was alleged belonged to species unknown in China or Korea. Not being a scientist, I can make no comment.

Then we came to examples of American leaflet bombs and a parachute canister which it was said had been used to drop the insects. I raised with the Chinese the point that the apparatus on view looked very primitive. "If the Americans had really gone in for germ war, I should have thought they would have done it in super-duper fashion," I said. The Chinese agreed and said that they could only give their opinion that it was a small experimental unit.

Farther on we saw the "confessions" in their own handwriting of the American airmen whom the Chinese had captured. And finally we heard recording of the voices of Lieutenants Quinn and Enoch. Here the interesting thing seemed to be that they did not make the usual vague statements, like, "Sure, we are guilty of all this: a wicked American fascist beast told us to do it." Their stories were detailed: "I was briefed by Captain Wilson of the United States army air force at such a time and such a place. Present at the briefing was so-and-so." In fact, the most detailed documentation appeared to be given. I make no comment. I merely report.

I TRAVELED to Nanking by train. Each coach carried four guards with tommy-guns who jumped out on to the line every time the train stopped. What they were guarding us against I never discovered. Apparently trains in China always carry guards.

We spent a day in Chiang Kai-shek's capital, a wide spacious city. On the docks we saw Chinese junks bringing wood-oil from the interior and ferrying liquid eggs down the Yangtze. In the morning we went out to see the tomb of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the revolutionary leader of pre-Communist China. Visiting the tomb along with us was a group of Chinese high-school girls thoroughly enjoying their day out. To my amazement they insisted on giving us a rousing chorus of Chinese folk songs on the

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DESMOND DONNELLY, a Labor Member of Parliament, visited China a few months ago on the invitation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs. The first part of his article appeared last week.

steps of the tomb and then demanded "Daisy, Daisy, Boops a Daisy" in reply. I couldn't help contrasting this with Lenin's tomb in Moscow, which the crowds still file past in awestruck silence in queues never less than a quarter of a mile long.

Traveling east to Shanghai I was puzzled by the question, "And would you like to meet the national bourgeoisie, Mr. Donnelly?" What an extraordinary people, I thought. I was very curious by the time the "national bourgeoisie" came to dinner in the luxurious Kin Kong Hotel where I stayed. They turned out to be Red China's capitalists. One was Mr. Yung, whose diamond tie-pin glittered as he offered me a cigarette from his gold case.

"What do you do?" I asked him.

"I am the owner of the Sung Sing Spinning and Weaving Company employing 18,000 workers. I own six factories," he answered.

"What on earth are you doing in a Communist country?" I asked.

"Making money at last," was the suave, self-confident reply.

THAT EVENING we had a long discussion, and as toast followed toast in Chinese rice wine Mr. Yung and I became more friendly. The "national bourgeoisie," I discovered, are quite different from the "bureaucratic capitalists," using the terminology of Communist China. The former are capitalists who have made their peace with the Communist regime and now, protected from foreign competition, are doing extremely well. The latter are those who were associated with Chiang Kai-shek and had to flee the country.

"How long do you think your money-making will last, Mr. Yung?" I said. "They say twenty years," he replied. "In the old days, inflation and labor troubles robbed me of my profits. Today trade unions organize my workers. Production and profits are booming." This was strange commentary on capitalism in a Communist country!

I met an investment banker. He said he was quite free to do what he liked with his money, and since 80 per cent of China's economy is still in private hands, there was still plenty of scope. As the evening wore on, I tried hard to catch out these gentlemen, but not once did I succeed. At the end they were looking the worse for wear, but not from cross-examination. I felt, too, that I had earned their respect as I walked quite steadily to the door.

In Shanghai I visited a model housing estate, showpiece of the new housing in Communist China. It is certainly a vast improvement on the insanitary conditions of the past. Houses are pleasant and clean and airy, although, of course, by our Western standards a family of several people living in one room is not acceptable. The people were delighted with their new homes, without any doubt at all. But it will be many years before any real impact is made on the housing situation.

I also visited in Shanghai a state-run textile dyeing and printing works and one of Mr. Yung's spinning and weaving factories, which employed 6,000 workers. The state factory was comparatively small, with 1,360 employees. The boss took us round. He said he had previously been a miner but had won a scholarship and become a factory manager. I wondered if this was suitable apprenticeship, and I formed the impression that the person who really ran the factory was the trade-union leader—young, capable, and confident. Working hours had been reduced to ten a day, six days a week.

In Mr. Yung's factory the manager was undoubtedly boss, although he was assisted at every turn by a pretty girl who said she was chairman of the union of 6,000 workers. The machinery in Mr. Yung's factory was more modern; some of it American and some of it British, imported since World War II.

On our way back from Shanghai to Peking we saw from the air the great Huai Valley irrigation and flood-control scheme. Designed to harness the flood waters of the great Yangtze, this is a T. V. A. to beat all T. V. A.'s. For a hundred years it has been talked about. In 1948 the Communists actually began it, and they plan to have it finished in 1955. Working on it are two million men. The deputy engineering director of the whole scheme, I was told, is a girl of twenty-nine.

AND WHAT of relations between China and Russia? Not until I was almost stepping on the plane for home did I get my clue. "You will need some money to buy food on your trip across Russia," said Mr. Chi, governor of the Bank of China, who had come to see us off. "In case you haven't any rubles, here are two hundred American dollars."

"Have you not any rubles you could let us have?" I asked.

"Alas, no," said Mr. Chi, despite the fact that he was the chief financial boss of Red China.

And then it occurred to me to ask: "Shall we get the official artificial rate of exchange which the Russians insist on with the American embassy officials in Moscow or the real world-market rate, which is much more favorable?"

Mr. Chi looked sad. "I am afraid you will only get the official rate," he said.

On my way home I could not help contrasting the Chinese with the Russians. In Russia my papers and camera had been taken and sealed. In China no one had minded. As I was leaving the airport the Foreign Office official said to me, "We notice you have taken many photographs, Mr. Donnelly. If there is anything militarily damaging to China in them, I hope we can rely on you to destroy it."

When we got to Irkutsk, we were given an even more thorough examination at the customs than we had been given coming from the hostile West. All our papers were emptied out and our cameras taken. The customs official knocked on a little trapdoor in the wall. The door opened, disclosing darkness behind. A sinister-looking hand came out and scooped away our belongings. Later they were returned to us sealed, including an English translation of a Chinese book I had bought, "How to Be a Good Communist," by Liu Shao Chi. "This is not to be opened in Russia," were my strict instructions!

Yet in conclusion I must record a

pleasant incident at Minsk on the last lap of our journey home. We were counting up what rubles we had left at the lunch table in the airport restaurant. When we came to pay the bill, a young Russian sitting at the next table leaped forward and grabbed it. "I speak English," he said. "I couldn't help hearing what you were saying. It is a matter of national honor and you must allow me to pay." We said we could not possibly agree to such a thing, charmed though we were by his generosity. However, he was adamant. It transpired that he was a diplomatic messenger who had been to America and thus learned some English.

As I sit on my lawn at home again, dictating my story in the sunshine, China seems another world, but an important one whose part in current history cannot be ignored.

TV COMMERCIALS

by Frank Orme

Los Angeles

ASIDE from the ethical objections to over-long, offensive, fraudulent and semi-fraudulent television commercials, there is a practical question which broadcasters might well consider: Is television endangering its economic future by undermining the confidence of the public in its integrity as an advertising medium?

At a recent meeting of advertising executives in Los Angeles the district representative of General Electric's small-appliances division said: "Television commercials have almost reached the point where I don't believe a doggone thing I hear on the air. For instance, we haven't manufactured a certain vacuum cleaner for twelve years. Yet it is being boosted on TV as the latest thing." And a few weeks ago Paul Price, critic of the Los Angeles *Daily News,* called upon the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters to "junk its so-called 'Seal of Good Practice'," the symbol used by 90 per cent of all television stations in the country to show they comply with the television code adopted by the industry on March 1, 1952. Price wrote: "It [the Seal] doesn't mean a thing. . . . The very stations that have been permitting dishonest pitchmen to peddle the mastic paints, carpets, and freezer food plants—all completely discredited now—are the same ones that make much of their Seal of Good Practice. Seal of Malpractice would be more fitting."

These are not isolated protests. They are but a tiny part of the swelling volume of dissatisfaction expressed by viewers and commentators in both the trade and the regular press. The million and a quarter set owners in Los Angeles have learned that TV fare includes hundred of plugs for $8.95 vacuum cleaners, $19.50 sewing machines, hair removers and hair oil, chlorophyll pills, cigarettes, and used cars which "have just been sold" when prospective buyers appear to snap up the bargains. The managements of TV stations have let down the bars to all sorts of misleading statements and ignored all standards of good taste.

Los Angeles, of course, is a particularly rewarding hunting ground for the video hucksters, but their activities are not confined to this area. *Advertising Age,* the national trade weekly published in Chicago, remarked some time ago:

> It is truly amazing to find that TV, with so bright a future, is willing to mortgage its wonderful prospects for slight immediate advantage. The mortgaging is being done by the acceptance of high-pressure, scarcely credible, and scarcely honest advertising that observes the rules of the 1870 pitchman, and practically nothing else. Not all stations are guilty of accepting this kind of business, but it is surprising, to say the least, to discover it on reputable and presumably prosperous outlets. It violates the spirit and letter of every radio and television code. It is, in fact, the kind of advertising which most media won't touch with a ten-foot pole.

The TV code, subscribed to by all four of the networks, "suggests" time standards for good advertising practice which limit presentation of commercials to a maximum of six minutes an hour for evening time and to seven minutes an hour during day or late night hours. However, during the past months I have frequently timed commercials on programs regularly scheduled by networks and found they ran to more than ten minutes during single half-hours. Recently I sat at a TV set for more than eight hours on a Saturday afternoon and evening clocking commercials presented by an independent Los Angeles station which subscribes to the TV code. In the successive hours the time consumed by commercials was 9 minutes 30 seconds, 7 minutes 25 seconds, 5 minutes 40 seconds, 9 minutes 35 seconds, 14 minutes 15 seconds, 13 minutes 15 seconds, 4 minutes 30 seconds, and 14 minutes 40 seconds.

HOW DOES station acceptance of shoddy off-color advertising affect the economy of the industry? Are legitimate merchants staying away from TV because they do not want their products associated with the numerous high-pressure pitch deals? Has the public become wary to the point that it is suspicious of all television advertising? Advertising-agency executives are beginning to ask themselves these questions. And set owners are beginning to ask themselves whether they must accept the standards of the carnival pitchman as the price for listening to TV programs in their living-rooms.

When I discussed the situation with Klaus Landsberg, general manager of television station KTLA in Los Angeles and vice-president of Paramount Television Productions, he referred me to the record of his own station. KTLA, it appears, maintains the highest standards in commercials, with respect both to length and to content, of any of the seven Los Angeles stations; in 1952 KTLA donated to the community the equivalent of more than $350,000 in free, unsponsored time; and KTLA operates at a profit in a market where three or four competitive stations are in the red. In this instance, at least, public service, good taste, and protection against misleading advertising are compatible with economic sense.

FRANK ORME, editor of TV *magazine, has contributed several articles to* The Nation.

BOOKS

Soviet Russia As It Is

A Review by Mark Gayn

STALIN VERSUS MARX. By Klaus Menhert. The Macmillan Company. $2.

THE RUSSIANS IN FOCUS. By Harold J. Berman. Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. $3.

RUSSIA AND HER COLONIES. By Walter Kolarz. Frederick Praeger. $6.

MINERALS. A KEY TO SOVIET POWER. By Demitri B. Shimkin. Harvard University Press. $8.

THE ULTIMATE WEAPON. By Oleg Anisimov. Henry Regnery Company. $3.50.

THE END OF A REVOLUTION. By Fritz Sternberg. The John Day Company. $3.

A CENTURY OF CONFLICT. By Stefan T. Possony. Henry Regnery Company. $7.50.

STALIN. A SELF-PORTRAIT. Farrar, Straus and Young. $1.

STALIN. By Nikolaus Basseches. Translated from the German by E. W. Dickes. E. P. Dutton and Company. $4.75.

MY UNCLE JOSEPH STALIN. By Budu Svanidze. Translated by Waverly Root. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.

NEVER, not even in the infant days of Bolshevism, has Russia loomed so large in world affairs as it does today. The death of Americans in Korea, the political strains in Europe, the end of Democratic rule in Washington, and in fact the very political climate in which we find ourselves today—all these, in one way or another, are by-products of communism in action.

This is the moment, then, when we must understand Russia and its rulers. Does the Communist Party hold power in Russia solely because it controls the secret police and the machinery of state? Has it extended its influence over half the world merely because it is a diabolical conspiracy, as Stefan Possony appears to suggest; or does it offer something tangible to large segments of the population, as Harold Berman indicates? What will be the result of the conversion of revolutionary parties into vast, impersonal, and often incompetent bureaucracies? Is there revolutionary anti-Communist ferment in Russia, or is this, as Oleg Anisimov argues, a dangerous fantasy?

These are all questions of import to us. Yet, perhaps inevitably, even our literature has become a casualty in the ideological conflict. Dispassionate studies of the Soviet system are rare—more so here than in England, where one can still find such excellent pieces of research as Isaac Deutscher's biography of Stalin, Sir John Maynard's "Russia in Flux," or Edward Crankshaw's "Russia and the Russians." There is nothing I know in American literature that does for Soviet political thought, or "party line," what a group of Harvard professors has recently done for communism in China. And in what other era in American publishing has it been necessary for a reputable author to explain on the book jacket that though his impartial approach to Soviet problems has earned him enemies, "no one has ever accused [him] of being pro-Soviet or a fellow-traveler"?

The crop of books on Russia is rich, for its volume and diversity if not always for its quality. In the stack before me there are no Deutschers or Maynards, but there is everything from minerals to Stalin's love life. At least three of these volumes first appeared abroad; two of them are very good indeed. What is noticeably missing, however, is at least one *Soviet* book that would, through its defense of the Soviet system or its denunciation of ours, give us some insight into the workings of the Communist mind. A few weeks ago I had occasion to read some of Georgi Malenkov's choice prose. Ordinarily this might have been an exhausting task. Malenkov's emergence as the dominant figure in Russia, however, has now endowed his statements with a significance that none of the ten books before me could possibly match. It was all there—the hatred and prejudices, the hopes and nationalist pride, the faith in the party's ability to move mountains, the profound gaps in the understanding of the West, and, at times, a glimpse of our own weaknesses. It was propaganda, but it was also information essential to our own survival. Why must we depend on International Publishers to bring this knowledge to us?

BY FAR THE MOST IMPORTANT of the books before me is Dr. Klaus Mennert's "Stalin versus Marx," first issued in Germany; it is a genuine contribution to an understanding of the Soviet "party line." Menhert himself is a German historian who has spent some time in Russia and has obviously studied Russian historical works with great care. The point of departure in his inquiry is Professor Michael Pokrovsky, a Bolshevik historian who died, burdened with Soviet honors, in 1932. On May 16, 1934, in a decree signed by Stalin, Pokrovsky's historical view of Russia was condemned, and his disciples were branded as "contemptible Trotskyist agents of Fascism." Dr. Menhert's 32,000-word essay sees this decree as the beginning of a process in which Stalin's party abandoned orthodox Marxism in favor of vigorous nationalism.

What led Stalin to desert the Marxist dogma? In the early thirties, Dr. Menhert argues, Russia suffered a series of reverses that called for a reassessment of party thought and policy. It had become clear that world revolution was not around the corner. In Germany, Hitler had come to power with the help of inflamed nationalism. In Russia itself village collectivization was exacting a ghastly price. Faced with the crisis, Dr. Menhert suggests, Stalin decided that Soviet policy would have to be based less on world revolution than on the support of the Soviet peoples, and especially the Russians. An orthodox Marxist who saw the Bolshevik Revolution as the beginning of Russian history,

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MARK GAYN, author and foreign correspondent, has visited most of the Communist countries and interviewed their leaders.

Pokrovsky had to die a second death. Then, under the party's guidance, Russian historians embarked on the twisted course of rediscovering pre-Bolshevik history, patriotism, and motherland. In the process they discarded the "foreign" Varangian chief Rurik, long regarded as founder of the Russian state, and went back six hundred years farther to pick the Scythians as the "first Russians." And since the Russians could do no wrong, the attacks of the Scythian barbarians on the highly civilized Western community of Olbia came now to be depicted as efforts to liberate the oppressed classes of Olbia. From here it was but a logical step to Malenkov's own man-hunt for the Kazakh and Kirghiz writers who dared to attack the Russian carpet-baggers of the nineteenth century.

Erudite and readable, Dr. Menhert's essay is essential to understanding the mind of Malenkov and of the "new Soviet man." It also goes well together with Professor Berman's primer on how the Stalinist dogma affects Russian life and behavior. In brief chapters, ranging in theme from the Red soldier, worker, and peasant to law and planning, Berman gives the interested but uninformed reader a close-up of the Soviet system and people. Considering its brevity, the book provides a great deal of fresh and important factual material.

WALTER KOLARZ'S volume on Soviet minorities is the third of the books that deserve a wide audience. A Czech journalist, Mr. Kolarz provides an admirable study, based primarily on Soviet sources, of what has happened to the minor components of the Soviet Union. While Stalin is credited by Communist propaganda with having solved the "question of nationalities," it is less widely known that in the post-war period alone the answer has called for the dissolution of four autonomous Soviet republics and the disappearance of four major and several minor nationalities. Their members were scattered over Siberia, and their political and cultural institutions destroyed. And, as Mr. Kolarz notes, once it was possible to disperse the Volga Germans or the Kalmuks, it was simple to champion the reshuffling of peoples in the rest of Europe, such as the uprooting of Germans from Silesia (given to Poland) and Königsberg (taken by Russia). Mr. Kolarz's material is largely unknown to the Western reader, and much of it, such as the chapter on the Jews, is of great topical interest.

Perhaps the most prodigious job of research is displayed by Dr. Shimkin's study of Soviet mineral resources. A highly technical book for the expert—or the cold-war planner—it deals with the volume and methods of production, resources, and deficiencies. Dr. Shimkin notes that while Soviet mineral strength approximates that of the United States, there has been little genuinely thorough geological study in Russia, and therefore discoveries of new resources are much more likely there than here.

WHAT ARE THE ANSWERS to the threat posed by communism and the Soviet Union? At least two of the books before me deal, in part, with possible counter-action. The most striking thing about both of them is that they are totally unconvincing.

Oleg Anisimov is a White Russian émigré who was in Riga, Latvia, when the Nazis arrived in 1941. He became an interpreter to the German Economic Inspection in Occupied Russia and later head of a German-sponsored agency in Riga helping the Russians who fled West before the Red Army's advance. In 1944 he escaped to Germany, where he remained until 1951, working with various Russian émigré groups. He is now in this country. Despite the author's background, the book is oddly dispassionate and, if one bewares of the bear traps—such as his defense of the renegade Red Army general, Vlassov—very informative. Anisimov feels that America should not count on national rivalries within the Soviet Union; nor should it expect the Russians to love advancing American troops any more than they loved the Germans; nor rely on revolutionary disaffection in Russia.

Yet, despite his close look at war-time Russia, or perhaps because of it, Anisimov's plan of action is not persuasive. What he proposes essentially is the creation of a new Department of World Affairs, which would foster anti-Communist organizations throughout the world, smuggle agents into Russia, and draft a clear political program that would appeal to the peoples under the Red flag. This is a naive answer to the problems posed by the immense political and economic forces exploited by the Communists in Asia and Europe.

Fritz Sternberg is perhaps on firmer ground when he champions a program of vast economic aid to Asia, Western rearmament, and a world-wide ideological war designed to show that Russia has betrayed its professed concern for human welfare. But unfortunately this program is not spelled out in detail, and it is part of an unsatisfactory little volume which offers neither fresh facts nor a new approach.

THREE OF THE BOOKS before me deal with the man who molded the Soviet state as we know it now. Mr. Basseches's biography of Stalin covers the man, his enemies, and his period adequately. Yet I have found the book oddly disconcerting, as much in some of the data it presents as facts as in some of the interpretations. Thus the author explains Stalin's rise in terms of the traditional hatred of the common people for the upper, or educated, class. It was the "upper-class" leaders who brought the revolution to victory in 1917, but after that the common people, as personified by local party leaders, tossed them out

For background on the news from Moscow read

THE RUSSIANS IN FOCUS

by HAROLD J. BERMAN

■ **Drawing on information gathered from Russian D.P.'s in France and Germany and on day-by-day study for Harvard's Russian Research Center, Professor Berman neatly spotlights the important facets of Soviet society — labor, the peasantry, education, the press, religion, planning, law, the Communist party and many more. A brilliant, objective presentation of the basic minimum that any educated American should know to form judgments about the Soviet way of life.**

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in favor of a fellow-commoner, Stalin.

"Stalin—A Self-Portrait" is a collection of thirty-four photographs with brief captions, some of which are witty. As for Budu Svanidze's volume, translated by Waverly Root, it introduces to us a sort of a Georgian Lanny Budd. Mr. Svanidze, who says he is a nephew of Stalin, has had the tremendous good fortune to have been present at every major turn in Stalin's life, from two of his weddings to the period when he was deciding to purge the purger, Yagoda. It is perhaps not unexpected, then, that the outbreak of the war finds Mr. Svanidze fishing with Stalin in the Black Sea. I am persuaded by Mr. Root's preface that Mr. Svanidze is Stalin's nephew, and even that he was one of Stalin's war-time secretaries. I am less convinced, however, that Mr. Svanidze could have worked for anyone named "Lvovitch Protzaenko" or that Stalin could have referred constantly to the great Russian general as "Suvarov." One could just as well expect General Eisenhower to refer to the first President of the United States as "George Wishington." As I think I indicated before, the books before me form a mixed crop.

New Books in Brief

Revolution in East Asia

NATIONALISM AND COMMUNISM IN EAST ASIA. By W. Macmahon Ball. Cambridge. $4.50. Few subjects are of greater importance than the revolution among the half of the world's people who live in East Asia. In two hundred pages of penetrating analysis, W. Macmahon Ball surveys the whole scene, country by country, from Japan to India. The common features are the struggle for national independence, for social and economic advancement, and for Asian equality with the West. Nationalism and communism are interwoven, though not identical, with these basic drives.

The spectacular success of nationalist revolts is clear in the post-war record of colonies that have won independence. Progress in social welfare is much less evident. But the struggle is there, confusing the political picture in each of the countries treated. The failure of economic development to bring broad social welfare, so evident under colonial rule, is a deeply disturbing factor.

As an Australian, Ball views East Asia from an angle which causes him to challenge many of the underlying assumptions of American policy toward each of the major countries. He raises the issue, for example, whether the recent peace treaty reduces or increases the likelihood that Japan will return to a policy of military expansion. He thinks the danger increased. He also speculates whether, in the event of war, Japan's leaders might not find their interests better served if they joined the Chinese Communists rather than the United States.

In a general chapter on East and West, Ball examines the methods available to Western governments to influence the decision of the 700,000,000 people, mostly in East Asia, who are not committed for or against communism. The military instrument is difficult to use without making more enemies than friends. Economic devices are hazardous because of the probability that they will benefit only the influential minority and thus widen the gap between an anti-Communist government and its own people. The difficulty of all psychological approaches is the difference in the morals and standards of judgment of Eastern and Western peoples. Propaganda must work through not against the great movements for nationalism, a new social order, and Asia for the Asians.

Ball concludes that if East Asia is saved from coming under the control of the Soviet Union it will not be done by Westerners but by East Asians themselves. The best hope he sees is that the latter will resist domination by the Soviet Union with the same resolve they have shown in winning freedom from domination by the West.

Mr. Brooks's Standards

THE WRITER IN AMERICA. By Van Wyck Brooks. Dutton. $3. Under this somewhat neutral title Mr. Brooks defends his own theory and practice against the "new critics" who accuse him of having no "standards." They have made criticism technical, rigorous, highly specialized, and purely aesthetic. Mr. Brooks pleads the case for the more generous attitude which recognizes the value of a literature that is not always "pure" and is a function of, rather than a realm separate from, the whole moral political, and social life of a nation. As has often been the case before, he seems to have read almost too much, and he cites almost too many opinions in support of his position, but it will seem a sensible as well as sound one to those who find it hard to take seriously the kind of "rigor" which leads John Crowe Ransom to rejoice that poetry has "lost its public support" and to insist that it should be "nothing but poetry" and that the modern poet concerned only with the "aesthetic effect" quite properly "cares nothing professionally about morals, God, or native land." No great literature, Mr. Brooks replies, was ever written upon such convictions, and whatever the limitations, past or present, of our own, they are not due to the fact that writers have usually been interested in something besides pure form. A great writer really does need something to say.

Bigness Is Bad

THE ORGANIZATIONAL REVOLUTION. By Kenneth E. Boulding. Harper. $3.50. This second volume in the series on Ethics and Economic Life sponsored by the Federal Council of Churches is a most provocative work. Professor Boulding is concerned with the economic and ethical consequences of the tremendous growth of organizations—corporations and business associations, trade unions, farmer groups, and, above all, governments—that has taken place in the last century. It is a development he tends to deplore, both as economist and as Christian of the Quaker persuasion, because it has undermined the free market which, he believes, is at once the most efficient and least coercive regulator of economic life. The market, Boulding argues, diffuses power; organizations, and most of all the state, concentrate it.

This is not an unfamiliar argument, but Boulding presents it with a freshness and sincerity that should inspire fruitful discussion. Indeed, it has already done so. The concluding section of the book contains a long and stimulating essay by Reinhold Niebuhr challenging both its premises and its conclusions, followed by a reply from the author, who also deals with briefer comments by various economists, theologians, sociologists, and business men.

Service Side Lights

PENTAGON POLITICS. By William H. Neblett. Pageant Press. $3. While this volume by a former president of the Reserve Officers Association is largely devoted to a statement of the case for a "citizen military force" on the Swiss model, it contains some by-products which are of more interest perhaps than the main theme. For example, what Colonel Neblett has to say about the admirals and generals who since the war have retired on full pay to become lobbyists for concerns dealing with the Pentagon—a portion of which appeared in *The Nation* of January 3, 1952—is of great interest. So, also, are his revelations of the bitter in-fighting which is an important aspect of service politics. And there are some amusing side lights on the extent to which the army is top-heavy with administrative and clerical personnel. When Colonel Neblett returned to Washington after V-J Day as a "chair-borne" colonel in the legislative and liaison division of the air force at the Pentagon, he was provided with a personal staff of two civilian secretaries and thirty-odd officers and men, although at no time in the two years he served, he says, was he given enough work to keep himself and one secretary busy.

Theater

Harold Clurman

WHATEVER the precise moment of its composition (the copyright date of the one-acter from which the present version was made is 1948), Tennessee Williams's "Camino Real" (National Theater) should be regarded as a work of the author's nonage. Though this is what I sensed immediately as I watched it in the theater, I could not help feeling irritated with it. As I sit down to write about it a day later, I am inclined to view it more sympathetically. The "history" of this change may constitute the main point of my notice.

Being essentially a youthful work, "Camino Real" is immature. But like the youthful and immature work of most artists, "Camino Real" is significant of its author's seed thoughts, impulses, and ambitions. Far from being obscure, the play reiterates its intention and meaning at every point. In fact, it is too nakedly clear to be a sound work of art.

Kilroy, typical of the "natural" young American of little education, is presented more or less out of time, though the language is sharply contemporary, and out of space, though the atmosphere is the sultry one of Latin American "bohemia" with its ambiguous tone of varicolored lights, strange intoxicants, hybrid excitements, roguish pursuits, and appetizing danger. With this there is a kind of literary afflatus characteristic of the man who feeds his dreams with the color of foreign cultures. Kilroy is bewildered and innocent, seeking a haven in a world corrupt to the core, gasping for security and love in places where he can find nothing but humiliating adventures. The rich are smug and cruel; officialdom is heartless and blind; all, save the heroic poet who is willing to take action, shrink from the nobler exploits of the spirit. Kilroy is doomed to die young because he is honest, ignorant, and without guile. His redeeming feature is aspiration—not without a touch of puritanism—an unconscious idealism which makes him brother to other errant knights who have sinned, suffered, and still believed in the inherent magnificence of life. "The violets in the mountain will break the rocks"—the dream will conquer crass reality. Don Quixote bids the boy not to pity himself, forever to seek the uncharted paths of the more exalted quests even if the ultimate destination is never to be known.

This is the mystique of romanticism, with a special stress on pity for the insulted and injured, the persecuted minorities, the victims and outcasts. Considering the times we live in, I am entirely cordial to these sentiments—particularly since they are no longer intellectually fashionable. Williams also hankers for an unfettered theater, a theater free of the bonds of workaday naturalism, a theater where the poet in him can speak more personally and with a greater degree of self-revelation than the usual prosy play permits. Thus "Camino Real" discards the routine props of logic, exposition, and straight story line. Though there is a certain juvenile impatience in this, I can embrace Williams on this count too. His crimes have a healthy source.

What is less fortunate is that his play, instead of being the surrealist phantasmagoria it intends to be, is far too literal—in almost every respect far less poetic than "The Glass Menagerie" or "A Streetcar Named Desire." To say, "We're all of us guinea pigs in the laboratory of God," or to have street cleaners represent death or an airplane named Fugitiva stand for escape, is far less imaginative than to have the hapless Blanche du Bois of "Streetcar" go off to an insane asylum depending on the

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kindness of strangers. The most successful moments of "Camino Real" are the sardonic vaudeville of the gipsy-fortune-teller scene and, even better, the boy-and-girl love scene—a sort of wrily sentimental comic-strip ballet of courtship—which is almost as specific as the Gentleman Caller scene in "The Glass Menagerie." In other words, Williams, like Sean O'Casey and many others, is less suggestive and poignant when he aims point-blank at his aesthetic, poetic, or symbolic target than when he employs the concrete means of a real situation. Poetry cannot be captured by direct assault; beauty cannot be won unless we woo it first through the beast.

As with the play's poetry, so with its "philosophy." It is too blunt. It does not matter in art whether or not one is a pessimist or an optimist. To say that life is lovely is no more correct, convincing, moving, or significant than to say that it is horrid. It is the substance—not the conclusion—of an argument that gives it validity. Its *living matter*—the images, forms, characters, incidents, evocation of experience, life-content—give a work of art its power, meaning, and value. If these are rich, then the work is creative no matter how white or black the summation of the whole may be. When Kilroy repeats, "I am sincere, I am sincere, I am sincere," he is touching even in the poverty of his speech, but on the ideological level "Camino Real" is negligible because its fabric, for all its fancy patterning, is "general issue."

YET I AM LOATH to be harsh with it. When people on the first night are puzzled because the play seems cryptic to them, I am astonished at the paradox which makes them believe they understand the much subtler "Streetcar"—the theme of which they are hardly ever able to state; when people at the second night "love" the play in protest against what they consider a backward press, I am distressed that they are not really seeing or thinking about it so much as expressing an ill-defined and frustrated resentment against something.

That "something" is not the press. The sad fact of our theater is that a play like "Camino Real" with all its faults ought to be produced, listened to, criticized with measure and affection, but that this is difficult when its production costs a fortune, when it is forced to become part of the grand machinery of investment, real estate, Broadway brokerage and competition for reputation. A play like "Camino Real" should be produced—as it might be in France, for example—with modest means in a small theater where it would be quietly seen, enjoyed, and judged for what it is—a fallible minor work of a young artist of important talent.

Elia Kazan's production adds to the script's flaws by being conceived in a major key. It is scenically too heavy; it is vocally too noisy. It is too punchy, forthright, and "realistic." It stampedes where it should float; it clamors and declaims where it should insinuate. It has much less humor than the text. There are, none the less, good actors in it—too many to list here.

Music

B. H. Haggin

THOUGH almost everyone involved in "The Rake's Progress" at the Metropolitan contributed to making it the distinguished and stimulating occasion it was, the principal contribution was of course Stravinsky's. In fact the other contributions could have been regarded as an *hommage* to the composer of a score which was like a summation of his artistic experience and activity. A score, that is, in which a way of thinking and operating developed in the succession of previous works now produced a great deal that was familiar—ranging from the well-known ostinato figures to the gravely dissonant writing that one recalled from "Orpheus" and that now provided the opera's most affecting music in its last two scenes. But for the situations of the earlier scenes Stravinsky had produced a wide variety of invention that was astonishingly and delightfully new: fanfares, processional music, arias in sustained melodic style, even an aria (Baba's *Wretched me*) in an amusingly extravagant florid style. True enough, even in what was new Stravinsky had followed his old practice of working with materials taken from his musical experiences—the themes and styles of other composers and other periods—and of producing, in effect, personal commentaries on those experiences. That is, considering it appropriate that a play laid in the eighteenth century be set in the operatic style of that period, he had produced arias in a lovely melodic style, but with the tensions they acquired in the process of being geared with orchestral parts whose acrid dissonance and rhythmic intricacy kept one constantly aware of, and stimulated by, the presence and activity of the Stravinsky mind.

Since this was an opera in English, I didn't read the libretto by W. H. Auden and Chester Kallman in advance but depended on the performance for knowledge of what the opera was about; and since it turned out that the words of the recitatives were intelligible but most of the words of the arias and ensembles were not, I followed the essentials of the action but got almost none of the philosophical meaning with which the text enriched this action, and as little of the literary distinction and

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stimulation which it contributed to the occasion. My guest at the performance who *had* read the libretto didn't hear many more of the words than I, and surprised me by saying they hadn't been much more intelligible in the broadcast performance. One reason certainly was the poor projection of the words by Hilde Gueden; but I could understand very few of those that Eugene Conley projected better, and not all of those that Mack Harrell projected best of all. Another reason may have been the way the words were set by Stravinsky—which, someone remarked, gave them the quality of translation-English when sung.

But one reason unquestionably was the fact that words in any language are difficult to hear in opera—the fact which makes it pointless to give a foreign opera in English "so that it can be understood." What I understood about "The Rake's Progress" was no more than I would have known about a new opera in Italian from an advance reading of a summary. And apparently that was as much as the librettists had expected me to understand: Mr. Kallman was reported to have said they had expected one-half to two-thirds of the words to be lost, and had hoped certain key phrases would stand out; and Mr. Auden said that he was perfectly pleased to have his words "the servants of Mr. Stravinsky's music. They have their moment of glory, the moment in which they suggest a certain melody; once that is over . . . they must efface themselves and cease to care what happens to them"—which implies for me that the listener too should cease to care what happens to them, and give his attention to the melody they have suggested. Mr. Auden was speaking only of "The Rake"; but I would say his statement is true for all opera.

The other contributions to the distinction and stimulation of the occasion were made by the artists involved in the performing of the work. Mr. Bing gave it a cast of his best singers; and though regrettable it was not his fault that Conley and Gueden had less dramatic force than Harrell and Blanche Thebom. Possibly, also, a more distinguished designer than Horace Armistead for the scenery and costumes wasn't available to Mr. Bing; for he did give the musical direction to Reiner, the stage direction to Balanchine, and allowed them the unusual amount of rehearsal time that enabled them to achieve—even with the title role dramatically unprojected, and with merely adequate scenery and costumes—a production such as one only rarely experiences in the opera house. It was a production with which the Metropolitan paid full honor to Stravinsky and greatly honored itself.

For the Columbia recording Stravinsky was to take over from Reiner; and it will be interesting to hear the differences in his performance. For he is the best conductor of his own music—as he demonstrated with his performance of "Jeu de cartes" with the New York Philharmonic. Cantelli's performance had been dazzling and witty; but Stravinsky, playing the piece more slowly, made its detail stand out more clearly, sharply, and powerfully—which is to say more effectively.

Art Notes

CAMERON BOOTH, resident artist at the University of Minnesota, terms his paintings "concretions." His motifs, stemming from nature, are translated into concrete graphic terms. They are rich in color and subtle in form.—*Bertha Schaefer to April 11.*

BEATA GRAY shows a group of Manhattan scenes done in a linear style that finds its roots in cubism.—*Creative to April 11.*

TSCHACBASOV, whose former works were psychological probings in paint, is now concerned with the organization of multiple images. All the paintings in this show are profiles executed within a rigid mathematical formula.—*Heller to April 11.*

DAVID and SYLVIA LUND, the first a painter, the second a sculptor, show together for the first time. The casein paintings are done in low-keyed colors, and the sculptures are strong and well designed.—*Peter Cooper to April 15.*

LOUIS FERSTADT has abandoned his previous classical style and turned to pointillism. This group of oils describing ordinary life emphasizes color and symbol.—*Copain to April 12.*

IRWIN TOUSTER, Brooklyn cartoonist, potter, and painter, shows oil paintings of landscapes and figures in landscapes.—*Davis to April 11.*

NAT RAMER, instead of continuing with his low-keyed paintings, now uses bright, clear colors to comment on human activity, chiefly in portraits and genre paintings.—*Helen Goodman to April 11.*

NATHAN DOLINSKY has been seen in group shows for many years. A mature artist, he has painted this series of landscapes in warm, low-keyed tones.—*Kottler to April 14.*

JAMES N. ROSENBERG, romantic realist, who has been prominent on the American art scene for four decades, shows a number of Adirondack and Israel landscapes. Some are in clear pastel colors, but in those that reflect his preoccupation with the changing seasons, he uses somber browns and grays to underline the drama of his subjects.—*Feigl.*

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Letters

FM in Boston

Dear Sirs: Mr. Haggin has not quite done justice in his excellent discussion of broadcast music to the situation in Boston. The Lowell Institute FM station, WGBH, is only one of four FM stations which broadcast good music here in Boston. WXHR plays music continuously from 5 p.m. to 11 p.m., music of the highest range and quality, including extended Bach and Mozart cycles. WBUR and WERS, the stations of Boston College and Emerson College respectively, broadcast not only music but recorded BBC plays. The situation is such that in one night a listener may have to choose between Bach's "Matthew Passion," Molière's "Tartuffe," and Shakespeare's "Henry VIII." In fact, so happy is the situation that one almost fears to discuss it lest it change.

Is this not perhaps the ideal solution, a commercial radio on the AM band, with its honorific "big" broadcasts of opera and symphony, and an increasing chain of privately sponsored "cultural" FM stations? This would allow the corporations to demonstrate their big-heartedness, while the discriminating public can go elsewhere for fulness and variety. The universities must take the initiative.

Cambridge, Mass. R. W. FLINT

The Doomed Valley

Dear Sirs: Edgar Perry brought to the attention of your readers a very timely and important matter when he discussed The Doomed Valley in your issue of February 7. It must be that the tense drive for commercial opportunity is blinding us to the need for the long view. Overgrazing is common even in more northerly, better-watered regions. In the arid regions we have not had the intellectual hardihood to realize that the land cannot carry as many animals as other areas. We will not face reality.

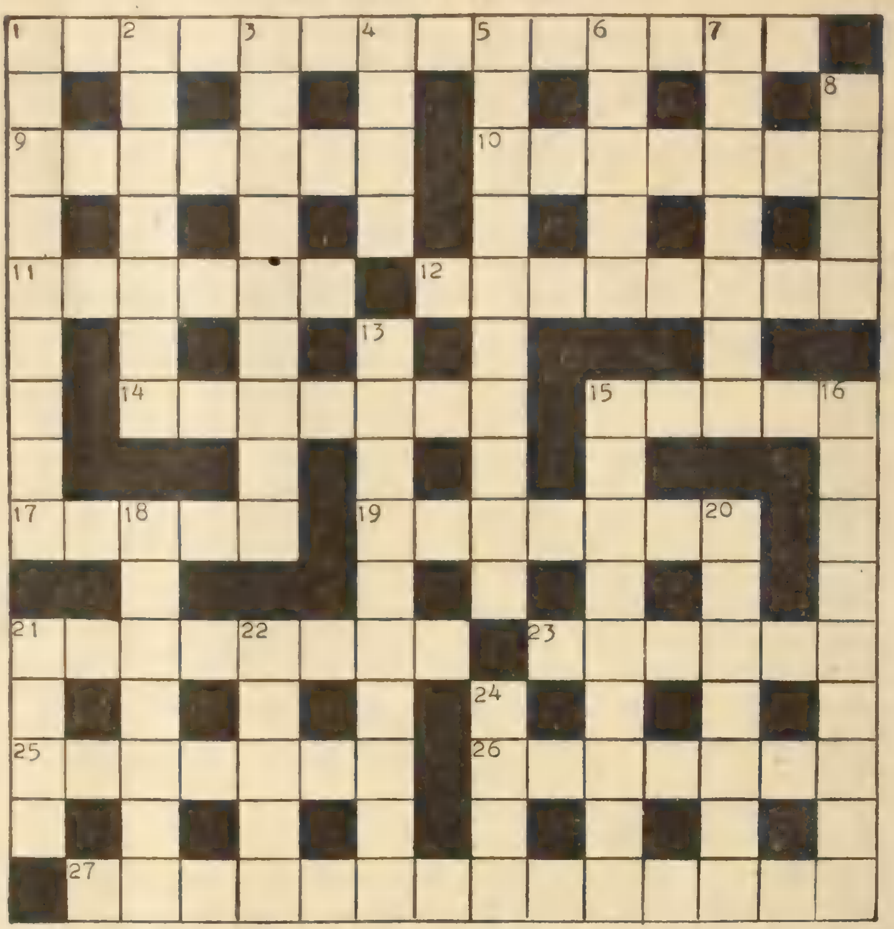
A few years ago Dr. Walter Cottam of the University of Utah at Salt Lake City published a pamphlet entitled "Is Utah Sahara Bound?" This work reveals what we have done to the land in that state during the past century.

Mr. Perry has done an excellent job of reporting on an important problem, and you are to be complimented for publishing it. OLAUS J. MURIE

Moose, Wyo.

Crossword Puzzle No. 510

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Choose what used to be essential for light reading matter for light reading. (8, 6)
9 More than adequately covered in the first term in educational institutions. (7)
10 This sort of oil man's likely to be found in the near east. (7)
11 Equivalent to a sort of pane in the neck? (6)
12 Couldn't Weber's darling daughter even go this, making an encroachment? (8)
14 Relating to heat. (7)
15 Parents, perhaps, are in the middle of the city. (5)
17 Names rates in time for school. (5)
19 This is a capital cleaning agent! (7)
21 Repudiates it is said broken promises. (8)
23 This islander sounds like an idiot. (6)
25 Diverge in a different way. (7)
26 Cross breed of cats? (7)
27 Looking for an opening? (6, 8)

DOWN

1 The gas pipe is broken and without a thing to improve the fire. (4, 5)
2 This tea isn't strong at all, if the answer's material. (7)
3 Unexpected good fortune, but the cradle won't rock if it does. (9)
4 Morse's is not primarily one of ethics. (4)
5 Mediterranean who might be an echo in pain. (10)
6 Island in Zanzibar protectorate, seen in ship embarkation. (5)
7 In France, one who has a fixed income somewhat suggests that it's comparatively tear-ful. (7)
8 See 20 down.
13 Is the first mate's hitch over when one is made? (5, 5)
15 News cut? (It's likely to be found around the top of the page.) (5, 4)
16 You might not recognize this "Wozzeck," so here's a clue—he's a sort of land-grabber, but no doctor. (5, 4)
18 In the same business as 16. Tell the name of one of his prod[illegible] ([illegible])
20 and 8 down. Proving musical comedy is an integral part of America. (2, 4, 1, 4)
21 If you go to them in Florida, you might be better; in most places you'd be worse. (4)
22 5151500—full of life. (5)
24 A nurse evidently has to be sort of an amateur radio operator. (4)

• * •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 509

ACROSS:—1, 6, 18 and 24 down PUTTING THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE; 10 RADICAL; 12 CORNICES; 13 BELEM; 15 ELECT; 17 AMBERGRIS; 19, 11, 29 and 1 down THE BEST OF FRIENDS MUST PART; 21 DRAKE; 23 ECLAT; 24 HARDTACK; 27 DESPAIR; 28 TOWHEAD; 30 CELEBRATES.

DOWN:—2 TADPOLE; 3 INCAN; 4 GOLD COAST; 5 HAFTS; 7 ANNULAR; 8 TASKMASTER; 9 TIMBERED; 14 HEATHENDOM; 16 TREE TOAD; 20 ENLISTS; 22 ANCIENT; 25 TOWER; 26 IDES.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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Dr. Butler on Sacco-Vanzetti

Dear Sirs: A few days before the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti I telephoned or telegraphed to Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler at his country residence in Southampton, Long Island, suggesting that he associate himself with William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, in asking Governor Fuller to commute the death sentence of Sacco and Vanzetti. On August 20, 1927, Dr. Butler telegraphed Governor Fuller as follows:

> On behalf of large body of sober American opinion which, while wholly unmoved by the unreasonable and violent demonstrations, is nevertheless gravely disturbed by the published record of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, I earnestly urge commutation of death sentence to life imprisonment. Many of us would gladly associate ourselves with the impressive message sent you by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor.

I do not think this telegram has ever been made public, and I send it to you for publication in *The Nation.*

CHARLES C. BURLINGHAM

New York

Italy Misrepresented?

Dear Sirs: With reference to the letter by Maury Maverick on the case of a Sicilian separatist named Pasquale Sciortino, in *The Nation* of February 7, may I point out, purely in the interests of accuracy, that the death penalty does not exist in Italy. Furthermore, no one is condemned to life imprisonment, or anything remotely resembling it, for subversive activity against the present Italian government.

Mr. Maverick's assertion that Pasquale Sciortino, if deported to Italy, "is sure to be killed or imprisoned for life by the Italian government" might have been correct ten or twenty years ago, but it is a misrepresentation of Italy today.

New York DARINA SILONE

Teachers for Freedom

Dear Sirs: You are to be commended for publishing in your February 28 issue Melvin H. Bernstein's analysis of the abominable situation in which the teaching profession now finds itself. The tide will be turned back when more teachers stand up to be counted on the side of freedom of the mind. It is high time we 90 and 95 per cent Americans "stirred ourselves in the sun of the American promise" and rose to defend our constitutional freedoms.

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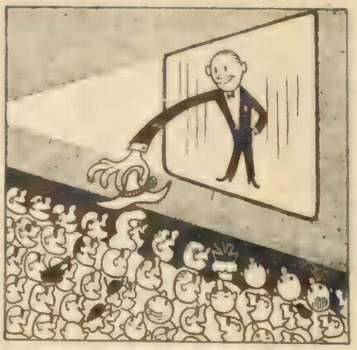
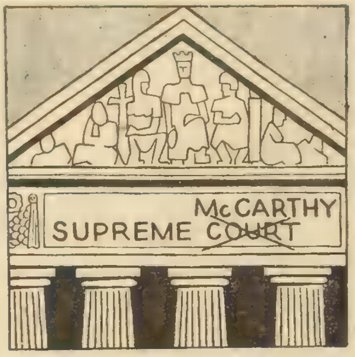
Will 3-D save Hollywood — and the rest of us from TV? But of course there are all kinds of 3-D, some of which require something more than ordinary 20/20 vision to enjoy, and others which require 20 grand (or more) just to project. Arch Oboler will initiate you into the mysteries of 3-D in an early issue of *The Nation*. We couldn't have picked a better man to do the job. After he finished Bwana Devil, first full-length feature in 3-D, he managed to get $1,750,000 for his rights. We're getting his thoughts, needless to say, for considerably less—and so, of course, will you.



A tip for Senator McCarthy: Why not abolish the Supreme Court and substitute a Subcommittee on Constitutional Questions of the Senate Judiciary Committee? The Senator could become Supreme Subcommitteeman. The suggestion of course is made only half in jest, as those of you will learn who read Philip Wittenberg's forthcoming piece in *The Nation* on how our Congressional Committees are encroaching upon the functions of the courts. Mr. Wittenberg, an attorney of international repute, is author of "Dangerous Words" and is now lecturing at Columbia University. His article will appear soon.



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EUROPE EYES McCARTHY by ALEX COMFORT

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April 11, 1953
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Toward Peace?

Hunting Booby Traps

An Editorial

Diplomacy's Hour

J. Alvarez del Vayo

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

Moscow-Peking Axis *Alexander Werth*

$25 Billion Bonanza *Bruce Catton*

Winthrop W. Aldrich *Egon Pohoryles*

Around

the U.S.A.

Professors Prepare for Action

Chicago

THE thirty-ninth annual meeting of the American Association of University Professors, held here on March 27 and 28, strengthened the basic policy of the association by passing a resolution condemning the dismissal of faculty members who invoke the Fifth Amendment to avoid answering the questions of legislative committees.

At a first-night dinner the delegates applauded a scathing attack on Congressional probes and university administrators who advocate "welcoming" them by Alan Barth, editorial writer for the Washington *Post* and author of "The Loyalty of Free Men." Barth urged partisans of academic freedom to take the offensive in the fight for intellectual independence. At the business session the next morning the delegates heard the report of the committee on academic freedom and tenure.

The final session in the afternoon started harmoniously enough with the resolutions committee making its report. On its recommendation several resolutions passed in previous years were reaffirmed and in some cases strengthened. One of these—adopted in 1947—declared that professional competence and integrity should be the tests of fitness of a member of the academic profession and that a teacher who is guilty of a legally defined subversive act should be dismissed, provided his guilt is established by due process of law. Last year's resolution on the subject and the one presented this year by the committee declared that a teacher who misuses his classes for propaganda purposes should be dismissed if guilt is established by due process, but this provision was removed by an amendment offered from the floor. Supporters of the amendment said "propaganda" was a vague term and expressed fear that routine teaching of controversial doctrines might be included under it by some administrations.

Also reaffirmed without basic changes were resolutions condemning the use of legislative investigations to smear individuals for past or present lawful political activities or personal associations, condemning censorship of textbooks by groups or individuals outside the profession, urging fewer governmental restrictions on American scholars going abroad and foreign ones coming to this country, criticizing unethical practices in intercollegiate athletics, and advocating primary control of athletic programs by academic faculties.

A new resolution passed by the meeting indorsed a statement by the Princetin University chapter opposing political investigations of universities and deplored "the failure of many of our educational, religious, and political leaders to define the true nature of this growing threat to our intellectual and spiritual heritage or to protest against it."

• A long debate was touched off when the committee recommended passage of a resolution stating that invoking the Fifth Amendment did not "in and of itself" justify dismissal of a faculty member if his stand was accepted as valid by the investigating body. The resolution added that this was not to be considered an indorsement of invoking the amendment, "since complex legal and ethical questions are involved." An attempt to amend the resolution by striking out the words "in and of itself" was defeated by a narrow margin.

Then a small group headed by the Northwestern and Ohio State delegations proposed an amendment to defer action on the resolution and send it to the Council, the governing body of the A. A. U. P., for further consideration. These opponents of immediate action claimed that the right to refuse to answer questions under the Fifth Amendment had not been clearly established, and that by supporting it the A. A. U. P. might provoke passage by state legislatures of additional "anti-subversive" bills aimed at colleges. Backers of the resolution argued that immediate action was necessary, thirty-seven college teachers having already been dismissed for invoking the amendment. The attempt to block action was defeated by a vote of about three to one.

• It became clear at the final session that many chapters were not satisfied with the record of the national office and its staff, headed by Ralph E. Himstead, general secretary, in defending dismissed teachers and otherwise implementing the program of the organization. After the report of the resolutions committee, the dissatisfaction burst forth in a variety of suggestions and complaints. Most of the speakers assured Himstead that they were not criticizing him personally or the members of his staff but were motivated by a sincere desire to strengthen the association.

Many of the complaints came from campuses which had experienced dismissals involving academic freedom. The delegates said that they were not kept informed about how the national office was handling these cases and that a local chapter found it hard to get the facts it needed for its own activity in behalf of dismissed teachers. The lack of internal democracy and vertical coordination was cited repeatedly.

In rebuttal Himstead charged that the local chapters were often lax in supporting their members in dismissal cases and were negligent in keeping the national office informed of their own activities. As the heated session ground on into the dinner hour, verbal exchanges between the floor and the platform became increasingly caustic. In the end the rank-and-file delegates carried the day and forced the appointment of three special committees. One is to examine the A. A. U. P. *Bulletin* with a view to making it a more effective instrument of communication among the local chapters and between them and the national office. Another will study the structure of the national office to see how it can be modernized and its efficiency increased. A third will recommend ways of implementing a "vigorous nationwide program of public enlightenment on the nature and utility of academic freedom," possibly including sponsorship of radio and television forums and cooperation with other organizations in waging the domestic war of ideas.

ALAN WHITNEY

[*Alan Whitney is political editor of the Chicago Northside Newspapers.*]

Volume 176, Number 15
New York, Saturday, April 11, 1953

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

The Case of the Fifteen

Of all the moves emanating from Moscow, Bucharest, and points East, none has been more startling than the release of the fifteen Russian doctors who had been arrested on charges of killing and plotting to kill Soviet officials. To an outsider looking in, this abrupt reversal appeared as contrived as the original arrests. For with the freeing of the doctors and the announcement by the Ministry of Internal Affairs that the accusations against them had been false, the whole Jewish-Zionist conspiracy story collapsed.

If the doctors are not guilty, presumably the anti-Soviet plots attributed to the "Joint" and the Zionist movement, with which the doctors were linked, are also non-existent. And if this is what the Soviet authorities are announcing by the release of the fifteen, their action becomes as important a political move as were the charges and arrests. It implies a repudiation of the whole anti-Zionist, anti-Israel, anti-Semitic policy built upon them. This would seem to be confirmed by the fact that the Kremlin accuses those alleged to be responsible for the false arrests with having aroused "national hostilities," a most significant phrase.

If this is so we should welcome the change and not worry too much about the motives which may lie behind it. Whatever internal political implications it may have, its meaning in the context of the current peace offensive would be clear. It would in effect be an assurance that sympathy or even relations with "outside" movements are no longer regarded as evidence of treasonable plotting against the regime. Nothing could be a more convincing token than this of a desire to relax tension.

We shall soon know if such an interpretation is valid. Israel's formal statement that it "would welcome the resumption of normal relations" with the Soviet Union will provide an early test of the real purpose behind the freeing of the Russian doctors.

Collision in Wall Street

Last week a Wall Street doctrine collided with a Wall Street axiom, producing a sad sense of frustration among orthodox financial commentators. The doctrine is that government spending and business interests are mutually incompatible, from which it follows that a cut in the defense program should induce greater prosperity. The axiom is that the verdict of the stock market represents a consensus of business opinion.

Obviously something was wrong, therefore, when the market broke sharply on prospects of a Korean armistice and incautious brokers started to talk about "a peace scare." For if the above-mentioned doctrine is valid, then peace, which might mean less spending and lower taxes, must prove a blessing to business. Yet if the axiom is correct, the doctrine appears to be challenged by business opinion since stock-market action showed a serious lack of confidence about the continuance of prosperity.

The Wall Street Journal of March 31 spotted this dichotomy and tackled it bravely. Denouncing as "idiotic" the idea "that prosperity is made by government spending and that if peace stops the war-spending the prosperity will collapse," it pointed out that the stock market fell just as sharply when the Korean war started: in both cases there was a "cautious reaction to prospects of great change." If the war stops, this authority continued, there may be a decline in business, but it will be coincidence rather than cause and effect. The real reason for a recession would be overproduction of consumer goods in spite of the diversion of productive capacity to arms-making. But is not this just another way of saying that in ordinary times industry finds buying-power inadequate: that if the government ceases to utilize as much of its surplus capacity as in the recent past, industry sees no alternative to curtailing operations and cutting down new investment—moves that could quickly start a new vicious circle of deflation?

The Voice of Appeasement

The danger that divisions in the ranks of educators will be exploited by those who seek to control American education is emphasized by the opposing positions recently taken by the American Association of University Professors (see our inside front cover) and the Association of American Universities. The latter represents the Ivy League—the most richly endowed, and presumably the most independent, of the private institutions. In a report released on March 31 it holds that present mem-

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bership in the Communist party "extinguishes" the right to teach and warns that those who invoke the Fifth Amendment must prove their continued fitness to teach. By dissociating itself from the position taken by the A. A. U. P. on these crucial issues, the A. A. U. has weakened the academic resistance to Congressional pressures by dividing it. Even more significant is its announcement that universities have a duty to cooperate with Messrs. Velde and Jenner—a policy described by Alan Barth at the A. A. U. P. convention as "utterly disastrous," since it cannot be assumed that the investigations will be fair or that the purpose is to find facts rather than to coerce opinion.

The circumstances connected with the release of the A. A. U. report are even more disturbing than its contents. It came right on the heels of the A. A. U. P. convention, as though the intention were to undercut the courageous stand of the professors. Hailed by the reactionary press as the definitive answer to "leftists and phony liberals" the report has been mistakenly regarded by many thousands of readers as an official statement on behalf of the entire academic community, including the A. A. U. P. membership. But even if its intentions were good, the report is a striking illustration of what the London *Economist* of March 21 considered an "appeasement" tendency on the part of American educators. The universities, it remarked, "have at best praised the investigations with faint damns. As some cynics have said, American university officials have assured the world that there will be no witch hunts, because they will tolerate no witches. Whether this policy of yielding an inch at every attack in the hope of saving the eventual mile will succeed in the long run is subject to debate. But if the time finally comes when a determined stand is necessary, will the moral courage of American academic people not be found to have been fatally undermined by . . . a series of calculated surrenders?"

Easter in Madrid

Using Holy Week as a pretext, Dictator Franco canceled the celebration of the anniversary of his defeat of the Republic. His real reason, however, was not piety but his preoccupation with the worsening relations between the army and the Falange. The army is becoming more and more irritated with its rival, and the Falangist leaders, as several of them showed in speeches delivered on the eve of the anniversary, are unwilling to be relegated to a secondary role.

Some of the army leaders have always hated the Falange. Others are becoming anti-Falange in the degree that they are becoming anti-Franco. It is easier for them, and safer too, to attack the Generalissimo through the party than to attack him directly. Many local incidents have taken place between the rival bodies, and it was a measure of prudence to avoid bringing them together, en masse, for the anniversary ceremonies.

Franco is in a bad mood. The prospect of diminished international tension has produced a real panic in Madrid. The Spanish radio and press devote themselves largely to warning the United States not to soften its policy toward Russia, fearful that any agreement will postpone indefinitely the signing of the bilateral treaty exchanging bases for dollars. The Madrid radio at present discharges its chief fury at Great Britain and France, but if the United States withholds dollars, its turn will come. For that it will suffice to revive the articles in *Arriba,* Franco's personal organ, during World War II, which anticipated with joy "the day when the arrogant New York skyscrapers will be smashed to pieces by the gallant German air force."

Hunting Booby Traps

BY THIS time deeds have been piled on words at such a rate that political dopesters here and abroad are having trouble keeping up with the Russian peace offensive. Skepticism still survives, especially in Washington—as witness Mr. Dulles's remarks at his press conference last week—but evidence from every Communist headquarters points in a single direction: Moscow is ready to go to almost fantastic lengths to settle outstanding feuds. If the truce talks proceed without serious hitch at Panmunjom, even the most doubting officials will find it hard—and politically dangerous—to maintain a stand-offish attitude.

However Washington is still talking cold war—and letting the Communist governments appear as peacemakers. A diplomat at the United Nations remarked the other day, "It looks as if Dwight Eisenhower's campaign pledge to try to end the Korean war is now going to be fulfilled—by Mao Tse-tung and Malenkov." It would be heartening if our psychological-warfare chiefs would cling a little less affectionately to that word warfare. They devoted themselves so assiduously to cold-war propaganda that they are practically dumbfounded by the prospect of peace.

Our State and Defense Departments have been feverishly engaged in hunting booby traps. General Mark Clark, U. N. Supreme Commander for Korea, in his reply to the initial Communist proposal insisted that when the truce teams met again at Panmunjom the exchange of sick and wounded captives must be the first order of business. Only after clarification of that issue, he said, could the armistice talks be resumed. If General Clark or his superiors in Washington had read the Peking statement carefully, they would have noticed that the Communists had agreed to Clark's demand before he made it. In his offer Chinese Premier Chou En-lai said, "We consider that *subsequent* upon the reasonable settlement of the question of sick and injured prisoners of war, it is entirely a matter of course that a smooth solution of the whole question of prisoners of war should be achieved."

Washington's next reaction was to detect something sinister in the fact that Peking sent its offer to the United Nations instead of to General Clark. Was this another trick to use the U. N. as a forum for Red propaganda? Nobody seems to have remembered that last December the President of the Assembly, Canada's Lester Pearson, had forwarded to Peking India's celebrated resolution on war prisoners. To sober diplomats it seemed proper for Peking to address to Mr. Pearson a message which went far toward accepting the once-rejected offer.

President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles are exercising an obvious duty in taking precautions against ambiguities or tricks in the Communist approach. But we should also be protected against a mentality which is so immersed in the search for Red shenanigans that it may risk letting Korean peace elude us.

In their tactics the Communists have taken a leaf from Dean Acheson's book. During the week preceding their big concession on the voluntary repatriation of war prisoners, the Communist forces had engaged in their most ambitious offensive in Korea for a long time. By capturing Old Baldy, one of the gateways to Seoul on the western sector of the front, they won a marked local success. It has enabled them, in the best Acheson tradition, to claim that they are now "negotiating from strength."

THE COMMUNIST suggestions, first to exchange sick and wounded captives and next to exchange war prisoners generally on the voluntary principle, meet the U. N. proposals. In another field the Russians have not merely spoken but acted by accepting Sweden's Dag Hammarskjold as successor to Trygve Lie. They have also sprung a surprise by apparently taking a step toward the United States position on arms limitation and atomic control. These are only a few of the links in the chain of peace overtures from Moscow in the past five weeks.

When we turn to the motives prompting this shift, we are once more in the mists of surmise. We do not feel too unhappy about that, for it puts us on the same level as our intelligence services, which, with immense means at their disposal to do better, have been bewilderedly trying to decipher the Russian tea leaves.

The prevailing explanation is that Malenkov and Co. want a breathing space abroad that will allow them to consolidate their position at home. This may be an oversimplification. There are certain indications that the new course of Soviet policy was charted under Stalin. Some weeks before his death Soviet diplomats in Washington were telling their non-Communist colleagues and American journalists that the time was ripe for improving Russian-American relations. Around the dinner table they went on to say that President Eisenhower, thanks to his military repute and to his strength in Congress and the country, might be better qualified than was the Truman-Acheson team to reopen negotiations with Moscow.

The timing of the Communist political moves may also have a logic unrelated to the death of Stalin. They have come a few weeks before the Eisenhower Administration's defense budget and foreign-aid bill go to Congress. Moscow may be right in anticipating that if we have a Korean armistice and then move into other fields of negotiation, members of Congress will feel growing public pressure to slash federal spending, reduce taxes, and stretch out our rearmament timetable. Moreover, the truism still holds that the U. S. S. R. and China have an enormous stake in creating conditions favorable to their peaceful internal development.

What should be the American response? Unfortunately, Washington anticipated its own reply—though not irrevocably. At an earlier stage of the truce talks the U. N. and Chinese-North Korean negotiators agreed that a high-level political conference should be held within three months after an armistice became effective. That conference would negotiate the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the settlement of the Korean question, "et cetera." The U. N. stipulated that "et cetera" should not be construed as relating to matters outside Korea.

Washington thus ruled out all discussion of such relevant Far Eastern issues as the seating of Communist China in the U. N., recognition of the Peking government, and the future of Formosa. Yet wiser persons know a lasting accommodation on Korea is possible only as part of a broad East Asian understanding. If we genuinely want such an understanding, we must be ready to widen future political discussions to encompass the whole Far Eastern problem.

New Deal at the U. N.

Other than the *pro forma* notification of his $10,000-a-year life pension, there is little in his last few days in office that Trygve Lie will be able to recall with any great pleasure. Most of the period was taken up with the General Assembly debate on the witch hunt among the American members of the Secretariat. Of the more than two-score countries participating, nearly 90 per cent were in one way or another critical of Lie's handling of the issue. The only countries besides the United States which supported him unreservedly appear to have been Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Panama, and San Salvador.

In the end the Assembly narrowly approved a resolution, cosponsored by the Americans and most of the other major Western powers, which expressed faith that the Secretary General would abide by the employment principles set forth in the United Nations Charter and Staff Regulations. But even this could afford Mr. Lie little satisfaction. The delegates already knew, when they voted, that the Secretary General in whom they were expressing faith would not be Mr. Lie. Moreover, it is habitual with diplomats—particularly Western ones—to vote more moderately than they think. Some of Mr. Lie's sharpest critics supported the resolution, including France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Sweden.

BUT IT would be a mistake to think that the Assembly considered Mr. Lie to be the sole villain. Mr. Lie did only what the Americans wanted him to do. When M. Hoppenot of France opposed the dismissal of international servants on the vague grounds of "disloyalty" to their country, or on the ground that they were "likely" to engage in subversive activities, or because of acts or associations prior to their service with the U. N., he was attacking a formula designed not by Mr. Lie but by the Americans. And when Mr. von Balluseck of the Netherlands denied that Secretariat members should be dismissed automatically when they used their constitutional privilege against self-incrimination in official inquiries, he was attacking a concept invented by the Americans, not by Mr. Lie. And when Mr. Jebb of Great Britain ridiculed the whole idea of the U. N. as a "security area"—"member governments do not, as we know, intrust their vital secrets to the Secretariat"—he was ridiculing not Mr. Lie, who on the record agrees, but the Americans.

Of course, nobody attacked the United States explicitly. On the contrary, speaker after speaker made the point that the standards laid down for the conduct of its citizens by any country were purely a domestic matter of no concern to the United Nations. The issue is not whether the United States has the right to demand that all its citizens employed by the U. N. have blue eyes; the issue is whether the United Nations, an international organization, must succumb to a blue-eyed mania, or any other mania, which happens to attack Washington.

The debate, as well as Mr. Lie's removal, gives cause for hope that a new regime may be in store for the long-suffering Secretariat. Much will depend upon the attitude of Dag Hammarskjold, the new Secretary General. One of the most cogent speeches of the entire debate was delivered by his colleague, the Swedish delegate, who argued that only the United Nations could properly set the standards for its own employees. *The Nation* urges that Mr. Hammarskjold make it a first order of business to reaffirm the argument of his fellow-countryman and thus to reassure the Secretariat—and the world—that the witch-hunters have been chased away from the East River.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

Diplomacy's Hour

United Nations

MAKE no mistake about it: Russia is engaged in a diplomatic operation of positive content and great dimensions; in popular terms, Russia means business. Until this fact is fully assimilated, Western observers, and governments too, will inevitably fall into errors of judgment. Even the formulation of new policies, which cannot long be delayed, will be based upon a faulty appreciation of Soviet intentions, with the danger of a major split among the Western allies and diplomatic defeat for those resisting negotiation.

The Soviet government is moving toward a comprehensive settlement of outstanding issues. Hardly had the last development in that direction been recorded—the cordial meeting between Foreign Minister Molotov and United States Chargé d'Affaires Jacob Beam—than diplomats in Moscow were predicting new Soviet moves designed to reopen and settle long-deadlocked issues. Having decided to end the present status quo, Russia is acting with its customary drive and determination. It is around this central fact that United States policy will have to be shaped.

That this has not yet been realized is evident here, particularly among Americans. European delegates and correspondents are much more aware of the meaning of the Russian and Chinese moves and prepared to act accordingly. The Asians are still more strongly convinced—and elated. In the last few days I have heard several of these comment with disapproval on the skepticism with which some American correspondents have been reporting the conciliatory Communist decisions and acts registered in the last ten days.

Of course a quick readjustment on the part of the Americans is difficult in view of the premises on which the campaign of psychological warfare has been based. The psychological war was designed to keep the Russians off balance, wondering what would be the next Western move and how the plans for strengthening the West and preparing for the "roll-back" of Soviet power would develop. The Russians, by the very structure of their regime, are able to change their course almost overnight. By taking the initiative and multiplying their gestures of friendship, coupled with concrete proposals not at one point but at many, Moscow has put the West in the position of guesser.

Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov

Never was more evident the damage brought about by preaching the rigid doctrine that it was impossible to negotiate with Moscow. Never has there been clearer proof of the mistake of not having what the French call a *politique de rechange*, a policy flexible enough to provide an alternative for the moment when Moscow began to play the diplomatic cards it has always held.

At first, fear that the skeptical attitude adopted by the United States might stall a settlement tempered the joy with which the United Nations received the proposal of Chou En-lai. It was therefore with a feeling of relief that the delegates greeted President Eisenhower's statement that any offer should be taken at its face value until it was proved not to be genuine. But the almost contrary remarks of Secretary Dulles only twenty-four hours later again created an atmosphere of doubt. Delegates asked, "Which are we to believe?"

Mr. Dulles's pronouncement showed him desperately trying to limit and localize the peace, while the obvious intention of the Russians is to enlarge it. Mr. Dulles would like, as a maximum, a truce in Korea; he wants nothing that would threaten the alliance with Chiang Kai-shek, or the plans for Indo-China, or the rearming of Japan. And beyond Asia are the negotiations with Franco, the military alliance in the Middle East, the full rearmament of Germany, and everything he has envisaged as part of the liberation policy.

But this time it is impossible to expect these considerations to control the United Nations. Many delegates still remember that peace in Korea could have been achieved two years ago—when the U. N. forces reached the Thirty-eighth Parallel—had the warning of Sir Benegal Rau been heeded. This time they are not going to be misled.

Originally most of the delegates were against complicating the negotiations in Panmunjom with a debate in the Assembly. But since the Dulles pronouncement the number of those who want a general discussion has increased. Formally the issue has been before the Assembly from the moment Peking communicated its proposals to President Lester Pearson. If a debate takes place, one can expect the Russians to avoid giving any support to the position of those who maintain that "nothing has basically changed." For example, Molotov, while stressing the importance of having Communist China and North Korea participate in any discussion of Korea in the U. N., did not make it a condition.

The election of Dag Hammarskjold of Sweden as Secretary General came at the right time. A new man in office, unanimously elected and without obligations to anyone, has a unique opportunity, as well as a duty, to take advantage of the situation and exercise the powers of mediation inherent in the post of Secretary General. It is the moment for the United Nations to regain its leadership in world affairs.

McCARTHYISM

The Impact on Europe . . *by Alex Comfort*

[*This article and the one following by Andrew Roth make it abundantly clear that the problem of McCarthyism has burst out of this country's boundaries and become an important international issue.*]

London

REPORTS of the great American witch hunt, like reports of all the goings-on in Moscow, reach us in Western Europe at second hand. We depend for information about both upon the type of biased hearsay which passes, in a cold war, under the title of news. The relatively greater accessibility of America and Americana compared with Russia and *Izvestia* does not always operate in favor of an unbiased picture. If *Ogonëk* were to start howling for an atomic war against New York—which, for the record, it never has done—most of us could read it only in suspect translation, whereas *Collier's*, to the regret of some of us, speaks our language.

In attempting to understand the forces which have taken control of American politics, dissertations on the mentality of some of the leading figures in the drama, like psychoanalytical speculation about Hitler, are beside the point; the real problems are sociological. It is unimportant that Senator McCarthy is a spiteful and delinquent mental patient; what is important is the conditions that allow a mental patient to blossom and flourish in a civilized society to the confusion of the sane. English social scientists would be rash to theorize at long range. We can, however, consider as objectively as possible the direct consequences of McCarthyism on the thinking of Europeans. These consequences seem to me to be among the really decisive factors shaping our future history.

A few weeks ago Jean-Paul Sartre attended the Russian-sponsored World Peace Congress in Vienna. His presence there struck me at the time as extremely significant. American propaganda in Europe assumes that only Arthur Koestler has any idea of the true nature of communism, and that French, British, and Italian intellectuals fall easy prey to colored magazines depicting the Kuibishev Dam; once they realize the true facts—the ruthlessness of the Kremlin, the Siberian camps, the suppression of free inquiry—they will run for shelter behind NATO. I put this view brutally because it is a delusion. Sartre has spoken for himself here in Europe in his brilliant paper debate with Camus. Contrary to State Department opinion, the politically conscious European knows his Communists. He knows his anti-Communists. He saw Spain, he saw Munich, he saw the Resistance. He has lived and argued with Communists.

As a result of what he knows, he, rather than the professional I-was-a-Red, and certainly rather than the military windbag, understands the value of the Western tradition of free inquiry and political moderation. This understanding is shared by the bulk of non-intellectual European opinion, though not to the point of articulation. America and Russia have one thing in common: they have both, at one time or another, commanded a vast reserve of public sympathy and support, and they have both dissipated it by their mistakes. It has been said that the War of Independence was not won by the Colonists but lost by King George. America today owes what support it receives in Europe, outside a small circle of Cabinet ministers of the clerical right and of refugees from the East who have lost everything, to the mistakes and excesses of the Communists. I have heard this put explicitly time and again by men in no way anti-American or pro-Communist in any intelligible sense of those words. "Well, at least in America I would be free to say what I am saying, whereas in Russia I would not"—that is the feather which turns the balance. Beyond that, the savagery with which the Korean war has been conducted has demolished, for most of Europe, any argument based on relative humanity. Europe knows that Americans are humane and decent people. So, within the framework of a different cultural tradition, are Russians. It is not the humanity of the individual any more than the psychopathology of Senator McCarthy which is the final argument; it is whether or not the practice, as opposed to the theory, of one side shows any less sign of being controlled by mentally deranged or brutalized individuals than that of the other.

Senator McCarthy

The upshot of this is that the European public, by and large, considers the present American government as contemptuous of human life as are the Eastern regimes, though in a different way; much more tolerable than they are from the viewpoint of individual freedom of expression, though inferior to the standard of tolerance existing in non-Communist, non-monarcho-Falangist Europe generally; less coherent, ideologically and socially, than the Communists; and from the standpoint of war far more accident-prone.

ALEX COMFORT, author of "The Power House" and other novels, is also one of Britain's foremost political pamphleteers.

A year ago if anyone had rushed into a West European cafe, except in Berlin, and shouted, "They've started it! The balloon's gone up!" the "they" which most people would have supplied, mentally, would have been the "they" advertised by NATO and the press—the aggressive-minded Communists. Today it would be assumed to mean Eisenhower and Dulles. That may be shocking, but I believe it is true. This total lack of confidence, which extends through very diverse groups, is preparing a staggering débâcle for American diplomacy in Europe. Its continuity is broken at times only because on the issue of justice and civil liberties the Communists are demonstrably and insupportably the worse.

It is these occasional stirrings that McCarthy is busy suppressing. Europe is worried not because the witch hunt and the Eastern purges are "kif-kif," one as bad as the other—which they are manifestly not—but because it knows what they are symptoms of. Both Europeans and Americans have in the past fallen into the error of assuming that if the United States loses its tradition of liberty and succumbs to the fantastic, it will do so in the German, the Russian, the Italian, the Spanish, or the Napoleonic manner. It will not; it will do it in the American manner. America will never have a Hitler, but it may none the less become a land where liberals and scientists are silenced, and where the effective direction of policy is divided among General Motors, the madhouse, and some destructive military men.

Most Americans would be capable of great sacrifice and courage to prevent such a process if they recognized it. What scares us here is the degree of anaesthesia which already seems to exist, and the tendency to equate intellectual tyranny with physical force. A tyranny is not necessarily a society in which anyone who thinks is hit on the head. It can be a society in which the pressure of public custom and opinion prevents thinking at all. The American professor who does not like to quote Laski and the Russian professor who owns up to anti-Pavlovian errors in quoting Freud are not afraid of being hit over the head. They are afraid of becoming an exposed out-group, subject to economic pressure, public disapproval, and any display of aggression that may be at hand. They are less worried about ending in Siberia or Sing Sing than about incurring the hatred and contempt of their friends and families.

EUROPE IS NOT TODAY wholeheartedly on either side. More than anything else it wants to stay alive and preserve as many of its institutions as possible. The advent to power of Dulles and the liberators has shaken it profoundly. It suspects that the strategy of liberation may involve the provoking of "aggression." Its ultimate revolt is almost certain. If once it becomes convinced that the direction of affairs has been seized by the mental ward, that the Voice of McCarthy rules the air, it may reclaim its freedom of action. ("America will pull out" is for many a promise rather than a threat.)

But the loss to liberalism may still be considerable. For the social psychologist the defeat of McCarthyism is the keystone not of the "defense of the free world," as some would assert, but of the far more vital survival of the eclectic, humane, and scientific attitude as a foil to ideological mysticism. In a world split between Marxism and an America isolated behind its own Padded Curtain, the cause of reason would be in a precarious state. Nobody wants to see a fascist, outcast America. This has not yet happened. Americans can prevent it. But they will need the vigor of the most rebellious moments of their history.

RESTIVE BRITONS

by Andrew Roth

London

AS THE TV dramatization of "The Troubled Air," Irwin Shaw's taut novel on hysteria in American radio, drew near its dramatic close, an American radio announcer was heard saying that the McCarran act compelled even Prime Minister Churchill to be examined on his arrival in the United States. The play's last scene was pure irony—a view of the Statue of Liberty.

This exciting play on witch-hunting in America was presented twice in one week on Britain's national TV network and was seen by as many as five million people. A few weeks earlier the B. B. C. had broadcast "The Troublemakers," an even more violent attack on hysteria, this time as displayed on an American university campus. The successive presentation of two plays dealing with the same theme was almost certainly not accidental. The B. B. C. is not formally an official network—under its charter it has considerable independence—but in practice it is semi-official. That in these broadcasts it was indeed mirroring the Cabinet's fear for American political sanity was made clear by the Home Secretary, Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, in an interview with American newsmen.

In a seemingly endless cold war, Sir David said, it is essential to retain all the liberties that form the warp and woof of a free way of life and particularly to preserve that freedom of controversy which is so vital to democracy. The Conservative government, he continued, believed that a member of the Communist Party is entitled to hold a government or private post provided that his work does not involve secrets relating to the nation's security. The Home Secretary declared further that he would continue the Labor government's policy of permitting the entry of foreign Communists coming to attend open Communist meetings, but would refuse entry to those who come to use Britain as a sounding board under the auspices of Communist-front organizations.

This forthright statement made two things clear: that there is no difference of opinion between the Conservatives and Labor about the importance of preserving Britain's civil liberties; and that the Conservatives are now as worried about the witch hunt in the United States as the left wing of the Labor

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ANDREW ROTH is a contributing editor of The Nation.

Party has been for some time. In the Conservative view the situation has become serious if decisions on vital international questions, such as talking with Malenkov, can be made by the Eisenhower Administration only after it considers what the lunatic McCarthy-McCarran fringe will have to say.

The attack on the appointment of Charles Bohlen as ambassador to Russia has silenced almost every British defender of the American obsession with security. I say "almost" because Rebecca West, who has specialized on traitors, is trying to convince the readers of the *Sunday Times* that the witch hunt is completely justified by the scope of the Communist conspiracy in Washington. Few here except the Communists deny that the United States has to take special precautions in a period like the present; the British security services also tap telephones, as the Home Secretary has admitted. The difference between the British and the American technique is that the results of such investigations here are not "leaked" to right-wing newspapers or to M. P.'s and are used only for their primary purpose—security—not to smear political enemies.

The British are naturally loath to criticize American methods after being caught flat-footed in the cases of Fuchs, MacLean, Burgess, and Pontecorvo. But in general they feel that American investigators spend too much of their time attacking views much like those held by the almost half of the population that voted Labor in the last election. British security officials do not think that sympathy for the Spanish Republic in the 1930's automatically connotes disloyalty today, or that student radicalism does. Churchill's friend, Sir Brendan Bracken, wrote recently in the *Financial Times:* "Things have now reached a pass in the United States when to have made a mild speech twenty years ago at a college debating society, saying that perhaps there was a grain of truth in the doctrines of Marx and Lenin, is quite enough to blot a man's career."

"America has two Secretaries of State," the *Observer* quoted Dean Acheson as saying during his term of office, "Senator McCarthy and myself." On March 29 this pro-American paper added, "In the past two months it has sometimes appeared that Mr. Dulles might also be forced to share his high position" with Senator McCarthy.

"How long will America stand for this?" asked the *News Chronicle* columnist Francis Williams, former press spokesman of Labor Prime Minister Clement Attlee, on March 26. Williams's views frequently reflect those of the Attlee-Morrison leadership of the Labor Party, which has long been less critical of the United States than the left-wingers. Mr. Williams wrote:

> The climate of opinion which makes it possible for the McCarthys of American life to remain powerful public figures is not America's concern only. The moral attitudes they depend upon and exploit matter not only to America but to the whole free world. And those of us who hold as our strongest article of international faith the need for the closest bonds of fidelity between Britain, the Commonwealth, and the United States have, I believe, an obligation to tell our friends in America just how much damage those attitudes are doing to the cause of freedom everywhere. . . .

TAXES INTO PROFITS

$25 Billion Bonanza . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

IF TENDER consideration for the big taxpayer is a guiding principle under the present Administration—and if it isn't, what is?—it may be about time to look at some of the effects of the rapid-tax-amortization program which went into operation as a result of the Korean emergency. Ostensibly the program was set up to give industry the necessary incentives to expand productive capacity. Actually, as a Congressional committee once remarked, it has been "the biggest bonanza that ever came down the government pike."

American industry has been reequipping itself with upward of $25 billion worth of new plant and machinery, more than two-thirds of which is being written off through accelerated tax amortization. The increase in American productive capacity is immense. The only catch is that so much of it has been done at public expense. Exact definition of "at public expense" will have to wait until we know what is going to happen to corporate tax rates. If the emergency ends within a few years and tax rates drop sharply, there has been an outright subsidy. If the emergency continues and tax rates stay up, there has at least been a prodigious interest-free loan.

The theory of the rapid-tax-amortization program is simple. In a defense emergency the nation needs a sharp increase in military production. Much of the plant that will provide this increase will be of very little use after the emergency ends. The industrialist is induced to expand anyway by a certificate which permits him in five years to write off, for income-tax purposes, the cost of that part of his new plant and equipment which will be of little or no use after the emergency.

The troubles arise under the application of the theory. A powder factory or a shell-loading plant, obviously, is not going to earn many profits once defense production drops. But in an expanding economy like ours a steel mill or an aluminum plant or an electric-power plant can go right on producing and selling its product. At the end of five years the beneficiary of a tax-amortization certificate will have written off a large part of his new investment. In

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BRUCE CATTON is a contributing editor of The Nation.

effect, he will have received a large amount of public aid in reequipping his plant for peace-time production.

In basic industries like steel and aluminum, the amortization rate has been very high—an average of 85 per cent, for instance, in the case of aluminum. Steel did nearly as well. Industry as a whole averaged from 60 to 75 per cent. Interestingly enough, the electric utilities got only about 40 per cent, owing to the fact that their applications were processed in Oscar Chapman's Department of the Interior, which took a rather conservative view of the situation.

To a large extent, of course, all this is water over the dam, for the peak of the program is past. But the whole operation has put industry in a new position and has raised problems which will be with us for a long time.

FIRST OF ALL, the competitive advantage which big business normally enjoys over small business has been strikingly increased. Economists in the Small Defense Plants Administration point out that in the basic industries involved, small firms normally provide roughly 35 per cent of the employment. To retain its old competitive position, therefore, small business should have received about 35 per cent of the tax-amortization certificates—in total dollar value. Actually, a year-end tabulation made by the S. D. P. A. shows that small business got about 10 per cent.

The figure varies greatly, of course, from industry to industry. It becomes more instructive when the number of certificates granted is compared with the number asked for. Over all, the S. D. P. A. analysts point out, small business accounted for 10 per cent of the value of certificates granted and 23 per cent of the applications denied.

In eighteen out of twenty major industry groupings in manufacturing, small business received substantially less than its fair share. But in at least eight of these groupings, small business firms filed enough applications so that it *could* have received its full 35 per cent share. In textiles small business has 22 per cent of the employment and got 5 per cent of the value of certificates issued. In primary metals—aluminum, copper, steel, zinc, etc.—small business provides 18 per cent of the employment and got only 8 per cent.

How much all this means to big business in dollars and cents will depend to a certain extent on future government policies. A firm producing military goods under government contract comes eventually before the Renegotiation Board, which examines the firm's costs and is supposed to roll its profits back, if necessary, to a reasonable level. The Renegotiation Board normally figures as cost anything which the Bureau of Internal Revenue recognizes as cost. But the heart of the accelerated-amortization program is the proviso that a corporation may depreciate at an accelerated rate plants and machinery acquired for the defense effort. The rapid write-off allowed by the corporation's certificate thus becomes a legitimate cost.

If this principle holds good in all the forthcoming renegotiation proceedings, a corporation which built a new factory and amortized the cost over five years—that is, which wrote off during that period an amount equal to 80 or 85 per cent of the total cost of the plant, and deducted the sum from taxable income—would also be able to include the figure as an item of cost in producing goods for government contract. It would thus benefit in two ways—through tax savings, and through higher cash receipts from the contracting agency. The improvement in the corporation's competitive position, vis-à-vis a producer who also held a government contract but did not get a tax-amortization certificate, would be dazzling.

THE ULTIMATE EFFECT of the program will also depend on the level of taxes from 1955 to 1958, when the certificates already issued will "mature." If business taxes continue high, the government will get a substantial windfall in its collections as corporations reach the end of the rapid write-off and begin paying taxes without even the benefit of normal depreciation allowances. Because of this factor, it is often argued that the whole program is not really a hand-out at all—that in the long run the corporation will pay just as much in taxes as it would have paid if it had received no amortization privilege.

Concerning this point, two things need to be said. First, even if the point is accepted, the fact does remain that for the five-year period involved, the corporation in effect has enjoyed a tax-free loan from the government. Second, barring a shooting war, no one in Washington has any notion that corporate taxes are going to remain anywhere near their present high level for very many more years. If there is any virtue at all in campaign promises—and, more important, in the inner motivations of the powerful men who caused those promises to be made—taxes will come down sharply. When and if they do, the corporation will be in the position of having escaped normal tax levies until the high-rate period was over.

OF ESPECIAL INTEREST is the situation as it affects the public utilities. A profoundly important element in rate-making is to be found in the amortization privileges which the utilities have been granted. The case here is very much like the question just raised in connection with contract renegotiation: can the corporation affected claim that the money saved by rapid tax amortization is properly an element of cost? The utilities are arguing that what they have done, actually, is to set up a surplus for deferred income taxes. So far, fourteen of the fifteen state regulatory commissions which have passed on the matter have agreed. The question is now before the Federal Power Commission.

Analysts of the Electric Consumers' Information Committee recently did some figuring on the $1,600,000,000 in tax-amortization certificates so far received by the utilities and came up with some interesting results. A utility which received, say, a million-dollar five-year certificate can amortize its new plant at 20 per cent a year as compared to 4 per cent without a certificate. This would mean a tax saving of $83,200 a year—or, over five years, of $416,000 in all. Call this sum tax savings, surplus for deferred taxes, interest-free loan, or whatever, it represents money which has been collected from consumers and retained for federal-income-tax purposes.

The committee then points out that if this $416,000 had been borrowed in the ordinary way, 6 per cent interest would have been paid on it. At the end of five years, then, the utility has in effect saved $488,000, not $416,000. Also, at the end of five years, the utility resumes paying taxes on its new plant, but in amounts less than the annual interest on the $488,000 would have represented.

Thus, argues the committee, the whole thing adds up to a $416,000 interest-free loan—not for five years, but for twenty-five years, the assumed life of the new plant. Even assuming that tax rates do not go down, all that the utility does, in substance, is to repay the principal of the loan in annual instalments.

The basic question, of course, is simply this: who ought eventually to get the benefits of the tax deferral—stockholders, or taxpayers and consumers?

As a final factor it remains to be emphasized that the amortization program bears very little real relation to the actual needs of our mobilization plan. In theory, the issuance of tax-amortization certificates is supposed to be tied to expansion goals set for commodities or production areas. Actually, these goals have been extremely fuzzy. They are rarely based on the level of the nation's production needs, because total-mobilization requirements data simply are not available. In some fields goals have been set on the basis of full mobilization; in others, on the basis of partial mobilization. In many cases government experts were quite unable to agree on current supply figures. One government economist recently commented that the pressure to set an expansion goal normally comes from the size of the tax-amortization program in that particular field rather than from comprehensive research into critical needs.

It's a strange picture, with enormous values involved. It will be interesting to see what is finally done about it.

WINTHROP W. ALDRICH

Million-Dollar Diplomat . . *by Egon Poboryles*

LESS than a month after taking up his post in London, Winthrop W. Aldrich, the new United States ambassador to the Court of St. James's, was back in this country, unobtrusively accompanying the Eden-Butler mission. In return for continued American aid the Britons are reported to have discussed the question of "liberalizing world trade," more specifically, easing the currency restrictions by which both the Labor and the Conservative government has tried to maintain the British standard of living since the end of the war. The proposal sounds much like a program advocated by Aldrich since 1945.

In August of that year, before the American Chamber of Commerce in London, Aldrich urged the ending of governmental controls as the only means of reestablishing world trade on a healthy basis and preventing socialism. In October, 1945, he elaborated his views to the New York State Chamber of Commerce:

> We must not resign ourselves to a fatalistic belief that economic controls are a necessary feature of modern societies. Economic arrangements between nations depend upon man-made policy. They are not the result of certain assumed external forces over which we have no influence. Let us struggle to achieve the type of world we think will best serve the interests of mankind and not take the defeatist attitude that totalitarian controls are inevitable.

A bulky, somber-looking man ("I never smile south of Canal Street"), Aldrich is the son of Senator Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island who entered Congress in 1881 worth $50,000 and died in 1915 leaving an estate of $30,000,000. As president of the Chase National Bank during the depression he headed, together with Charles E. Mitchell of the National City Bank, a committee of bankers to whom New York City appealed in November, 1932, for $25,000,000 to meet winter unemployment-relief needs. The bankers refused, insisting that the city first cut salaries. Aldrich was then being paid $175,000 a year by Chase, which made him, according to the Senate Banking Committee, the highest paid bank official in the country. The city capitulated to the bankers' demands a month later.

ALDRICH'S interest in the unemployed had apparently been aroused. In a speech to the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco in 1934, he declared that the problem of unemployment and relief would probably persist over a long period, and one must not be "tolerant of waste or inefficiency or of wrong theories in the handling of it." He advocated abolition of the work-relief programs as too costly and their replacement by a dole on the British model. "I submit," he said, "that if we in this country concentrate on direct home relief and eliminate work relief as far as possible . . . one of the most disturbing factors operating today against the revival of private enterprise would be removed." He suggested the establishment of a new agency, freed of social workers, to administer relief programs.

The depressed farmer also received Aldrich's attention. In 1933, predicting a long depression, he advised the Senate Finance Committee as follows:

> In connection with farm-mortgage relief, I would make every effort to deal with intelligent discrimination with individual cases, seeking to bring debtors and creditors into agreement with one another. . . . We must protect the commercial morality of the country in the interests of the future giving and taking of credit.

He denied that debtor farmers as a group needed mortgage relief.

Aldrich joined the ranks of those who, in his own words, are "charged with responsibility for finance and for other phases of the economic life of the country" as a lawyer for the Rocke-

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EGON POBORYLES is a free-lance journalist in New York whose special interest is American foreign economic policy in the post-war period.

fellers. His sister Abby had married John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in 1901. In 1929, when John D. Rockefeller, Jr., became disturbed by the connection between Colonel Robert W. Stewart, chairman of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, and a Senate committee investigating the oil industry, Aldrich marshaled the Rockefeller forces at a stockholders' meeting which ousted Stewart. After that, the Rockefellers summoned Aldrich from the law to head the Equitable Trust Company. In 1930, when the Chase National Bank merged with Equitable and another concern to become the largest private bank of the day—with resources in excess of $2,800,000,000—Aldrich became president of Chase as representative of the Rockefeller interests. Three years later, Albert H. Wiggins, a Morgan man, was forced out as Chase's chairman of the board, and Aldrich took over.

THE CONFLICT between the Rockefeller and Morgan interests, which continued until after the 1936 elections, was evident in the relations of the two groups to the Roosevelt Administration. The previous Republican administrations had always called on the Morgans in a financial crisis, but Roosevelt and Congress turned to Aldrich for advice on monetary policy, foreign trade, and unemployment.

In 1933, immediately after the bank holiday, Aldrich called for the complete separation of deposit and investment banking, to the extent of forbidding private bankers to be directors of deposit banks. The program struck right at the position of J. P. Morgan and Company, whose members were directors of some of the largest commercial banks. At conferences with Roosevelt and other Administration leaders. Aldrich helped to draft the Securities acts of 1933 and 1934.

In July, 1936, the Federal Reserve System announced that it was raising reserve requirements of member banks by 50 per cent to guard against "possible injurious credit expansion." The New York *Times* commented:

> In its action the board followed a course that had been urged for nine months by certain bankers and economists, notably Winthrop W. Aldrich. . . . It disregarded the urgings of other bankers, notably S. Parker Gilbert of J. P. Morgan and Company, who had insisted that there was no undue expansion of credit as yet and that to raise member-bank reserve requirements at this time might be to jeopardize recovery.

By 1938 the national income had dropped $7,000,000,000, and it began to climb only after the injection of new federal expenditures.

ALDRICH'S INFLUENCE remained great under Truman. He backed the Marshall Plan enthusiastically and in 1949 was able to inform Chase stockholders that the bank was leading all others in financing operations under the Economic Cooperation Administration.

> Although high expenses are incurred in handling this business [he reported], our participation in the E. C. A. program is important and significant for several reasons. It is significant as an index of Chase standing in the foreign field, because the banking business involved originated in foreign banks and foreign governmental agencies. It is important as part of the American program to assist in the rehabilitation of European and other economies. It is important also in its beneficial effects in creating markets for American products. It is further important in that it is helping to keep international trade within the framework of commercial banking channels.

As chairman of President Truman's Committee on Financing Foreign Trade, Aldrich described himself in 1950 as "enthusiastically interested" in the Point Four program. Set up "in precisely the right way," he said, it might bring a "good flow" of private investment abroad. Aldrich had first suggested setting up a Point Four program at a White House meeting with Truman in July, 1946. Truman unveiled it during his inaugural address in 1949.

Winthrop W. Aldrich

Even when he has not succeeded in getting his own way, Aldrich has made the best of the situation. He opposed the Bretton Woods agreement of 1944 which proposed the setting up of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. When the International Bank came into existence in December, 1945, John J. McCloy became its first president. When McCloy resigned to go to Germany as United States High Commissioner, he was succeeded by Eugene R. Black, a senior vice-president at Chase. With Aldrich at London, McCloy has become chairman of Chase.

Through Chase's foreign connections —at Havana, Cristobal, Panama City, Mexico City, London, Paris, Rome, Berlin, Shanghai, Hongkong, Tientsin, plus the sixty-four foreign offices of its wholly-owned subsidiary American Express Company—Aldrich has been not without influence abroad. In the year before Hitler's rise to power, 37 per cent of Chase's foreign commitments were in Germany, $74,663,327 out of a total United States financial stake in Germany of $2,120,000,000. Aldrich saw Hitler soon after he seized power, but the subject of their conversation has never been revealed; Aldrich only said that he had talked with the Chancellor for "some time." Others who have found it expedient to have chats with Aldrich in more recent years are De Gasperi, Churchill, Salazar, and Franco. Chase pulled Franco out of a very serious hole in 1949 by lending him $30,000,000. The loan, Aldrich assured his stockholders, was adequately secured.

By June, 1934, despite his influence with the Roosevelt Administration, Aldrich had applied for readmission to the National Republican Club. In the 1936 campaign he helped write the Republican platform. In 1944 he was treasurer of the Republican Finance Committee. In 1952 he was chairman of the United Republican Finance Committee of New York State and, according to such widely divergent sources as *Pravda* and Westbrook Pegler, chiefly responsible for getting General Eisenhower nominated over Senator Taft.

Aldrich had had previous experience in capturing nominations. In the 1950 gubernatorial race in New York, when Lieutenant Governor Joe R. Hanley refused to step aside and allow Dewey to be "drafted" as the Republican candidate, Aldrich called a meeting at his office of several New York bankers and Frank E. Gannett, head of the newspaper chain and a Hanley backer. Mr. Gannett, according to the New York *Times* of August 31, 1950, was "urged to withdraw his support of Mr. Hanley. He was told by Mr. Aldrich and the others that the Hanley candidacy could not count on financial support, after nomination, from the metropolitan area."

When Eisenhower named Aldrich to be ambassador to Great Britain, the Senate confirmed the appointment by voice vote, with only Senator Wayne Morse speaking against it. Morse said that Aldrich personified "the American dollar sign and dollar diplomacy" and would be taken as a symbol "of the exploitations of the people of the backward areas of the world." In reply New York's liberal Democratic Senator Lehman praised Aldrich for integrity and public service, and Republican Senator Ives asked: "Have we in the government come to a condition where we can appoint to public service only those who are substantially paupers?"

The main problem before the United States was analyzed by Aldrich in a speech last November:

> It is rapidly becoming clear that we cannot decisively win even the cold war on the basis of superiority in productive capacity and military power alone. . . . Our economic system, large and powerful as it is, cannot indefinitely sustain the drain of an endless arms race and continued grants-in-aid to our allies.

Aldrich urged a new, long-range foreign policy, combining maximum military strength with "a dynamic economic strategy so bold and so vigorous that it will more than match the ruthless totalitarian expansion of communism." The cornerstone of his economic strategy is a flow of American investments abroad, and he has begun the task of creating the conditions that will make the flow possible. As defined by him in 1949, the conditions are (1) military security through implementation of the Atlantic Pact; (2) "political stability" through the elimination of the "threat of communism"; (3) economic stability; and (4) foreign governments which encourage American investments.

Aldrich bade farewell to the Chase last Christmas at a concert given by the employees' choral society. "It is a sad thing," he said, "to leave after twenty-three years, and I would not do it if I did not feel I could serve my country." Then as the chorus intoned, "Hark, the Herald Angels Sing" (" . . . peace on earth and mercy mild . . ."), Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman and director of the Chase National Bank and the Chase Safe Deposit Company, director of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, the Westinghouse Electric Corporation, the International Paper Company, the Discount Corporation of New York, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and the New York Central Railroad, squared his shoulders and answered his country's call.

MOSCOW-PEKING AXIS

New Unity in the Making . . *by Alexander Werth*

Paris

THE Soviet leaders are no sentimentalists. Everything they say, everything they do, is determined by hard-headed realistic considerations. There is no improvising. But that does not mean that the Soviet people are hard-headed. They are often emotional and capable of developing a genuine *mystique* in the sense that Péguy gave to the word; the stimulation of such a *mystique* by a propaganda drive has on many occasions supplied the Kremlin with a powerful weapon. One only has to remember the enthusiasm that existed in Russia, especially among the young, at the time of the early five-year plans or the last-ditch mentality of the Stalingrad period.

Looking through the Soviet press of recent months, I have been struck by the extraordinary prominence and amount of space given to China. Korea, in comparison, is treated as a sideshow; on Vietnam there is almost nothing (the Soviet line on Vietnam has been that the French ought to try to come to terms with Vietminh and not to internationalize the war); and Japan is of interest chiefly as "America's main aggressive base in Asia."

This Soviet preoccupation with things Chinese was in no way diminished by Stalin's death. If anything, Malenkov appears to be more Orient-minded than his predecessor. Of all the foreign dignitaries at Stalin's funeral, Chou En-lai was given the most publicity in the Soviet press, and both Moscow and Peking have since sought to impress upon the world that their mutual friendship remains unshaken by the change in the Soviet regime. It is noteworthy that Chou En-lai's latest bid for peace in Korea, representing important concessions to the West, was announced shortly after his return from a prolonged visit to Moscow.

While it is never definitely stated in the Soviet press—or by the Chinese leaders, for that matter—that if China is attacked by America, or Chiang, the armed forces of the Soviet Union will immediately come to its defense, such support is undoubtedly implied in the constant identification of China and the Soviet Union by Russian political writers today. This is an important point, for the plans of certain American generals are based on the assumption that Russia can be counted on to stay out.

For months it has been drummed into the Russians that the inclusion of China in the Communist bloc was their greatest

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ALEXANDER WERTH is The Nation's *Paris correspondent.*

post-war victory; in comparison, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany are but small stuff. In China history has been marching on in seven-league boots; the human qualities and the national yearnings of the Chinese people have created better conditions for a vast revolutionary movement than exists anywhere else. An ever-recurring theme of Soviet propaganda is that the success of the Chinese Revolution is already so great, after only three years, that America is "frightened" and would like to destroy China before it is too late. Since this, it is suggested, would be intolerable to Russia as well as China, Russian non-intervention is out of the question.

A RECENT SPEECH by Foreign Minister Chou En-lai which aroused very little interest in the West was reproduced on eleven columns of *Pravda* on February 7 and 8. Chou En-lai began:

> In three years we had to create conditions making it possible to start the industrialization of our country and insuring a constant movement toward socialism. . . . An unprecedented unity of our people has been achieved. Over two million bandits have been destroyed—a terrible blow to the remnants of the counter-revolutionary forces. Over an area with a rural population of more than 400,000,000 we have carried out our land reform. The firms owned by bureaucratic capital have been nationalized, and a great mass movement among the people has successfully stamped out China's "five evils"—bribery, tax evasion, etc. Some 65 per cent of our peasantry have already joined cooperatives and other mutual-aid organizations. There are 4,000 producer cooperatives in the country, 2,000 state farms, 10 experimental collective farms, and 2,600 artisan producer cooperatives. Consumer cooperatives have 141,000,000 members.

He then gave a detailed report of trade-union activities, youth organizations, Chinese-Soviet friendship societies, and so on and remarked that the political consciousness of the Chinese people had risen to unprecedented levels. And all this, he said, had been done while "hundreds of thousands of our best sons and daughters have been in the volunteer forces in Korea, where, together with the Korean army, they have pushed the Americans back to the Thirty-eighth Parallel." The moral effect of this struggle against American imperialism, he continued, was to "stimulate the immense work undertaken inside China, strengthen the nation's international position, and create even greater anti-war feeling throughout the world."

It seems obvious that the Korean war acted as a tremendous spur to nationalist activity and that the Chinese government made the most of it in its drive for higher output in all fields. The war, according to Chou En-lai, has also aided the "cleanliness campaign," which has become a "patriotic nation-wide movement," especially after the start of the "bacteriological war"—a curious admission that the "bacterial bombs" served a major Chinese domestic purpose.

Quoting both Stalin and Mao, Chou En-lai stressed that Russia's aid was given in the "common interest," that there was no question of one country being the "satellite" of the other. Nearly three-quarters of China's trade, he said, was now with the Soviet bloc; China did not fear blockades or embargoes—"the others will be the losers." Was this a reference to Hongkong?

A particularly interesting passage in Chou's speech dealt with the new Sino-Mongolian cultural and economic agreement. Together with other references to joint economic planning and development, it tends to confirm what Owen Lattimore wrote in *The Nation* of December 6:

> Russia has now only one line of rail communication with China, through Manchuria. When that is backed by another line through Mongolia, and by a third, still deeper in the heart of the continent, through Central Asia, the whole economic structure of China will be given a right-angled turn away from the coast, the seaports, and international oceanic trade and toward Siberia, Central Asia, and eventual integration into an industrialized Eurasia.

That this program is already being carried out was confirmed, if obliquely, by *Izvestia* on February 13, when it said that in addition to the Chandow-Chungkin and Tienchuy-Langchow railways, "two other major new lines, both of very great importance, are now being built."

MOST SOVIET CITIZENS, as Stalin virtually said to Matsuoka in 1941, feel more at ease, more at home, with "Asians" than with Western Europeans, or even with Czechs and Poles. In fact, in addition to the building up of political solidarity with the Chinese government, everything is being done to stimulate a feeling of human solidarity with the Chinese people. There is a constant exchange of Russian and Chinese students, a constant flow of delegations in both directions.

Chou En-lai

Izvestia recently published four articles about China by Sergei Obrastov, the brilliant director of the Moscow Puppet Theater and a writer of great charm and spontaneity. I will quote one passage:

> The Yangtze rolls on for 3,000 miles, and many a cargo has it carried on its mighty flood. Yet there is one stretch of 350 miles which has caused China great sorrow. In 1930 alone 22,000 people were drowned and 10,000,000 left homeless. . . . But in April, 1952, a whole army of builders came here, and in 75 days they did what had not been done in thousands of years. They built a dyke 200 miles long, two enormous dams, and a reservoir 400 square miles in extent. Five million peasants can now peacefully till their fields; the Yangtze is no longer their enemy.

The Russian reader is inevitably carried away by sympathy for these Chinese who seem so much like his own countrymen in their genius for collective action. In all the stories there is a clear call to think how weak and backward Russia was thirty-five years ago and to imagine what Russia and China together can do in another thirty-five years. But along with the optimism that these vast historical vistas must breed, there must also be a fear that the United States cannot afford to let all this develop according to plan.

The planners of a great industrial Eurasia are therefore understandably reluctant on any account to postpone the building of the Mongolian and Sinkiang railways for even thirty years.

BOOKS

Maritain's Guide to Greatness

A Review by S. Lane Faison, Jr.

CREATIVE INTUITION IN ART AND POETRY. By Jacques Maritain. Bollingen Series XXV-1. Pantheon Books. $6.50.

THOMAS AQUINAS continues to provide Jacques Maritain with a measure for appraising the present and for supplementing the wisdom of the ancients, notably Plato. In this long and carefully reasoned book, developed from the A. W. Mellon Lectures which he gave at the National Gallery of Art a year ago, Maritain discourses upon creative intuition as the mark of genius in art, and uses it as a guide to greatness in poetry and painting, especially in the period between Baudelaire and the contemporary scene.

Maritain's affirmation may be roughly paraphrased, for the most part in his own words. Art is nothing less than a perfection of the soul. It is a virtue, not a moral virtue, but a virtue of the practical intellect. As such, it endows the artisan with a certain perfection of the spirit. Unlike prudence, which is also a virtue of the practical intellect, art is concerned with the good of the work, whereas prudence is concerned with the good of the man. Art, not concerned with the good of the man, pertains to a sphere separate from, and independent of, the sphere of morality. It breaks into human life and human affairs "like a moon prince or a mermaid into a customs office or a congregation; it will always make trouble and arouse suspicion." But art exists in a human being—the artist; and once a man is through, his art is through also. Thus art that feeds merely upon itself is doomed to decay. The intellect (or reason) which plays the principal part in the fine arts is not conceptual, discursive, logical reason, nor even working reason. It is intuitive reason, in the obscure and high regions which are near the center of the soul. As a virtue of the intellect, art demands to communicate with the entire universe of the intellect. Its normal climate is therefore intelligence and knowledge. Worship of ignorance and rudeness by artists is a sign of inner weakness. Aquinas's epistemology, his discussion of the formation of intellectual knowledge, all taking place in man's soul, is upheld by Maritain as still valid, particularly in its application to creative activity. He finds it an indispensable antidote to Plato's concept of a Muse detached and apart from individual human beings.

MARITAIN belongs to the generation of the Cubists. Unlike many philosophers and theologians of his own age, he accepts with enthusiasm the Cubists' contribution. He numbers Braque and Picasso—Cubist phases—among the great. In a footnote of incisive brilliance he deplores the attitude of Hans Sedlmayr, a Viennese art historian recently called to the chair at Munich University, who has attacked the dehumanization of our age of culture in a widely discussed book ("Verlust der Mitte," 1948). "There is no more misleading and unsound genus," Maritain affirms, "than ideological systematization of human history intent on disregarding the essentials of art, and its intrinsic laws of development, for the sake of a so-called cultural diagnosis and prognosis of art as a moral symptom."

On his own supra-moral ground, however, Maritain believes that degeneracy is now with us: ". . . we have also to do today with a particularly unfortunate, and illegitimate, progeny of great contemporary painters—the School of Degradation, I would say—and with the avid followers who mistook Picasso's cruel hieroglyphs for animal frenzy. They have found in his lesson a means of releasing the resentments of a boorish soul and of getting at little cost the admiration of an idiot public. They cling furiously to the human figure, but make it into a putrid foetus or a disintegrated lizard or kangaroo armed with pincers and topped by a stupid eye or a fiendish set of teeth."

Exceptions, unnamed, to the foregoing denunciation are admitted to exist. Even so, I must confess that I probably belong to that idiot public, having found much artistic value in the work of painters of the post-Cubist generation.

TO ANSWER Maritain on his own ground—and it ought to be done—would require philosophical and theological training which I cannot provide. On historical example, however, I reject the likelihood that any generation of artists is utterly inferior to the one which just preceded it. On his own plane of generalization Maritain is illuminating and profound, and he is frequently seized with moments of poetic insight. But the application of general theory to particular case is always subject to the same weakness: the argument no longer applies, and we witness the writer's taste, not his ideas. On an early page Maritain cites a number of painters who give him the feeling "that we are in the presence of an exceptionally great epoch." Note that none of these is younger than the Cubist generation—Cézanne, Rouault, van Gogh, Henri Rousseau, Braque, Chagall, "or, to cite less resounding names, Odilon Redon, Toulouse-Lautrec, Utrillo, La Fresnaye, Jean Hugo, Marin, or Paul Klee." To make such groupings is any man's privilege, but to mention Jean Hugo and Paul Klee in the same breath, and to place Toulouse-Lautrec below Chagall is to indicate a deplorable weakness of critical judgment. In saying this, I am at least no more dogmatic than Maritain himself.

Space prevents the further consideration that I should have wished to make of these matters. It should be added, however, that Maritain's objection to abstract expressionism is as forthright as it is courageous and, I think, mistaken. His ruling principle is that art must be concerned with Things or it is doomed. The reply which occurs to me is perhaps too simple, but I will venture

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S. LANE FAISON, JR., The Nation's art critic, is chairman of the Art Department at Williams College and president of the College Art Association of America.

to make it. Colors are Things, textures are Things, the experience of space is a Thing. Out of these and other Things some of today's non-objective painters fashion their own expressive calligraphy, and construct their own vision. I share Maritain's enthusiasms for the art of the past—meaning, by his own definition, up to about 1930—and I have profited much from reading him; but I find no compulsion to believe that the spiritual bottom has suddenly dropped out.

In reviewing a book of such magnitude and complexity, one must sacrifice synopsis if one is to accomplish anything else. I regret the necessity of merely mentioning Maritain's discussions of poetry; his generous citation of examples of philosophy, poetry, and theology to illuminate his text; the depth of his scholarship; the resonance of his prose; and above all the uncompromising nobility of his conception of art. Another Maritain, born after 1900, might not have slammed the door so irrevocably on our brave new world.

New Books in Brief

The Joys of Detachment

MY HOST THE WORLD. By George Santayana. Scribner's. $3. George Santayana, who died last year in Rome in his eighty-ninth year, published during his lifetime thirty volumes. Now his work has been completed with the publication of this third volume of his autobiography. Most of the book deals with his years in England and finally with his old age in Italy. If detachment is the hall-mark of the true philosopher, then Santayana was one of the greatest. If human sympathy and a deep sense of participation are essential, Santayana hardly ranks high. He had an admirable cosmopolitan education, having been born in the heart of Catholic Old Spain and reared in the heart of Puritan New England, at home in the classics and familiar with the thought of the contemporary world. But the contemporary world did not fascinate him. He became "a sort of hermit, not from fear or horror of mankind, but by sheer preference for peace and obscurity."

Except for Bertrand Russell and his older brother, the second Earl Russell, few persons emerge as living portraits out of these detached and evenly flowing pages. Though they are written with a keen sense of beauty and great lucidity, their very evenness makes them monotonous. They deal with Santayana himself, his thoughts and readings, impressions and judgments. He was never "young," but on the other hand, in all his loneliness, he never grew old. "Nothing is inherently and invincibly young except spirit. And spirit can enter human beings perhaps better in the quiet of old age and dwell there more undisturbed than in the turmoil of adventure." His pleasure grew out of intercourse with places and things rather than with persons, and to these pleasures of an old solitary man, steeped in the whole tradition of the life of reason, the autobiography bears witness.

Moral Ideals and Marxism

GIANT IN CHAINS. By Barrows Dunham. Little, Brown. $3.75. This lively, well-written book considers philosophy "as the theory . . . of deliverance . . . for mankind as a whole." For such a theory to prove valid, the author argues, it must provide affirmative answers to five questions: "Is change real? Is change controllable? Can we have knowledge? Can we know when we have it? Can we know what ought to be done with knowledge?" Examining the major philosophical systems, Professor Dunham finds that Hegelianism supports "order but not change," while pragmatism recognizes "change but not order." Only the Marxian view of the universe, by taking account of the fact that "permanence and change require each other," answers all five questions with a ringing yea. Thus fortified, Professor Dunham advances through a long discussion of the problem of ethics to the conclusion that "the moral ideal is that organization of mankind in which the satisfaction of human needs occurs with complete efficiency."

Plenty of non-Marxians will subscribe to the ideal. The question is: How is

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this desired organization to be achieved? Professor Dunham hints that communism is the answer, and his references to the Soviet Union, oblique as most of them are, suggest that he is infected with William James's "will to believe." In fact, there are times when his philosophical spectacles appear to need adjustment for distance. He sees so plainly "the pressures of organized mythology" at home, so utterly fails to recognize them at longer range.

Sharp Light of Fantasy

THE GOLDEN APPLES OF THE SUN. By Ray Bradbury. Doubleday. $3. Clever, entertaining, sometimes genuinely satiric sketches and stories of science fiction which have excited the admiration of Christopher Isherwood and Angus Wilson among others. By placing his scenes in the realm of fantasy Mr. Bradbury sometimes throws a sharp light on aspects of modern life that conventional fiction hardly touches; but one wishes the level of all his stories was up to that of the best ones.

The Aggressive West

THE WORLD AND THE WEST. By Arnold Toynbee. Oxford. $2. In this brief work, originally presented as radio lectures over B. B. C., Mr. Toynbee reminds us that in the centuries-old encounter between the World and the West it is the West that has been the aggressor. Russia, he points out, has been invaded from Europe five times in the last 350 years; Islam, after its defeat before Vienna, was rolled back and pulverized; India became the victim of imperialist conquest; China and Japan were jolted out of their seclusion.

Superior technology has been the West's weapon, and to meet its challenge Russia, China, and other countries are making forced marches to catch up. As they do so the conflict moves from a technical to an ideological plane, with the World turning against the West the spiritual weapons it has borrowed—the idea of nationalism and the Western heresy of communism, "the product of uneasy Western consciences." What will be the dénouement of this struggle? One possibility, Mr. Toynbee suggests hopefully, is the attainment of the kind of balance that existed in the second century A. D. between the power of Rome and that of the Hellenized Eastern empires. The peaceful interlude that followed gave an opportunity for new religions, preaching the ideal of fraternity, to conquer the conquerors.

Needless to say, Mr. Toynbee sets forth this thesis with the lucid erudition for which he is famous. But one wonders if he has not oversimplified by treating Russia as wholly non-Western: after all, from an Asiatic point of view Russia has long been moving aggressively eastward. Moreover, for this reviewer, Mr. Toynbee's mildly cheerful conclusion was invalidated by the thought that what Christianity brought the Roman world was "not peace but a sword."

Lands of Poverty

WORLD WITHOUT END. By Emil Lengyel. John Day. $5. The story of the Middle East—its geography, people, history, and politics. The Poorhouse of the World with an average per capita annual income of between $50 and $100 and a life expectancy less than half of ours, this is a natural breeding ground for communism. Oil revenues amounting to nearly half a billion dollars a year are, so to speak, the deuces wild that make the outcome of the game even more unpredictable. A useful book for the layman who craves information about one of the most unsettled regions of the present world and wants his facts in simple and readable language.

Genius Tipped with Venom

THE MAN WHISTLER. By Hesketh Pearson. Harper. $3.75. Whistler is almost too good a subject. Retell the anecdotes, quote the wisecracks, and there is not room for much more in a shortish biographical essay. At any rate Mr. Pearson, whose very readable biographies of Shaw, Wilde, Disraeli, and others are well known, has not put much more into this almost too easily read book. Art criticism is definitely avoided, and though there are some rather perfunctory attempts to explain Whistler's truculence as the defense reaction of a man who knew that he was doomed to be misunderstood, they do not get very far. Yet there are less obvious problems that it might be interesting to discuss. Why is it that Wilde, who is supposed to have imitated him, nevertheless gives the impression that there is less malice than good humor and pure fun in even his most cutting remarks, while Whistler seemed to want to wound? And what, one wonders, does it mean that not only Whistler and Wilde but also a whole race of malicious dandified wits do nevertheless have recognizable traits in common? Of the two it was Whistler whose screaming, posturing extravagance most strongly suggests one familiar type of homosexual. Yet so far as the evidence goes or anything Mr. Pearson suggests he was sexually quite normal after the bohemian fashion.

English Panorama

THE GREEN MAN. By Storm Jameson. Harper. $3.95. This is one of those large, wandering panoramic novels, somewhat reminiscent of Galsworthy, about the changes in English life during the years 1930-1950. Accomplished, traditional in tone, pleasant to read, and finally rather disappointing as the literary record of a unique and civilized form of social revolution, it accomplishes just about what it set out to do—but not what might have been done with this theme.

Gaudy Rascals

THE LEGENDARY MIZNERS. By Alva Johnston. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.75. Readers of the profiles of Addison and Wilson Mizner in the *New Yorker* will be pleased to know that these engaging articles have been brought together and put between covers. Addison, the more substantial and less rascally of the two brothers, inventor of what was known in the nineteen twenties as the Bastard-Spanish-Moorish - Romanesque - Gothic - Renaissance - Bull - Market - Damn - the - Expense style of architecture, wallowed at Palm Beach for a time in millionaire clients, some of them as flamboyantly mad as himself. Never has the gaudy tale of the Florida boom and bust been more amusingly told. Wilson was "fundamentally a confidence man whom circumstances occasionally induced to go straight." Among his more legitimate occupations were dealing faro in the Klondike, running a shady hotel in New York, managing prize fighters, and serving as treasurer of the Mizner Corporation which launched Boca Raton. What should have been his most successful coup, his marriage to the widow of Charles T. Yerkes, the traction magnate, seems to have netted him next to nothing. Prodigal of quips, he is today most often remembered for his immortal question "How do they know?" when told that Coolidge was dead. A rambling but delightful book.

Prague Since 1948

ANATOMY OF A SATELLITE. By Dana Adams Schmidt. Little, Brown. $5. A highly competent account of life in Communist Czechoslovakia by a New York *Times* correspondent who spent thirteen months in the country. Perhaps the best study yet published on the techniques used by the Communists to seize and hold power in a country with a profound democratic tradition. One will find in this volume not only the stories of Benes's surrender, Masaryk's death, and the Red putsch of 1948 but also an analysis of the methods used to control education, Russify culture, regiment labor, collectivize agriculture, and remilitarize the nation. Though both Gottwald and Slansky are now dead, Mr. Schmidt's detailed study of their fearsome struggle supplies a provocative explanation of new currents in the satellite world. Among the many virtues of this book are the author's reliance on Communist rather than hostile émigré sources, his word of caution to the West not to underestimate the economic achievements of communism, and finally his warning against loose talk of "liberating the enslaved peoples."

Native Chronicles

A MIRROR FOR AMERICANS. Vol. I, Life in the East; Vol. II, The Cotton Kingdom; Vol. III, The Frontier Moves West. Compiled and Edited by Warren S. Tryon. Chicago. $5 Each Volume or $14.50 the Set Boxed. Long before John Gunther, "inside America" was a favorite theme, and while many of the best-known works of this genre were by Europeans, there were plenty of American travelers with an itch to communicate. Believing that these native chronicles have been unduly neglected, Professor Tryon has compiled samples so as to illustrate life and manners in the United States between 1790 and 1870.

In these volumes we can find Southern views on the North, Northern observations about the South, Eastern comments on the still wild West, and even a few Western jeers at the effeminate East. Some of the excerpts are taken from books by such well-known authors as Horace Greeley, George Catlin the painter of Indians, Bayard Taylor, and Frederick Law Olmsted, an early contributor to *The Nation.* Others, and not the least interesting, are by men and women long forgotten. Many contemporary illustrations add to the value of this beautifully produced work.

Report on Israel

ISRAEL. By Norman Bentwich. McGraw-Hill. $3.75. Israel's story from the period of the mandate through 1952, told with grace, lucidity, and considerable objectivity. Mr. Bentwich discusses the terrain of Israel, the form of government, the mixed economy which prevails, the life of minority groups, and the objectives of the founders. While frankly pro-Israel, he does not hesitate to point out where accomplishments fail to live up to promises. He is particularly emphatic on the importance of establishing equal freedom and opportunity for the Arabs in Israel. But taken as a whole, the picture he paints is one of a dynamic people, committed to the democratic way of life and with a creative aspiration, and a good deal of achievement, in the field of culture.

An Amusing Life

THE LIFE AND ACTIVITIES OF SIR JOHN HAWKINS. MUSICIAN, MAGISTRATE AND FRIEND OF JOHNSON. By Percy A. Scholes. Oxford. $7. To the one person in ten to whom the name Sir John Hawkins means anything at all it means "a most *unclubable* man"—as Samuel Johnson called him. Other contemporaries tagged him with even more uncomplimentary phrases, but he did have the singular bad luck, first, to publish a three-thousand-page history of music almost simultaneously with Dr. Burney's much more popular one and then to write a biography of Dr. Johnson which came out only a few years before Boswell's swept it off the shelves. This entertaining life by the distinguished musicologist has much the same virtues as the author's much longer life of Burney published a few years ago. Hawkins's daughter kept a journal full of odd incidents, and Dr. Scholes has a wide antiquarian's knowledge of eighteenth century byways. Almost anything—the introduction of the Lombardy poplar into England, for instance—is likely to turn up and to be presented with humor. There are handsomely reproduced portraits of Hawkins and others.

Films

Manny Farber

IN EARLIER days Director Robert Wise revealed an interesting talent for working with dispiriting situations, keeping the story of their progress mounting to a maddening climax. He made a number of "sleepers" in this vein, so called because they had somehow turned out to be believable, skilful feature films, though made on little more than it now costs to feed the lions in "The Greatest Show on Earth." These films are evidence that it is quite possible to make movies on less money and more skill. Wise learned movie-making by working in various jobs on the lot; he edited some Lewton-produced horror films and directed "The Set Up." So it is somewhat disturbing to find that he, like some other artists who started out on good "sleepers," has progressed to making rather pointless "A" pictures.

His new film, "Destination Gobi," is such a step in the wrong direction. But while it is not first class, it is a workman-like job of film-making that flows like sand in an eggtimer and has some funny situations and adequate settings. It is an adventure story with Richard Widmark, in a customary frenzied role, establishing a weather station in the Gobi Desert. Its best quality is its rugged visualization of an eight-hundred-mile trek through enemy soldiers and suspicious Mongols, to the accompaniment of thirst, hunger, and all the usual trappings of a "never say die" movie. Well composed out of a succession of panoramic shots and fast action scenes, the film suffers from Wise's loss of contact with realism in acting. The characters of the weather observers are bombastic or comic swaggerers, and the Mongolian horsemen act like Western movie regulars.

Another director who has overreached his earlier talents is Alfred Hitchcock. As a movie pioneer, Hitchcock introduced imaginative sounds, fine character effects, and fleet economy. He brought you an everyday world that was as real as it was ominous ("The 39 Steps"). However, Hitchcock's new melodrama, "I Confess," has negated the realism to settle for the "effects." His mystery story is peopled with familiar suspense-film types—a sadistic detective, a suave prosecutor, an amoral scoundrel with a tidy but vapid wife—and laid among the crooked, elevated streets of Quebec. It does get a certain dramatic punch through the sensitive underplaying of Montgomery Clift as a young priest who, learning the identity of a murderer in the confessional booth, plays the remainder of the picture with sad compassion and locked lips. With a line like "We can do nothing," he spreads his hands with a quiet weariness that expresses the feeling of people caught in a rotten jam. For the most part, "I Confess" is a problemless piece of stagecraft in which the suspense, except for a quick twist at the end, is just so much decoration.

In the American spectacle class, frontiers division, "The President's Lady" is a studiously dull picture about wild young Andrew Jackson and the trouble he had with the divorce laws of his time. It is a triumph of histrionics over history, starring Charlton Heston and Susan Hayward. The only real contributions were made by an over-particular set designer, and by Leo Tover, director of photography.

Howard Hughes's "Angel Face" is a congested thriller that kills off all its actors with modern sports cars. Unlike many of Hughes's hard-working murder films, this one is too often verbal instead of visual, with a lot of time spent in a dimly lit boudoir where Robert Mitchum and Jean Simmons mutter forlornly and wear dressing gowns.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

COLUMBIA'S new Modern American Music Series is a program for recording modern American chamber music selected by a composers' committee comprising Virgil Thomson as chairman, Aaron Copland, William Schuman, Henry Cowell, and Goddard Lieberson, executive vice-president of Columbia. Six records have been issued with the first group of works that the committee considers representative of "American music at its most distinguished and beautiful": Copland's Sextet for string quartet, clarinet, and piano (1937), originally his Short Symphony (1933), and Ellis Kohs's Chamber Concerto for viola and string nonet (1949) on ML 4492; Thomson's Stabat Mater for soprano and string quartet (1932) and "Capitals, Capitals" for four male singers and piano (1927), and Lou Harrison's Suite for cello and harp and Suite No. 2 for string quartet (1948) on ML 4491; Schuman's String Quartet No. 4 (1950) and Ingolf Dahl's Concerto a tre for clarinet, violin, and cello (1947) on ML 4493; Douglas Moore's Quintet for clarinet and strings (1946), and Wallingford Riegger's String Quartet No. 2 (1948) on ML 4494; Walter Piston's Sonatina for violin and harpsichord (1945), and John Cage's String Quartet (1950) on ML 4495; and Charles Ives's Piano Sonata No. 1 (1902-1909) on ML 4490. The works were recorded under their composers' supervision by the Juilliard and New Music Quartets, Schneider and Kirkpatrick, Jennie Tourel, and a number of other excellent musicians.

In most of these works I hear the ability to fill out time with musical sounds—if only by setting a rhythmic figure going and keeping it rattling along for the number of minutes required by an allegro movement (Copland, Piston, Moore). But I don't hear anything I would call beautiful (though the second movement of the Moore Quintet is rather pretty), or distinguished, or moving as musical communication, or impressive even as musical construction. On the contrary, apart from the precisely contrived delicacies of sonority and melody in the Harrison Suite for harp and cello, much of the writing is for me in varying degrees unpleasant in sound (Schuman, Dahl, Riegger, Kohs); some of it conveys no coherent musical sense to me (Schuman, Dahl, Riegger, Kohs); and some of the incoherent writing seems to me the product of extreme eccentricity of mind (Ives, Cage).

I should add that the Copland and Thomson pieces disappointed expectations based on my experiences of other works by these composers. Copland's Sextet is spoken of as one of his major works; but to me its frenetic manipulation of jagged motifs in the fast movements and its forced, distorted lyricism in the slow movement are unattractive and unimpressive. Thomson's Stabat Mater is written in a French vocal style that I don't care for even in the original. And his "Capitals, Capitals" is like a preliminary try-out of the method of setting Gertrude Stein words that he used with such delightful results in his operas—a try-out in which the words and their musical treatment in vocal recitative and piano comment haven't enough variety and richness to hold interest for more than two or three of the work's twenty minutes.

Copland's Sextet belongs to a period when he was writing that kind of music. One of the enjoyable works of the period that followed, his score for the Ballet "Rodeo," has been recorded by a Ballet Theater orchestra under the direction of Ballet Theater's conductor, Joseph Levine (Capitol); and except for the opening Buckaroo Holiday, which is too long and uninteresting without the dancing, it is a pleasure to hear. The performance is good. On the same record is a raucous performance of Leonard Bernstein's brash score for "Fancy Free," which also is too long without the dancing.

Mozart's Sonatas K.454 and 481 for piano and violin—works notable for their beautiful slow movements—have been recorded by Charles Rosen and Reinhold Peters (London); and what makes the performances painful to listen to is Peters's violin-playing, which is extraordinarily unpleasant in sound and pedestrian in phrasing and style. Rosen's playing, on the other hand, has its characteristic vitality; but it comes off the record dull in sound and heavily percussive. And one hears in the joint performances nothing of the ensemble subtleties and perfections that were so delightful in the Solti-Kulenkampff performance of K.454 which London issued on 78 a few years ago, and that are carried to sheer incandescence in the Kraus-Goldberg performance of K.481 on the Decca LP.

Beethoven's Quartets Opus 18 Nos. 1 and 2—the first a more engaging early work than the second—are played very beautifully by the Paganini Quartet (RCA Victor); and the recorded sound of the performances is warm and natural, and more agreeable to the ear than the cold, hard sound of the recent Budapest Quartet performances.

Art Notes

JOSEPH GLASCO's third one-man show is a collection of strongly expressionist paintings, sculpture, and drawings. His "landscape-heads" are a curious fusion of featureless portraits and landscapes that are superimposed on either the head or torso of his subjects. Rich colors and textures play an important role.—*Viviano to April 18.*

FREDDY HOMBURGER, doctor and scientist, is having his first one-man show. He is the doctor who treated Raoul Dufy, and he has always enjoyed painting as an avocation. He works in gouache, and his water colors are scenes of Mexico, the Maine Coast, Zurich and Paris.—*Carstairs to April 18.*

LOUIS EVAN is having his second one-man show of subtly colored semi-abstractions based on city scenes.—*A. F. I. to April 30.*

LOUISE BOURGEOIS exhibits twenty black-and-white drawings that are studies for her sculptures. There are also three life-size figures done in a narrow, elongated, semi-abstract style. —*Peridot to April 25.*

MARK BAUM has exhibited in several one-man and group shows. His new oils, done in a stark realistic manner, portray coal-mining scenes in Pennsylvania.—*Salpeter to April 18.*

JOHN WHORF, popular Academician, is showing a group of water colors—sporting scenes, marines, and landscapes of Maine. His colors are bright and transparent; his style is traditional.—*Milch to April 25.*

Letters

Boston Liked "Limelight"

Dear Sirs: In your issue of March 21 William Murray discussed the treatment of Charlie Chaplin's "Limelight" by those who are opposed to its being shown. I should like to suggest that the situation is not quite so bad as he portrayed it, although it certainly is appalling. Mr. Murray could not be expected to mention every city where "Limelight" was or was not shown, but he mentions no city where it had a really successful run. In Boston, "Limelight" played at only one theater, which I believe is independent, but it remained there for some seven or eight weeks, with houses ranging from good to packed. . . .

Brookline, Mass. MARK MICHELSON

The Harrison Affair

Dear Sirs: It was with great interest that I read Nearly Everybody Swears in Harrison, which appeared in your February 21 issue. David Clinton, a Harrison commuter, correctly states that action has been instituted before the New York State Commissioner of Education to compel the rescission of the oath required. I am the attorney for the citizens of Harrison who instituted this proceeding, and we are now awaiting an oral hearing before the Commissioner on a date to be fixed by him. Mr. Clinton is incorrect, however, in his statement that New York's Feinberg law requires all teachers to sign a loyalty oath or, as I prefer to call it, a non-disloyalty oath. The law itself and the regulations issued by the Board of Regents and the Commissioner of Education explicitly provide how it is to be enforced—and nowhere is there any requirement of an oath by teachers, or other school employees, or any other persons. . . .

New York PAUL BAUMAN

Soliloquy on Soliloquy

Dear Sirs: Melvin H. Bernstein's Soliloquy (*The Nation*, February 28) on the sad plight of college professors brought no tears to my eyes. During my own four years of college I saw too many of the spineless creatures parading as intellectual giants. They droned, they bored, they threatened with D's and F's those who did not agree,

ART

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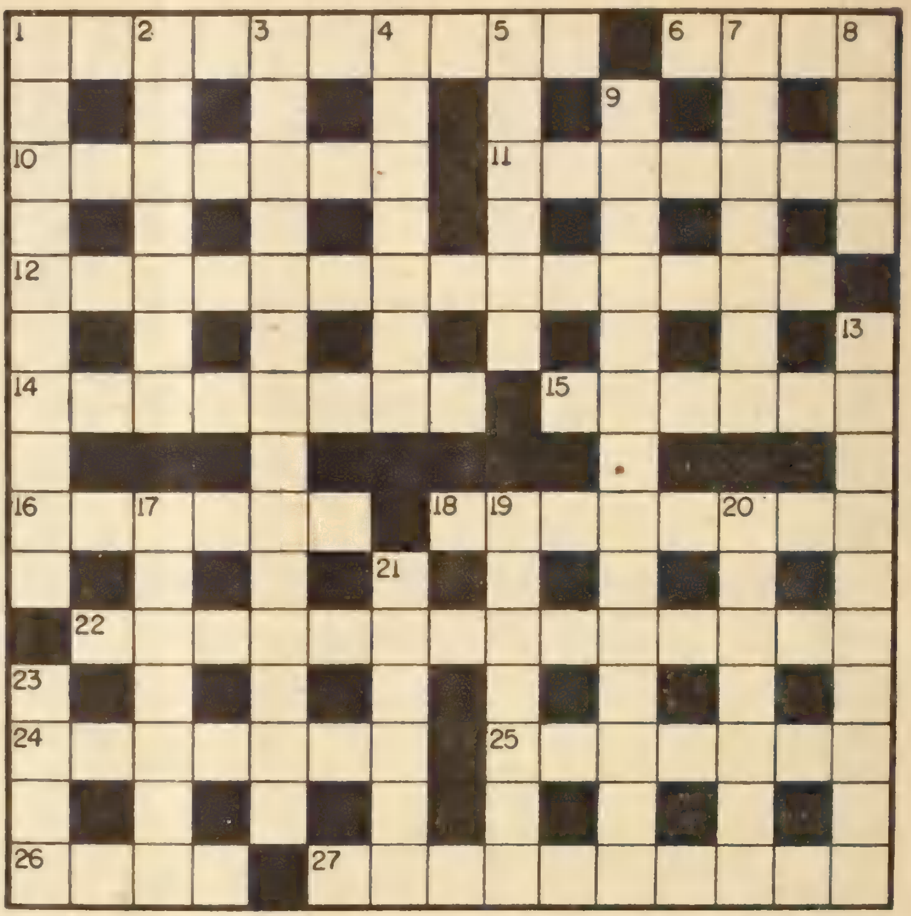
BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 What does a railroad inspector do? Obliges. (10)
6 The area of 18 is not included in this shoal. (4)
10 No weapons, hence not dangerous if you 18 it. (7)
11 This isn't how to make an outburst in spirited vein! (7)
12 Star performer in the Civil War and World War II. (7, 7)
14 Proper in Scotland, but in Germany, English want to return the latter. (8)
15 and 23 down. Spreads part of the body out in stellar regions, perhaps. (5, 5)
16 Change ringing on a bell's names? (6)
18 How to make a snake angry? (Not exactly hiss, however.) (8)
22 Responsible for the upkeep of dress rather than undress uniform. (8, 6)
24 A bar, for example, near 22. (7)
25 Not held by the amateur model, the way one might suggest. (7)
26 Backbones for a clue? It's only fair. (2-2)
27 Enduring and relative, in a way, when confined around it. (10)

DOWN

1 One way to make the first one killed inconstant. (10)
2 What belongs to me is in a bad one, put up for something. (7)
3 Land of fire—you might extract ore, if regulated. (6, 3, 5)
4 Pardon for the unsolitary 20, to get an answer as well. (7)
5 Through sound reasoning, they suggest the nose of a horse, rather than its eyes. (6)
7 This sort of crop is a very ordinary one. (7)
8 Is it a row that makes the score equal? (4)
9 Is economy in them wise and s. o. p. in pro patria? (14)
13 The sort of mess to agree about, even if we don't agree with the official one. (10)
17 You might confuse these in the degree of orders. (7)
19 A form of the verb of 27—one might be 24. (7)
20 Seafood for the solitary mariner? (7)
21 Notice this place? (You could form an attachment thus.) (6)
23 See 15 across.

• ✻ •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 510

ACROSS:—1 PICKWICK PAPERS; 9 ERMINED; 10 OSMANLI; 11 SCRUFF; 12 INVADING; 14 CALORIC; 15 PARMA; 17 TERMS; 19 SHAMPOO; 21 DISAVOWS; 23 CRETAN; 25 GRIEVED; 26 MALTESE; 27 WINDOW SHOPPING.

DOWN:—1 PEEP SIGHT; 2 CAMBRIC; 3 WINDFALLS; 4 CODE; 5 PHOENICIAN; 6 PEMBA; 7 RENTIER; 13 GRASS WIDOW; 15 PAPER CLIP; 16 ALBAN BERG; 18 ROSSINI; 20 and 8 OF THEE I SING; 21 DOGS; 22 VIVID; 24 AMAH.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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they remained aloof, they could not combine ideality with reality. Are these the men that the population must rescue from witch-hunting?

I can count on my two hands the professors I knew who would stand up and fight in the face of opposition. They were strong men, morally and mentally. They were fair in their criticism and grading. For this type of man I will fight to the bitter end.

Were I a teacher threatened with such tactics as Mr. Bernstein outlines, I would say: "To hell with McCarthy and his fascist witch-hunters!" I would rather starve to death than know that I was a coward who had to cry to the people: "Save me! Save me! The Big Bad Wolf is coming."

Houston, Tex. BILL STALNAKER

Sinnott Misquoted

Dear Sirs: I was about halfway through Edmund W. Sinnott's "Two Ways to Truth" when the February 21 issue of *The Nation* arrived with its new book section. I was quite startled by the statement attributed to Sinnott: "The brotherhood of man will come only if the fatherhood of God is recognized. Moral problems will never be solved unless they are treated as part of the structure of the universe." It did not sound like Mr. Sinnott. However, I continued to read "Two Ways to Truth" and today came upon the source of your reviewer's quotation. Actually it is not Mr. Sinnott speaking but a hypothetical "Christian moralist.". . .

DONNA M. DICKINSON
Los Alamos, N. M.

[Our reviewer can only plead guilty, and apologize for his carelessness. In casting back through the book for a sentence or two which would illustrate what seemed to him a certain weakness in the final chapters, he failed to notice the cautionary phrase at the beginning of the paragraph from which he quoted.
—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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THE *Nation*

April 18, 1953
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Formula for Peace

Alan Barth

Congress on the Campus

Mr. Dulles's Balloon — *Freda Kirchwey*

Wheat Will Vote — *Gordon Roth*

Politics Versus Science — *Bruce Catton*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Letters

Anna Louise Strong Discusses Stalin's "Heir"

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importance of the issue cannot be exaggerated, a grave danger exists that ill-considered amendments will be rushed through Congress before the public can be informed of what is at stake. "Decades hence," comments the *Journal of Commerce,* "when historians look back on that strange year 1953, they may well decide that its most decisive events did not develop from Korea, from Moscow, or the United Nations . . . but from the brief announcement of the Atomic Energy Commission early in April that it was preparing to recommend conditions under which private industry might participate directly in the harnessing of the atom." To inform its readers on this crucial issue *The Nation* has asked Leland Olds, former member of the Federal Power Commission and one of the country's outstanding authorities on national power policies, to prepare a series of articles dealing with major aspects of the new struggle for control of atomic power.

John Hancock: Traduced by His Heirs

The John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company has notified the Community Church of Boston that it cannot permit the church to hold its services in the auditorium of the company's building any longer, since Fulton Lewis, Jr., does not approve of the speakers it has sponsored. In the thirty years of its existence the Community church, congregational in polity, non-sectarian in form, has provided one of the best platforms for liberal social and religious thinking in the nation. While Boston has perhaps not indorsed every speaker who has appeared on this platform, no objections have been raised, nor has the church's right to lease any quarters it desired ever been questioned before. "It is strange," comments the Harvard *Crimson,* "that a company so proud of its heritage"—it boasts of John Hancock's ideals in full-page advertisements—"should suddenly forget America was weaned and strengthened on dissent and ideas. It probably wouldn't take too many letters to remind the company of the principles of John Hancock. The lease runs out in May, and can still be renewed." Or perhaps the directors will decide to change the corporate name to the Fulton Lewis, Jr., Mutual Life Insurance Company. In any case, Mr. Paul Clark is president of the company, and the address is 200 Berkeley Street, Boston 16.

Dulles vs. Bricker

Merlo J. Pusey's article, Hog-Tying Our Treaty Makers, which appeared in our April 4 issue, presented a lucid analysis of the Bricker amendment and its dangers. As the Senate hearings have since shown, more is involved than the efficient conduct of our foreign affairs or the familiar hassle between the legislative and executive branches. What is invidious is the challenge, implicit in the amendment, to federal power by the incorrigible states' righters. And it is precisely on this front that Secretary Dulles, in his laudable opposition to the amendment, has chosen to give ground. Thus when he promised the amendments' advocates that he would not push for ratification of the genocide convention, he was simply reassuring the Southern bloc that the Negro problem would never be permitted to reach the United Nations. His disavowal of support for the women's-rights and human-rights conventions was similarly motivated; both agreements, if implemented, could effect an invasion of what certain states continue to regard as their inviolable rights.

But if in certain respects Dulles is putting on a bad show, he is doing so in a good cause. Nothing could be more abhorrent to the cause of peace than to subject our foreign relations—NATO, the mutual-security programs, the United Nations, the delicate Korea negotiations—to the vagaries of Congressional politics. As Mr. Pusey pointed out, there is nothing in our traditional methods of handling foreign affairs which infringes on the rights of the Legislative branch. The Bricker amendment would add only confusion, inefficiency, and McCarthyism.

Duarte's Death

For the first time since his seizure of power Perón of Argentina faces opposition from both the army and the trade unions. There have been several occasions when one of these two pillars of his rule became shaky, but Perón was always able to depend upon the support of the other. This time army dissatisfaction has gone so far that observers consider quite plausible the rumored withdrawal from the Cabinet of the Ministers of the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and National Defense. At the same time disaffection within the pro-Perón Confederation of Labor has been shown in demonstrations and protests by individual unions. The severe meat shortage, in a country where even the ordinary worker has always been able to count upon an ample supply of beef, and the increasing costs of living, are the most important causes of labor unrest.

Buenos Aires is filled with rumors, of which the most insistent concerns the death of Juan Duarte, Eva's brother and, until his resignation just before he died, the President's secretary and confidential adviser. Officially Duarte died of a bullet fired by himself in a gesture of sublime devotion to Perón and of protest against the campaign linking the three names—Perón, Eva, and Duarte—in financial irregularities. But hearsay points to murder rather than suicide. Duarte is supposed to have been the victim of powerful political gangsters, close to or within the regime, who feared exposure.

Perón is trying hard to reestablish his authority. But the present situation could well end with the army taking over from him the powers that he originally took from the army.

Mr. Dulles's Balloon

WHAT WAS Mr. Dulles up to in his "background" report to reporters of the sort of settlement the Administration will try for in Korea, Formosa, and Indo-China? Was he revealing a serious proposal—representing policy, even tentative policy? If so, nothing could have been more reckless and inept. Regardless of the merits of the plan, its public exposure in advance of diplomatic talks or of consultations with fellow-members of the U. N. would surely finish it, as exposure kills a premature infant. An experienced official of a major power engaged in negotiations with a wary foe simply does not dish out the terms of a proposed settlement under cover of anonymity—a short-lived anonymity in this case—to a group of news men. Everything was wrong about it.

So we must assume the Secretary of State was merely sending up a trial balloon to test the breezes of opinion from East and West. If this is so, recklessness becomes sheer irresponsibility. Filled with inflammable gases, the thing was bound to explode in his face. It took only a few reactions from the Asia First boys in Congress and from the official representatives of Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee, a few expressions of wonder and wild surmise from friends in the U. N., and a denial catapulted out of the White House: "The reported Administration policy on Formosa and Korea is without foundation of fact."

But as always in such episodes the denial itself was damaging to all concerned. Newspapers and broadcasting companies refused to be left holding an empty balloon. Reporters who were present at the briefing loyally talked all around the central fact; those who were not promptly named Mr. Dulles as the informant. The Administration was revealed as untruthful and tricky at best; hopelessly divided if the Secretary of State had spoken seriously. And besides, the original content of the balloon is still in the air spreading suspicions, questions, and expectations which will plague the negotiators when they start serious talks after the exchange of disabled prisoners. For the terms, first divulged and then repudiated, may in fact represent the recent thinking of the Administration on a Far Eastern settlement. Or they may not.

Perhaps they had better be summarized here, along with a few of the questions they raise.

1. Division of the Korean peninsula at its narrowest part, some ninety miles north of the present line of battle. (But what about the paragraph in the draft agreement saying that the actual line of contact at the time the armistice is declared shall be the demarcation line? And, looking further ahead, what about the unification of Korea, agreed to by the U. N.?)

2. A United Nations trusteeship for Formosa, with an independent republic as the ultimate goal. (No re-

conquest of the Chinese mainland by the Generalissimo? And what about the Cairo convention?)

3. A settlement of the war in Indo-China based upon an agreement that Peking will quit sending arms to Ho Chi-minh and that France will grant self-rule to Indo-China. (But who will determine which side will control the country once the French leave and the fighting ends?)

WHATEVER its origin or purpose, Mr. Dulles's maneuver may have loosened his hold on his job. Not only was his prestige dented by the White House denial, but his plan has been implicitly turned down by an equally potent Republican leader. Robert A. Taft says he is against any settlement that divides Korea. Whether he wants the war to go on until the North is conquered he prudently does not say. Taft is also reported to be annoyed with the White House and with the crossed wires between there and the State Department. In view of all this, John O'Donnell, writing in the New York *Daily News,* has revived the idea that Governor Dewey may be scheduled to replace Secretary Dulles, "not tomorrow morning or next week but in the foreseeable future."

One is tempted to believe that anything would be better than the backing and filling, zigging and zagging, that serves as a foreign policy in these days of solemn decision. Governor Dewey is at least an administrator. But let's not jump too fast. On the Far East, Dewey strongly supports a policy to defeat communism through a military alliance of all "free" Asia. Like Taft he is against a division of Korea: he wants it in one piece, presumably under Syngman Rhee or his successor. He is probably less willing to make a political settlement with the Communist governments than is Dulles. This is a time when a shifting foreign policy, however dangerous, may yet be safer than one that is consistently, rigidly tough.

What is badly needed in Washington is flexibility combined with a coherent, realistic picture of the world we intend to bargain for. That there is no such picture in the minds of the policy makers is evident. The Washington *Post* remarked last week: "In addition to talking about a new boundary in Korea, Mr. X [that is, Mr. Dulles] at the aforesaid meeting is reported to have expressed a hope that the civil war in Korea and Indo-China would end and that the civil war between the two China's would go on!" As the *Post* further pointed out, a "disengagement in Korea requires an agreement with the Peking government"—but just how we can reach an agreement with Mao on Korea while we are still committed to the larger project of helping Chiang, or all "free" Asia, overthrow Mao, neither Mr. Dulles nor any other official—Governor Dewey included—has explained. General Van Fleet at least makes sense, though of a bloody sort.

FREDA KIRCHWEY

POLITICS VS. SCIENCE

The Weeks-Astin Fight . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

SOMETIMES you can tell what they are after by what they say. More often you have to wait and see what they do. Once in a while, however, words and actions together wing straight for the target, and when that happens you can really get a line on what is going on down here. It is likely to make you want to run for the cyclone cellar.

Consider, for example, the curious case of Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, known to his intimates as "Sinny." Mr. Weeks has been complaining about the way in which government red tape can tie the hands of a good administrator who wants to do the right thing. "In private industry," he said recently in a speech at Palm Beach, "an executive gives an order for an improvement in service and—swish—it is carried out. But a business executive in the federal government cannot move as promptly. He is beset by red tape, conflicting authority, legislative commitments, unpaid bills, deficits, and segments of bureaucracy which frequently hamper efficient and swift action. So be patient if the new Administration does not bring the millennium before midnight."

Shortly afterward Secretary Weeks collided head-on with a segment of the bureaucracy known as the National Bureau of Standards. At the request of two government agencies concerned with protection of the public the bureau had made a number of tests on what are known as battery additives—chemical preparations which, added to an automobile battery, are supposed to provide rejuvenation and a longer life. It reported that the preparations it had tested were not worth very much, whereupon the manufacturer of one of them made a vigorous protest, asserting that his business was suffering because of the unjustified meddling of a stuffy government agency.

Secretary Weeks listened to the protest, issued an order, and—swish—the

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BRUCE CATTON is a contributing editor of The Nation.

order was executed. So was the director of the bureau, Dr. Allen V. Astin, a Republican and a distinguished American scientist. Dr. Astin's resignation was offered and accepted, and a new top-level job was open for the Eisenhower Administration to fill.

IT MAY SEEM that nothing more is involved here than a row between a department head and a subordinate. Under the surface, however, a full-arm swing has been taken at one of the basic concepts of modern government—the idea that scientific research must be divorced from political control, that a government scientific agency calls its shots as it sees them, that government is concerned with protecting the consumer and taxpayer as well as the profits of business men.

The actual value of the particular battery additive in question is a secondary consideration. By this time there are so many scientific reports fluttering about—so many claims and counterclaims about how the additives were tested, who tested them, and what the tests really mean—that the layman can hardly hope to decide who is right and who is wrong. What is important is the catastrophic effect of the row on the Bureau of Standards itself.

For fifty-two years—its entire existence—the Bureau of Standards has been free from interference. No Administration, until now, has played politics with it. Dr. Astin has been on its staff for twenty years. In 1940 he began to play a prominent part in the bureau's work in developing the famous proximity fuse; later he was chief of the Ordnance Development Division and then associate director in charge of the Ordnance Development, Missile, Electricity, and Electronics Bureau. He became director in June, 1952, succeeding Dr. Edward U. Condon, who resigned to enter private industry.

THE BUREAU'S big job is research and development, and in recent years about 85 per cent of its work has been for defense. It started the A-bomb research and pioneered in guided missiles. About 1 per cent of its time is given to testing processes and materials. It does not do this work for private organizations or citizens but at the request of other government agencies, and their reliance on the scientific accuracy and complete disinterestedness of its judgments is a matter of very great importance. In this work the bureau has no regulatory powers whatever. It is solely a fact-finding agency, and the truth of its findings may save millions of dollars to consumers and taxpayers.

Many government agencies which do have regulatory powers depend on government laboratories for objective tests. If the Federal Trade Commission, for example, carrying out the Congressional mandate to keep advertising claims about manufactured products relatively factual, wants to know whether those products actually do what the manufacturers say they do, it goes to the Bureau of Standards to find out. If the Post Office wants to institute a fraud proceeding, it relies on tests made by the bureau. The whole structure of specifications on which the government bid system rests is based on the bureau's research.

When Secretary Weeks undertook to tell the Senate Small Business Committee why he was removing Dr. Astin, he complained sharply that the bureau had "by its very set-up the power to make the introduction of a new product on the market very difficult, to prevent a product's being advertised by the Federal Trade Commission, and to have people labeled 'fraud' and denied the use of the mails." The Secretary went on to say that this was all very well if the bureau used its power wisely and objectively, but the trouble was that "they discount entirely the play of the market place."

Now it is of course obvious that the one thing that the Bureau of Standards, by its very nature, is *not* supposed to have anything whatever to do with is "the play of the market place." Once it gears its operations to that, it loses its value. For half a century it has operated on the principle that its function is to look beyond the play of the market place and provide other government agencies with the sober facts. If this is now to be changed, any attempt to enforce a fraud order, to end misrepresentation in advertising, or for that matter to make certain that the concrete which the government buys for its big dams and power plants is up to standard will be met with the simple question: "Well, are they selling the stuff?" If they are, the play of the market place is working, and that presumably is that.

Ever since he took office Mr. Weeks has been contending that the Eisenhower Administration's effort to put its policies into practice has been hampered by officials held over from the previous Administration. He has referred to such men as "dead wood and poison oak," spoken bitterly of "road blocks" and "booby traps" left by the Trumanites. He has assured his listeners that the situation in Washington is worse than even the Republicans had supposed and that there are "Trojan horses" which must be replaced.

IN VIEW OF all of this talk a glance at Mr. Weeks's own bailiwick, the Department of Commerce, may be in order. The first thing that strikes the eye is that it is very largely composed not of policy-making people but of agencies which have wholly non-political jobs to do. It includes, for instance, the Patent Office, the Weather Bureau, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Bureau of Standards, the Civil Aeronautics Administration, the Maritime Administration, and the Bureau of Public Roads. Still, you never know where a Trojan horse, all garlanded with poison oak, is going to turn up. There was Dr. Astin, for example—swish; and there was Thomas H. McDonald, the widely known "father of public roads," who has recently been replaced as head of that bureau by a Delaware duPont.

The most important of the department's divisions operating in the political sphere is the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, which includes such agencies as the Office of Business Economics, the Office of International Trade, and the Office of Industry and Commerce. Sundry New Dealers from the old Foreign Economics Administration were brought into the Office of International Trade during Wallace's brief tenure as Secretary of Commerce, but for the most part its employees reflect the viewpoint and the appointive power of the Hoover Administration or of Jesse Jones. A man interested in combing Fair Deal time-bombs out of government departments would probably think the Department of Commerce the last place to look.

The blow-up at the Bureau of Standards was handled with excessive clumsiness and may prove to have been a costly political blunder.

CONGRESS ON THE CAMPUS

A Warning to Universities . . *by Alan Barth*

THE beginning of defense is the recognition of danger. In the academic world today there is a widespread failure to face and to assess realistically the forces in American life which are now mobilized to destroy academic freedom. Specifically, many university professors and presidents do not recognize the real threat to themselves and to the society they serve that is presented by the current Congressional investigations of their institutions.

Not very long ago, for example, the Association of American Colleges adopted a resolution declaring that "the colleges should welcome any free and impartial inquiry" as a means of promoting popular understanding of the accomplishments of higher education. A panel of the American Council on Education, meeting recently in Washington, split sharply on whether to welcome or deplore Congressional investigations: a minority called upon educators to join in protest against the investigations as a threat to academic freedom; a majority held there was nothing to fear from such inquiries and maintained that educators could not claim "freedom of thought" for themselves while denying "freedom of investigation" to Congress. And finally, President Lewis W. Jones of Rutgers University, in a statement designed to justify his dismissal of two faculty members for declining to cooperate with a Congressional investigation, declared that "public investigation of the universities is legitimate, and should be frankly met. It implies no invasion of academic independence."

I am convinced that this attitude of "welcome" toward legislative investigations of universities is disastrous folly. It reflects—at least so it seems to me—a total misconception of the problem. In the first place, only the most absent-minded of college professors could suppose that in any serious sense the investigations would prove to be "free and impartial." The men conducting them have no intellectual competence for the undertaking; they neither understand nor care about the meaning of academic freedom. In the second place, the manner in which the investigations have been conducted makes it plain that their purpose is coercion; their aim is to force the dismissal of individuals who have earned the committee's displeasure. They menace academic freedom, therefore, in the most direct and destructive way.

I have heard men defend the policy of welcoming investigations by quoting the old adage that a soft answer turneth away wrath; and this defense has been buttressed by the argument that the great philanthropic foundations escaped censure by just this technique of meeting their Congressional critics with open arms. But it is a mistake to suppose that the philanthropic foundations emerged from their investigation unscathed because they emerged uncensured. At the conclusion of the investigation, it is true, they were given a pat on the back by their inquisitors. But it is a question how much they will have to pay for this pat on the back in terms of submission. They know now that if they want to be patted again when a Congressional committee chooses to investigate them another time, they had better not give any more fellowships to Aaron Copland—or to any musician whose political opinions may be tinged with unorthodoxy. They know now that they had better not make any grants to colleges that keep "questionable" teachers on their faculties; a "questionable" teacher being one whom an investigating committee wants to question. They know now that they had better not appropriate any of their funds for research into political experimentation or social innovation.

A Congressional hearing—at any rate a hearing conducted under the prevailing know-nothing auspices—is a disadvantageous place in which to fight the battle for academic freedom. It provides, to begin with, an atmosphere uncongenial and unfamiliar to men of learning—an atmosphere in which the presentation of a considered and reasoned argument is virtually impossible. The presentation is bound to be incessantly interrupted by the explosion of photographic flash bulbs, by the movement of newspapermen and curious spectators, by the gavel-pounding of a chairman determined to exclude rationality from the hearing room, and by impertinent questions from members of the committee.

IN SUCH A HEARING the discussion will not concern itself with academic freedom. It will concern itself, as the committee chairmen have made quite clear, not with principles but with personalities. It will revolve around such questions as whether Professor A is a Communist because Louis Budenz says someone told him Professor A was believed to be a Communist a quarter of a century ago. Or whether Professor B is subversive because he belongs or once belonged to organizations which have incurred the disapproval of the Attorney General or the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Or whether a particular college is Communist-dominated because it allowed on its campus a visiting lecturer who denounced the Un-American Activities Committee. Or whether a university is Red because Allen Zoll does not like its textbooks or some of its teachers.

The committee, presumably, will be able to discover a few present members

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ALAN BARTH is an editorial writer for the Washington Post *and author of "The Loyalty of Free Men." This article is an abridgment of an address he delivered before the recent annual meeting of the American Association of University Professors in Chicago.*

of the Communist Party on college campuses. It may also discover a number of teachers who joined the party years ago for respectable reasons, who got out of it years ago for respectable reasons, and who do not now choose—for equally respectable reasons—to make witnessing a career. Some of the professors in this category will seek the protection of the Fifth Amendment in order to avoid possible prosecution or in order to avoid being required to give the names of persons who, like themselves, joined the party innocently and got out of it long ago. Some will refuse to answer questions on abstract grounds of conscience, pleading the protection of the First Amendment, and will find themselves cited for contempt of Congress.

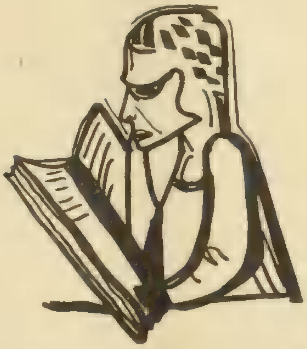
When a committee of Congress hales a man before it and asks him if he has ever been a Communist, it impales him on one or another of the prongs of a trident. If the witness answers yes, the committee is all too likely to insist that he identify individuals who were in the party with him—a kind of degradation which any sensitive man might understandably desire to escape. If he answers no, then the committee may hold over his head the threat of a prosecution for perjury based upon testimony that he was a former Communist by one or another of the committee's former, and professedly reformed, Communists. If he refuses to answer at all, pleading the constitutional privilege against self-incrimination, the committee hopes to have his university discipline him by dismissal.

I SUBMIT that it is outright folly for any university to lend itself to this stratagem. I submit that it is an abdication of academic independence for any university to agree to execute sentences arbitrarily imposed by a Congressional committee.

There is much force, I think, to the statement made by Dr. Barrows Dunham of Temple University, who, with frank defiance, recently refused to tell the House Committee on Un-American Activities anything beyond his name, age, and place of birth. The committee, in response, moved to have him prosecuted for contempt of Congress, an offense of which he may well be guilty. But this is a judicial question, involving nice points of constitutional law, which Dr. Dunham is entitled to have tried in a court of law. If convicted there, he will be subject, of course, to punishment. Temple University, I think, should not have prejudged him; and it should not in the absence of compelling evidence have imputed disloyalty to conduct which was apparently based conscientiously on principle. Dr. Dunham stated the principle in these words:

> There is no question that Congress has the right, as it has the power, to investigate for legislative purposes. What I encountered last week, however, was not genuine inquiry but public defamation intended to extirpate from the colleges not disloyalty but dissent. I conceive that no act of mine could have better displayed my loyalty to this country and its traditions than the course I followed last Friday.

Whatever Dr. Dunham's past may have been, whatever the merits and motives of his individual position—and without more knowledge I have no wish either to condone or condemn what he has done—it seems to me that he is quite right in the essential point he has made: that the committee has not been conducting an investigation of universities but a purge of university professors. For my own part, I think that teachers who plead the privilege against self-incrimination are neither admirable nor astute. But if they are to be automatically disciplined for doing so, the committees will have developed a formidable method for determining the membership of university faculties—something which might well be determined by the faculties themselves in a free society.



A college which "welcomes" these investigations is mistaken, in terms of principle as well as in terms of expediency. Its attitude violates the essential principle that institutions of higher learning ought to be independent of the government in the same way and for much the same reasons that the church and the press are independent of the government. They cannot make their vital contribution to a free society if they are subject to political control. I am not questioning the legal authority of Congress to investigate institutions of higher learning—or the church or the press, despite the constitutional limitations on legislation in these spheres. But to say that Congress has power to investigate is not necessarily to say that this power ought to be exercised. In my view, it ought resolutely to be eschewed in regard to universities, at least when the aim and tendency of the investigation is coercive.

THE NOTION that the church, the press, and the universities should serve the state is essentially a Communist notion. Government control of these institutions is a distinguishing characteristic of every totalitarian system. In a free society these institutions must be wholly free—which is to say that their function is to serve as checks upon the state, as devices for keeping governmental authority within appropriate bounds.

A free society differs from a totalitarian society in that its government is one of limited powers, and limited jurisdiction. There have always been important areas of American life which have been left to private regulation, higher education among them. The administration of state universities has generally been delegated to boards of regents, responsible ultimately to state legislatures but never to the federal government. The administration of America's great privately endowed universities has always been in the hands of boards of trustees, self-perpetuating or elected by the institution's graduates. And these have been on the whole sober, conscientious, and capable governing bodies, in no need of Congressional supervision.

If universities "welcome" Congressional investigation today, they will end by embracing Congressional control tomorrow. If they let a Congressional committee purge professors now, they will eventually let it control the curriculum. The seeds of ultimate surrender are sown in seemingly trivial and innocent concessions. Let us recall the solemn warning on this score uttered so eloquently by John Jewkes of the University of Manchester in England more than a century ago:

> The greatest tyranny has the smallest beginning. From precedents overlooked, from remonstrances despised, from grievances treated with ridicule, from powerless men oppressed with impunity and overbearing men tolerated with complacence springs the tyrannical usage which generations of wise and good men may hereafter perceive and lament and resist in vain. . . . Hence the necessity of denouncing with unwearied and even troublesome perseverance a single act of oppression. Let it alone and it stands on record. The country has allowed it, and when it is at last provoked to a late indignation, it finds itself gagged with the record of its own ill compulsion.

The record of the current investigations into colleges and universities has been a record of "powerless men oppressed with impunity, and overbearing men tolerated with complacence." It is a record which we can review only with a sense of shame. But it is not too late to reverse it and to make an effective defense of intellectual freedom and academic independence. Let us begin now to mobilize the great reserves of devotion and good-will which the universities possess. Let us carry the battle outside the rigged hearing rooms of the Congressional committees and appeal to the alumni associations in every city and town throughout the United States. Let us appeal to the pride of the American people in the great, free institutions of learning which they have built and maintained.

The battle is joined; and no one who calls himself a teacher may now be laggard. Teachers have an obligation to warn their countrymen of the danger that confronts them and then to close ranks and fight as resourcefully and resolutely as they can. They will be fighting for much more than freedom for themselves. They will be fighting for the whole of human freedom.

FORMULA FOR PEACE

A Plea to Americans . . *by Aneurin Bevan*

[*ANEURIN BEVAN, leader of British Labor's left wing, has just returned to London from a trip through the Far East. What follows is his first public statement after his return.* The Nation *will shortly publish several articles by Mr. Bevan dealing with his experiences in the Orient.*]

London

THE FACT that the situation in the Far East has taken a turn for the better may lead some people into over-optimism. I suggest that we cross our fingers and see how things will develop. Although the ending of the Korean war would of itself be a magnificent event, results could be very serious unless there followed a positive attempt at pacification in the Far East. In other words, psychologically the situation would be worse than it is now if the present policy of military containment and preparation for an attack on the Chinese mainland were to continue.

We can understand this better if we realize that for some time now there has been a division of opinion within the Soviet Union. I know that many people seem to think that argument is impossible in Moscow, that as a consequence of the inspiration which comes from the writings of Karl Marx, there is always a sort of spontaneous unanimity of opinion. Perhaps one reason why some people think this way is that we hear from the Soviet Union only what they have decided and not the process by which they reached the decision. But as a member of a Cabinet for six years, I am convinced that all Cabinets must argue, and we can take it for granted that the Russians are no exception in this regard. They have been arguing not merely about their intentions toward the West but about the West's intentions toward them.

What is true of the Russians is also true of the Chinese. The Chinese leaders have been having an argument which goes something like this: If they agree to a truce in Korea, would America—or certain elements in America—regard that as evidence of Chinese weakness? And would these Americans regard the truce as a response to their "get tough" policy which permits Chiang Kai-shek to attack the mainland? If as the result of peace in Korea all that happens is that the United States continues to arm Chiang Kai-shek and to encourage him to attack the mainland, then we will have driven the Chinese masses into spiritual isolation and resentment against the West.

That is the danger. We should therefore regard the present overtures as exceedingly welcome, but we should try to persuade opinion in the United States and here in Britain that a necessary condition for the consolidation of peace in the Far East is the immediate disbanding of Chiang Kai-shek's army on Formosa. As for Formosa itself, return it to the Chinese government to whom it belongs. Spokesmen for the United States have stated that Formosa belongs to China; whatever government is on the mainland of China should be the government of Formosa.

But what we want at this stage is to relieve China of the fear of the resumption of civil war. That is absolutely essential in order to build a permanent bridge between China and the rest of the world.

When I was in India and Pakistan and Burma I talked to very large numbers of people in all walks of life. I did not come across anyone who sympathized with American policy. They could understand why the United Nations had decided to restrain aggression in Korea.

That was logical. But they could not understand why the nation which was foremost in insisting upon collective security against aggression was itself preparing an act of aggression against China. They say in the Far East: "What is America up to? Is this an assertion of collective peace or is it a preparation for counter-revolution?" If it is the latter, then all over the Far East they see another attempt to establish white imperialism in every Asian country.

GREAT BRITAIN occupies a very powerful position in the Far East, even though we are not as big or as rich as the United States. We have a moral leadership such as no nation has ever possessed before. We exercise this leadership as a consequence of the fact that we were the first great imperial nation in the world voluntarily to abdicate power; that we left India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma to found independent governments of their own. Therefore we are ourselves deeply committed to see that this independence is not threatened from any quarter.

Let me ask my American friends—and despite what is said to the contrary, I have many American friends—whether they seriously imagine that we in Britain are going to involve ourselves in a third world war in order to put Chiang Kai-shek back in China? I have come across no significant enthusiasm for Chiang Kai-shek anywhere in Great Britain, from the extreme left to the extreme right. If there is on Formosa a man who has no chance of realizing his ambitions without a third world war, is it not in the general interest of mankind to destroy that man's power?

It seems to me that we are in a very hopeful but at the same time highly dangerous phase. Let us welcome the overtures that have been made, but let us not behave as though we believed those overtures were a consequence of Chinese Communist weakness. Let us rather believe that they are evidence of a desire for peace.

The Chinese revolution is going through the same sort of development as the Russian revolution did. I can remember taking part in meetings here in London more than a quarter-century ago, when we were fighting for something different from this yet curiously similar. We were demanding then that Britain should give credits to Russia, help the Russian revolution, help the Russians to industrialize. In one thing we succeeded: we did stop Winston Churchill from murdering the Russian revolution. We did not succeed in stopping him and his friends from *starving* the revolution. We must always remember that one of the principal causes for most of the faults of the Communists in Russia stems directly from the fact that the Russians had to industrialize with their own resources and with no assistance from the industrialized West.

The most significant discovery I made when I was in Southeast Asia a few weeks ago was that a rapid conversion from agrarian to modern living standards, unless aid is received from the outside, involves dictatorship inside. It is therefore complete nonsense to talk democracy to the Far East and to starve them at the same time.

All this is nothing new. We in Great Britain went through something of the same thing. The great industries that we are so proud of, the great steelworks that the Indians and Chinese have not got and which are responsible for our own high standard of life, were all built out of the wages which our grandfathers went without. Now we pay the Asians the high compliment of expecting them to do what it was impossible for us to do: to industrialize their country, when they are half-starving, under the aegis of democratic institutions and without any of the roughness that accompanies political dictatorships.

THAT IS WHY I say to my friends in America: don't make the mistake about the Chinese revolution that we British made about the Russian revolution! Even if you give up the idea of destroying it militarily, don't try to starve it to death, because all you will accomplish is to drive the Chinese administration into the same monolithic excesses that you witness in the Soviet Union. That surely is the lesson, isn't it? That is why we want not only to carry the present negotiations to a successful conclusion, but to open the freest possible trade between China and the rest of the world.

Mr. Acheson said that the People's Government of China could not be recognized because it was established "irregularly," but I seem to remember that the United States was itself established very irregularly, and with considerable help from outside. When some of my American friends say that China ought to give up intervening beyond its borders, I recall that France intervened in the American war. I seem to remember that there were more French soldiers in the last battle of the American Revolution than there were Americans. Yes, history gives us many examples of intervention.

Chiang Kai-shek

What we have to learn in this twentieth century is how to maintain collective peace in the world and still enable people to change their governments. And if no democracy exists by which the change can be made, what then? You have no moral case against violence in such a case. Will anyone tell me on what moral grounds you can condemn violence if you deny people liberty?

There rests upon this generation an obligation to fight for peace, and we can fight for peace only by insisting that the lessons of the past be learned. We must tell our American friends that it really is not necessary for them to repeat all the foolishness of Great Britain. We would rather that they proved wiser than we were and showed that they can deal with the Chinese revolution more sensibly than we dealt with the Russian.

The time has come for us to tell our government to tell the American government that we in Great Britain are prepared to cooperate with the United States in the maintenance and pursuit of peace, but not in the pursuit of war. And I am confident that, in saying so, I am expressing the feelings not only of the vast majority of the American people but of the majority of the people of the world.

MOVIE ULTRA-REALIST

Zavattini's Bold Idea . . *by William Murray*

NO INDIVIDUAL has contributed more to the impressive rebirth of the Italian film industry since the war than Cesare Zavattini, an eloquent and combative intellectual who has become the spokesman of the so-called "neo-realistic" school of writers, producers, and directors. Zavattini has been sole author of fifteen movie scripts and estimates that he has contributed or worked on at least fifty others. His best films were the result of collaboration with the director Vittorio De Sica and include "Shoeshine," "The Bicycle Thief," "Miracle in Milan," and the more recent "Umberto D," which has yet to be shown in the United States. All these De Sica-Zavattini films have been inspired by what Zavattini calls "a hunger for reality."

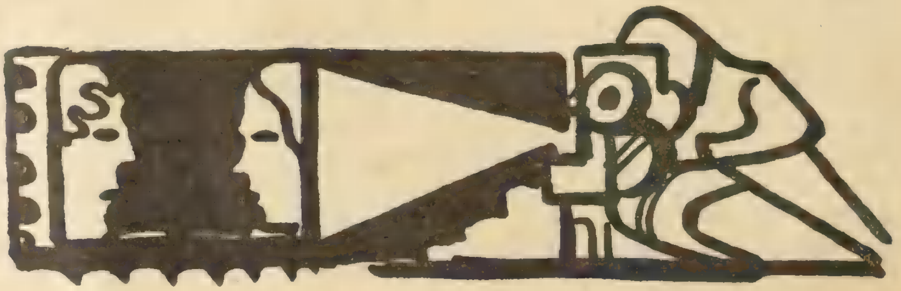
Both he and De Sica consider the cinema a legitimate art form which should not concern itself with "the deceptions of entertainment." "Christ with a movie camera in his hands," says Zavattini, "would not concoct fables, however skilful, but would show us who we are and why we do what we do." That is what neo-realism means to Zavattini, and it explains the kind of film that he and such men as Roberto Rossellini ("Open City," "Paisan"), Luigi Zampa ("To Live in Peace"), and Renato Castellani ("Two Cents Worth of Hope") have been making in the seven years since Italians have been allowed to think and work as they pleased.

Like most genuine art forms, the neo-realistic film was not initially the product of intellectual theorizing. The first example, Rossellini's "Open City," was the result of the irresistible creative force running smack into the immovable economic obstacle. After twenty-five years of Fascist sterility the newly liberated directors and writers were steaming to express themselves, but the limitations of Fascist censorship had been replaced by what seemed to be a more serious handicap—lack of money and equipment. In 1945 few capitalists were rash enough to want to invest in film production. The sound stages of Cinecittà, Italy's major film studio on the outskirts of Rome, had been demolished by the retreating Germans, and the whole area was occupied by thousands of homeless refugees. Even actors, of which a superfluity is usually available, were not to be had. But the neo-realists went ahead and made films anyway. There were no actors: they plucked people off the sidewalks and cast them in the leading roles. There were no sound stages: they filmed in the streets and in private homes. There were no costumes: they used modern stories about everyday events. "Open City," the story of Rome under the German occupation, was filmed at a total cost of $18,000, and to everyone's surprise was acclaimed as one of the great movie masterpieces, which it is.

The Italians realized that they had done something new and exciting with the motion-picture camera. Neo-realism ceased to be an accident and became a conscious technique. As such it acquired devoted partisans and made bitter enemies. Though praised abroad, these realistic movies did not please the Italian public. Rossellini once grumbled that Italians preferred Betty Grable to his films, and when De Sica was on a visit here last year he said that he could not have gone on making pictures had it not been for their box-office success in the United States. Today, within the Italian industry itself, strong pressure is being brought to bear upon writers, directors, and producers to recognize the importance of commercial success. The new technique needed a champion and got one in Zavattini.

A STOCKY, middle-aged, kindly man, Zavattini spends most of the day in his apartment on the outskirts of Rome pounding at his typewriter or dictating to his secretary. His latest proposal for neo-realism is known as the "film lampo," or "film flash." The "film lampo" would carry the early documentary technique several steps farther by completely eliminating actors, sets, and shooting scripts and substituting real situations for recreated ones. Zavattini would like nothing better than to turn a battery of cameras loose upon all of us and record for posterity what we are doing with our lives. "We must recognize the fact," he says, "that neo-realism has not yet attained its ultimate development. It has become clear that after having carried artifice to its utmost possible plane of reality we must now dispense entirely with the artificial and focus our attention upon real, living human beings."

Today if someone wants to make a film about, say, a strike, a plot is conjured up and actors are cast in the various roles. The "film lampo," however, will show an actual strike, and the actors will be those who take part in it. Zavattini has little patience with a person who insists that the imaginary is more interesting than the real. "Such a person," he says, "would plug his



WILLIAM MURRAY, a frequent contributor to The Nation, *has spent many years in Italy.*

ears with cotton when the anguished screams of his next-door neighbor became too loud." Zavattini believes that almost everything that happens to a man is interesting. The function of realism, he says, is to emphasize the ordinary, not the extraordinary. This will enable us "to understand each other better and give us an ever more exact idea of our position within the fabric of society."

Several months ago a twenty-one-year-old unwed mother named Caterina Rigoglioso tried to abandon her baby in an empty lot in Rome. Her case made newspaper headlines and suggested to Zavattini his first real-life star. Unfortunately, his producer insisted that the girl was too plain, and the project collapsed. Now Zavattini is at work on a new idea which may turn out to be the first "film lampo." He and three young documentary directors are preparing to film, in some thirty episodes of varying length, events witnessed during a stroll through a large city. Everything in the film will have actually happened. The protagonists will be the people of the city.

Of course Zavattini is fully aware that there is also a place for poetic films, like those of Charlie Chaplin, which are in no sense neo-realistic. He does not ask that everyone should embrace neo-realism. He simply distrusts a mass-production movie industry whose taboos are as stifling to creativeness as any imposed by the Fascist censors.

WHEAT WILL VOTE

G. O. P.'s Worry for '54 . . *by Gordon Roth*

Minneapolis

FARMERS in the upper-Midwest wheat country will decide whether Congress stays Republican or goes Democratic in 1954. And how they vote will depend largely on what they think about one man and his policies. That man is Ezra Taft Benson, the first Republican Secretary of Agriculture in twenty years and the current whipping boy in the Eisenhower Cabinet.

In Congress now the balance is extremely delicate: in the Senate 48 Republicans, 47 Democrats, 1 Independent, 1 Vice-President; in the House at the last count 221 Republicans, 212 Democrats, 1 Independent, and 1 vacancy. If Secretary Benson is right that farmers are against government aid and price-protection laws, and are willing, even when prices of their products are falling, to trust them to the judo tactics of the free market, then the Republicans will win in 1954. If he is wrong, the Republicans will lose. It is as simple as that, barring the unforeseen.

The nation's farm vote went 60 per cent for President Eisenhower. But in the four spring-wheat states of Minnesota, North and South Dakota, and Montana farmers went for Eisenhower better than two to one. North Dakota ran neck and neck with Vermont for top honors by giving him 71 per cent of its vote. In these four states three Senators and fifteen Representatives will be up for reelection in 1954. The Senators are James E. Murray, Democrat, of Montana; Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat, of Minnesota; Karl E. Mundt, Republican, of South Dakota. Ten of the Representatives are Republicans and five are Democrats. What happens here is likely to happen, too, in the rest of this great surplus-food-producing region of the United States.

It may be that the Republican Administration will risk farm wrath in 1954 and gamble on strong consumer support for its "cheap food" program. But a slight ebb in rural Republican strength might become a trend. That could bring defeat in 1954 and set the skids under Eisenhower in 1956.

Most city people wonder what the fuss in the farm belt is all about. They believe farmers are rich. They blame farmers for high food prices. They condemn the "squandering," as they see it, of millions of tax dollars to subsidize farmers. The facts, as compiled by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, show that the per capita farm income went down from $969 in 1951 to $924 in 1952. Non-farm per capita income for the same period rose from $1,744 to $1,827. Oris V. Welles, head of the bureau, says the signs point to a further drop of 5 per cent in net farm income for this year. Harold Roach, head of Iowa's Republican Farm Council, says the drop will be 10 or 15 per cent.

Even in the recent "good times"—and most farmers, like city people, never had it so good—farming has been a nip-and-tuck operation for many. Any farmer will tell you that the things he must buy have gone up more than the things he sells. And something else has been added in recent years—machinery. Tractors have replaced horses. Tractors are not raised but must be bought at a fixed price. Tractors don't eat oats and corn but fuel oil, which must be bought at a fixed price. Paying $5,000 for a combine to harvest 60-cent oats is an easy way to go broke.

Farmers are sensitive to falling prices. Maybe the years of good living and price supports have made them too soft for Secretary Benson's moral-rearmament program. Benson told an audience in St. Paul last month, from which the general public was barred, that his "guiding purpose will be to strengthen the individual integrity, the freedom, and the very moral fiber of each citizen." In a broadcast he appealed for "nation-wide repentance to rid this land of corruption."

It would do all of us good, including

GORDON ROTH is editor of the Co-op Grain Quarterly, *organ of the National Federation of Grain Cooperatives.*

members of the President's Cabinet, to "raise our sights beyond the dollar sign, beyond material things," as Secretary Benson urged. But what has that to do with falling farm prices? As one raw-boned corn-and-cattle farmer pointed out, "Prices aren't made in heaven, and most farmers know it." Another farmer said, "I haven't been farming all these years for fun."

Secretary Benson's suggestion that farmers raise their sights beyond the dollar sign may plague Republicans in 1954. It may rival Defense Secretary Wilson's quip, "What's good for General Motors is good for the country," as a Democratic campaign barb. Such remarks will certainly not put farmers in a forgive-and-forget mood if farm prices keep sagging. Here are some of the reasons why they might even cost Republican control of Congress.

1. If Republicans are to keep control of Congress, they must keep control of the Middle West. To do this they must keep control of the farm vote.

2. Middle Western farmers believe that President Eisenhower made a "golden promise" when he said at Kasson, Minnesota: "Here and now, without any if's or but's, I say to you that I stand behind, and the Republican Party stands behind . . . the . . . amendment to the basic Farm Act . . . to continue through 1954 the price supports on basic commodities at 90 per cent of parity. . . . I firmly believe that agriculture is entitled to a fair share of the national income . . . a fair share is not merely 90 per cent of parity, but full parity." This does not jibe with Secretary Benson's belief that "our agricultural policy should aim to obtain in the market place full parity prices of farm products."

3. Middle Western farmers are better organized and more demonstrative in their demands on Congress for price-support laws than farmers in other parts of the country. They distrust the free market as much as they would Wall Street to get them "fair farm prices." Most of them believe that "farm prices are made in Washington."

SECRETARY BENSON'S views are opposed by the Farmers' Union in this area. Here the Farmers' Union—and its parity-price program—is backed by huge and successful cooperatives. These cooperatives have an amazing vitality that is due in part to their historical continuity with the old Equity Cooperative Exchange and the Nonpartisan League. Two of them—the Farmers' Union Grain Terminal Association and the Farmers' Union Central Exchange—have a net worth of more than $50,000,000 in patronage savings. They publish their own newspaper and magazines, sponsor network radio programs, have active field workers, and make substantial contributions to Farmers' Union organizations to carry on co-op educational work.

Farmers in these states have learned that to get results they must organize, buttonhole Congressmen, and compel politicians to outdo each other in delivering on their promises. They have taken lessons in lobbying from the railroads, utilities, and other organized pressure groups.

Senator Milton Young, Republican, of North Dakota, knows this. He is a wheat farmer still and co-author of several amendments which have pegged wheat and corn support-price loans at 90 per cent of parity until 1955. When Secretary Benson failed to make himself clear on price supports, Senator Young went after him with his political bolo knife. Secretary Benson equivocated. Senator Young made wild sweeps. Secretary Benson yielded—said the government would hold butter prices at 90 per cent of parity for one more year. That appeased Senator Young a little. But neither he nor any other Midwestern Senator, whether a Republican or a Democrat, has finished with the Secretary of Agriculture.

The president of the Minneapolis Grain Exchange, citadel of "get your price in the market place" economics, pleaded with Secretary Benson to use his authority to check the fall in farm prices. He even wanted price-protection legislation. The *Argus Leader* of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, which has never deviated from its congenital Republicanism, was so disturbed last month by reminders of the thirties—cash registers ring less merrily now in many prairie towns—that it gave this bit of advice free to President Eisenhower:

> The Eisenhower Administration should do some worrying—and do it quickly—about the recession in farm income. It is a cloud on the horizon that is growing bigger day by day. And it could very readily produce complications of a serious nature—sufficiently serious to result in a sharp setback in the economic indices and perhaps some substantial Democratic victories in the election of 1954.
>
> Economic discussions are usually dry reading, and it is easier to command an audience with remarks about mink coats, government corruption, careless spending, and dissension.
>
> It will be a disturbing error, however, if the Administration ignores the handwriting on the economic wall now growing more emphatic.

If Secretary Benson understands this, he will find life more bearable in the hot months ahead. Parity politics are not party politics; in the farmers' battle to maintain prices party labels mean very little. No one questions Benson's honesty. But his office carries with it the burden of responsible decision-making, and for that good judgment as well as honesty is necessary. Secretary Benson should remember that questioning the judgment of government officials is not a smear on them. It is a legitimate function of free citizens.

This farm-price fight should not be construed as a manifestation of disapproval for President Eisenhower. The President has so far escaped criticism. But lesser politicians are feeling the rising storm of rural discontent. That is why Republican Congressmen are demanding that Secretary Benson do nothing which might drive farmers, who have just been coaxed back into Republican pastures, out into the Democratic wilderness again. If Secretary Benson can keep the farmers fenced and fed—under his present policy—he will have added something new to the unique charm of our two-party system.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

The Key Questions

United Nations

THE most important events of the week past have occurred outside the United Nations—the agreement reached at Panmunjom on the exchange of sick and wounded prisoners and the Berlin conference between the three Western powers and General Chuikov on air traffic over Germany. But what happened at the United Nations is also important, and it would be a misleading understatement to talk of a mere change in tone. There was, indeed, a change in tone, and it was visible in the handling by the Russian speakers of issues that have hitherto been the most controversial—disarmament, the germ-warfare charges, and the Korean war itself. But there were also changes of substance.

As expected, the most discussed speech was the one made by Mr. Vishinsky on Thursday before the Political Committee. Many would have wished it less controversial and regretted that he spent so much time in pronouncing an obituary on the Atlantic Pact, the Schuman Plan, and the entire foundation of the Western coalition. Mr. Vishinsky based his arguments on statements made by Western statesmen, citing numerous examples of the pessimistic conclusions reached by American, British, and French experts. But the most important thing about the speech, in my opinion, was that it clearly demonstrated Moscow's intention to press the diplomatic peace action initiated by numerous recent conciliatory gestures. It proved also that the United Nations occupies a key place in the Russian plan.

One passage of Mr. Vishinsky's speech carried a particular significance: "We must not always insist on the literal inviolability or unchangeability of previous resolutions. We do not insist on that. That cannot be the basis of international cooperation, which must be based on mutual concessions." This would seem to indicate a disposition toward greater elasticity, including possible changes in the Russian stand on both the Disarmament Commission, when it meets again, and the Korean problem.

Mr. Vishinsky devoted a large part of his speech to proving that there is no "new Moscow peace policy" but that it is Stalin's own peace policy which is being developed at the appropriate moment. This point is important because it lends more weight to Russian proposals, present and future. For every trained diplomatic observer agrees that we are only at the beginning of Moscow's plan to change the international situation. If the current Russian policy were admittedly different from that laid down by Stalin, it would be easy to conclude that a change of mind on the part of the new Soviet leaders or a struggle among them might again produce a different picture within a few months.

Another of Mr. Vishinsky's chief objectives was to invite a psychological return to San Francisco—to the birth of the U. N. and the first Assembly. This involved an exploration of the original causes of current international tension and a revival of the concept of collaboration among the great powers on which the U. N. and its Charter were based. It was also a preparation for the next likely Russian move—a proposal for a Big Four conference on Germany.

Germany is now finally admitted by the Western camp to be the supreme concern of Soviet diplomacy, the real issue which may decide peace or war. A Russian initiative cannot simply, or safely, be countered by a Western proposal of free elections. If Moscow regards the prevention of German rearmament and of German integration with the West as essential, the Russians may themselves ask for elections. They might even agree to such elections under U. N. supervision—a procedure they rejected at the Sixth U. N. Assembly in Paris. To sacrifice their control over East Germany might not be regarded as too high a price to pay, especially since the victors in free all-German elections would be the Socialists, not Dr. Adenauer, and the result would probably be a united, neutralized Germany—no threat either to the Russians or to anyone else.

It became clear last week that Moscow is assigning a greater role to the United Nations. It would not surprise me at all if the Russians were to return to the U. N. specialized agencies, which they quit long ago, and through them enter the vast and promising area of technical aid. From there they could do much to rally the support of the neutral and undeveloped countries, particularly those of Asia.

All this makes it urgent for every interested observer to think in terms of a diplomatic situation quite different from that prevailing today. It would be interesting, for example, if Western political and economic experts would suggest answers to the following questions:

1. *Germany.* What would be the Western reply to a Russian offer of elections in the whole of Germany, controlled by the United Nations?

2. *Japan.* In the event of a Far Eastern situation profoundly altered by the ending of the Korean war, should Japan be permitted to trade with Communist China? Should Japan be rearmed?

3. *International Trade.* If a change in the international situation were to oblige the United States to switch from a predominantly war economy to a predominantly peace economy, what are the possible new markets for its production?

4. *Formosa.* If peace is made in Korea, will American policy toward Chiang Kai-shek be based on the Cairo agreement of 1943, which accepted Formosa as part of China, or, if not, on what concept will it be based?

5. *Control of Atomic Weapons.* What are the possible alternatives to the Baruch plan, now considered even by Mr. Lilienthal as obsolete?

These are but a few of the questions that will have to be answered in the course of adjusting the public mind to the idea of peace rather than inevitable conflict.

BOOKS

Happiness Versus Power

A Review by Merle Curti

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. By Howard Mumford Jones. Harvard University Press. $3.50.

EVERY school child knows that the Declaration of Independence asserts our natural right to the pursuit of happiness, even if he has not the vaguest notion of what a natural right is or what the Fathers had in mind in using the word happiness. But school children are not alone in being vague about these things. My guess is that a good many scholars could not tell just how the words got into the basic document. Most academicians, probably most historians, would be surprised to learn that the formula appeared in almost two-thirds of the state constitutions adopted between 1776 and the dawn of the twentieth century. The long list of court decisions that turned on the meaning of the phrase "pursuit of happiness" is even less familiar. Historians of our literature, education, recreation, religion, and popular culture could no doubt say something more or less sensible about the meanings attached to the idea of happiness in these spheres. But it is likely that they would confess the need of further study. For the term happiness seldom appears in the indexes of any of the scores of monographs and general writings on American cultural history that fill my library shelves. This is somewhat surprising in view of the intensive cultivation of the history and meaning of American values and ideas in the past quarter-century.

Some years ago Howard Mumford Jones of Harvard University asked himself why Americans had so generally demanded happy endings in the books they read and the plays they saw. The question was the more pertinent since a change in this respect seemed of late to have set in: the public gave signs of a readiness to settle for variations on the theme boy meets girl, boy and girl live happily ever after. It was fortunate that Mr. Jones, one of our most brilliant authorities on American literature and thought, took in hand the inquiry into the history of the much-mouthed but baffling phrase "pursuit of happiness," for he possesses just the scholarly equipment, temper, and wit to perform the task and to present an informed, shrewd, and highly readable report on his findings. The solid yet graceful book at hand is made up of lectures given at the University of Michigan under the sponsorship of the William W. Cook Foundation. It is a book to be read and then talked about —not to be talked about and then perhaps read.

MERLE CURTI is Frederick Jackson Turner professor of history at the University of Wisconsin and author of "The Growth of American Thought," which won a Pulitzer award.

MR. JONES offers plausible answers to the question what streams of thought, what ethical and philosophical tendencies, created in eighteenth-century America the phrase "the pursuit of happiness." We learn that some classical writers held that happiness was resignation tempered by the cultivation in daily life of nature, books, the arts, good food, wine, and congenial friends. This idea of happiness found favor with the eighteenth-century aristocrats who enjoyed the means and leisure for gracious living and thoughtful contemplation. But eighteenth-century Americans also inherited the Christian tradition, with its emphasis on the idea that happiness is to be found in obeying God's law. In the minds of the Puritan divines there was nothing at all incompatible between this and worldly success. In fact, God blessed economic enterprise, especially when it turned out well. Mr. Jones learnedly lets us in on the secret of just how all these ideas about the pursuit of happiness came to be associated with government.

If the meaning of the phrase seemed more or less self-evident to the eighteenth century and therefore in no need of special definition, this was less true in the nineteenth century. Mr. Jones could have illustrated the conflicting views on the subject by taking his examples from a wide range of belletristic writers. He has chosen three whose lives spanned the century—Cooper, Emerson, and William James. The author of Leatherstocking held that the advance of rough-and-tumble democracy, laying low as it did status and and the inheritance of property, dealt a deadening blow to happiness. Cooper found solace in God and in His orderly and dignified church. Emerson had no use either for Cooper's passing élite or for his God. He found happiness rather in self-realization within the frame of spiritual laws. In the latter part of the century William James, like Cooper and Emerson, rejected the pursuit of the dollar as the way to happiness. This he found rather in the adjustment of inner experience to the outer world. James made it clear that this adjustment was easy enough for those endowed with a happy-go-lucky temperament and hard for those to whom the world was a painful business. But for those who faltered not in the struggle the exhilaration of sustained effort brought the reward of happiness. Had Mr. Jones been writing a longer book he could no doubt have pointed up the essential American qualities in all these formulas for happiness by comparing and contrasting Cooper, Emerson, and James with their opposite numbers in the Old World. This would, indeed, have been illuminating. And I think that Mr. Jones would agree that, given more space, it would have been well to emphasize the relation of science and technology to thought about the pursuit of happiness.

In our own day few give more than the barest lip-service to Cooper's notion that happiness is to be found only in an order that recognizes status. (The idea is, however, simmering in the writings of those who are trying to elaborate a neo-conservatism.) More seem to find an appeal in Cooper's decision to fall back on a traditional God—but no one can say of how many this is true. There are also, certainly, those who find inspiration in Emerson's doctrine of self-realization in tune with universal truth and law, as many cults testify. But it is a big question whether any great number of Americans really reject the idea, shared by Cooper, Emerson, and James, that business success is closely related to happiness. On the other hand, the Jamesian stress on adjustment as a never-ending process lies at the basis of much that is done today in the name of counseling, guidance, scientific management, mental hygiene, and the whole psychiatric approach to life's problems. The chapter in which this theme is developed is too rich and riotous for me to cite even one example: you will have to read it. You will know, while you do, what happiness is, I suspect.

IT IS RIGHTLY SUGGESTED by Mr. Jones that it may be well to take a more critical look at the prevalent vogue of the adjustment formula. I think he might himself have gone much farther than he did in this respect. For grateful though Americans should be for all that is theirs, and justifiably indifferent to the note of frustration and anxiety that colors so much of our notable recent literature, they might also be concerned over the implications for happiness of the retreat of private judgment before an ever more demanding state. In one of the most original and erudite parts of his book Mr. Jones discusses the court opinions that have tried to define the area in which the individual is permitted to pursue happiness free from the restrictions of the state, and the area in which the state justifiably restricts that pursuit in the interest of collective happiness. Many of the cases discussed were contradictory and ambiguous: in some states at certain times the courts set aside legislation that interfered with the pursuit of happiness through imbibing intoxicating liquors, that required a masseuse to pass an examination in hair-doing before being permitted to give facials, and that forbade men to make contracts to work as long and under such conditions as they chose. On the other hand, in the interest of social well-being and happiness courts have also interfered with the individual pursuit of happiness through smoking opium, burning natural gas by day and by night, and buying a copy of "What Every Young Girl Should Know."

It is obvious that happiness requires both individual freedom and individual restriction. The mounting tide of the latter, however necessary, has been accompanied by the waning of a great many traditional American protest and reform movements—notably the peace movement—and by a corresponding emphasis on individual adjustment. It would indeed be ironical if some future historian of the pursuit of happiness should record that at the very time widespread material well-being triumphed, the demands of conformity in a world power struggle jeopardized the traditional American emphasis both on improving the social environment by change and on self-expression in the sphere of the mind.

New Fiction

Reverie of Frustration

THE OUTSIDER. By Richard Wright. Harper. $3.95. Richard Wright and Henry Miller are among the few writers of stature who emerged from the transitional period of the 1940's, when the older generation went sour. For that reason the failure of Wright's new novel is deplorable; it betrays our hopes as well as his. The story, despite some excellent scenes of realism in Wright's old manner, is symbolistic in structure. Quite like Ralph Ellison's "Invisible Man," it presents the predicament of the Negro intellectual, separated from his race, disenchanted with communism and perhaps all political salvations, attempting to evaluate the meaning of an existence that is completely in the void.

There are remarkable passages in the narrative. The analysis of the "sensuality of power" in the Communist mentality is devastating. Rejecting Ellison's meliorism, Wright's "hungry mind" explores the farthest extremes of desperation and surveys almost every unpleasant aspect of the emancipated

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Negro's social status, or lack of status. But these intellectual sorties—a kind of incessant, compulsive reverie of frustration—gain their brilliance at the expense of the narrative itself, during which the hero becomes an abstract monster, and even murder is only the occasion for another bout of introspection. Perhaps Wright can profit from the career of Jack London, who traversed much the same literary path from illegitimacy to paranoia. In any case the book is bad, but only as a work of genuine talent can be bad, and nevertheless full of interest.

New Books
of immediate significance

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Youthful Horrors

NINE STORIES. By J. D. Salinger. Little, Brown. $3. Accomplished and effective stories which range from the macabre to the psychopathic by the author of "Catcher in the Rye," including the much-discussed *New Yorker* tale of the child prodigy who pushes his sister, we think, into the empty swimming pool. Mr. Salinger is a fiction writer of great brilliance; the danger is that he will become one of definite and ultimately disappointing limitations. Just as Saroyan has succumbed to the glamour of a happy childhood, it is possible to be infatuated by the charms of juvenile diseases at the expense of a larger and more complex area of human suffering. This is sickness of mind in a very small world for a writer of large gifts.

Hollywood Actor

PRINCE BART. By Jay Richard Kennedy. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.95. A sensational and much-publicized Hollywood novel that is nevertheless excellent reading of its kind and shows the keen discernment and technical virtuosity of its author, a talented first novelist. Mr. Kennedy explores areas of animal vitality and subhuman or superhuman cunning that neither "The Last Tycoon" nor "The Day of the Locust" quite reached, and does it very well. The protagonist is a famous actor who has suffered a heart attack; the account of his daily life is grotesque and tragic. It is only when the story reaches back into the past, and moves from the area of lust and calculation to that of depth psychology, that the narrative falters and takes on something of the slippery make-believe of the world it describes.

French Love Story

COUNT D'ORGEL. By Raymond Radiguet. Grove Press. $3. In a translation by Violet Schiff which frequently traduces the light flow of the original, Radiguet's study of Paris high life in the twenties has at last been brought out for American readers. The story is, in the purest sense, a love story, in which the young protagonist, François de la Séryeuse, loves but does not possess the wife of a close friend. Mahaut, Countess d'Orgel, a tenderly exotic yet believable prima donna, discovers that "passion found its way to [her] so artfully that there was no time to prepare [her] defence." Yet to this double yearning there was no consummation, for François, recognizing the superficiality and caustic artifice of his friend, at bottom understands and condones it as characteristic of the frantic period in which they live. Hence he does not despise him and cannot betray him.

Jean Cocteau, in a short preface giving just homage to Radiguet's precocious talent, quotes the following prescient passage from the author's notes—Radiguet died at twenty-one: "What family does not possess its infant prodigy? Certainly remarkable children exist, just as there are remarkable men. They are rarely the same ones. Age is nothing. It is Rimbaud's work and not the age at which he wrote it that astounds me." To those already familiar with Radiguet, whose best-known book is, of course, "The Devil in the Flesh," this delightful yet heartbreaking little story will come as a welcome addition.

Does It Make Sense?

THE LAUGHING MATTER. By William Saroyan. Doubleday. $3.50. Frankly, this is a puzzlement. The story concerns an Armenian family of four, including the son Red and, believe it or not, little Eva, aged four, nicknamed Sexy, because "sexy means beautiful." Mama (Swan) becomes pregnant by another fellow; the father, an English professor, beats her up and flees from the house amid the most profound wisdom from the mouths of little Red and Sexy, beside whom Henry James's children are backward. From then on the narrative becomes a mish-mash of violence, anguish, love, hate, forgiveness, symbolic speeches about I know not what. Mama Swan dies from an overdose of sleeping pills; hubby goes mad and shoots his brother (by accident?); the lover, identified, commits suicide. The children are left to stumble through the halls of the Library of Congress, one supposes; or the graduate school at Princeton, in quest of Einstein. Does this make sense to you? It shouldn't, but it is really no laughing matter. Saroyan, a nice writer in his right mind, should be ashamed of himself.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

THE retrospective exhibition of Georges Rouault, which has arrived at the Museum of Modern Art from Cleveland, was reviewed in this column on the basis of its appearance last January in what I was repeatedly warned not to call the Midwest. Different settings and new juxtapositions inevitably challenge one's earlier reactions, but I do not wish to alter except in details the comment already made. The ampler spacing which the Museum of Modern Art affords this show is much more sympathetic to Rouault's big-scale effects, and the reticent grays of the walls are infinitely preferable to Cleveland's bright yellow. But the works of Rouault are so powerful that they merely need to be shown; in quantity, however, they seem less repetitious when less closely packed. One additional Clown, from a private collection in Springfield, has joined the sober company. Its cone and crescent of white hat and ruff dominate the very dark blue-green of the costume and the deep browns of the face and background. I still find the very recent works rather chalky and occasionally insipid, and I still think the masterpiece of the show is the huge Clown lent by Edward G. Robinson.

Three other fine Rouaults have been shown for the past month on the ground floor of the museum among forty paintings lent by this same collector. In a genial foreword Mr. Robinson has admitted that crime sometimes *does* pay. As a collector, he has fared well but not always brilliantly, if I may be allowed to express a tactless opinion. There are a good many items which are chiefly interesting because a certain painter painted them. But there are two great masterpieces, both early works: Cézanne's Black Clock—which symbolically tells no time—and Matisse's La Desserte of 1897, his first major work, preceding by ten years the Bonheur de Vivre, which the Barnes Foundation makes so little available to an interested public. There is a wonderful late Corot figure piece, and there is Van Gogh's Père Tanguy, painted toward the end of his sojourn in Paris, marking perhaps the first return of the power of his Dutch period after his difficult struggle to assimilate the ways of impressionism. Three Pissarros and three Renoirs illustrate the cogency of Paul Klee's remark: "So, in their time, the Impressionists—our opposites of yesterday—had every right to dwell within the matted undergrowth of everyday vision." I do not recall ever having seen a more buoyant or fresher Sisley than the Pont Saint Cloud, but the Monet, Willows, is a frail example without much sensation of either the matting or the undergrowth. Gauguin, whom Henri Focillon once called a Peruvian bourgeois, tried awfully hard to be different from the everyday Impressionists. In Horsemen on the Beach, a very late work, he has achieved color harmonies of unparalleled lushness, but the horsemen are out of Degas all the same, and their silhouettes are bad Degas, utterly undistinguished when observed on their own account. Opposite this much-overrated canvas hangs a military trumpeter on a muscle-bound mount; the picture is labeled Géricault, who, if he painted it, is best not remembered by it. But the Toulouse-Lautrec, Jane Avril Dancing, is for the ages; and two Boudins, though minor efforts, are ravishing.

ROBERT MOTHERWELL, in a show at the Kootz Gallery, includes a number of collages, for which he uses ordinary wrapping paper, the brown color of which will presumably remain fairly constant. Working it into curved shapes infiltrated with pale gray-blue areas, he conjures up reminiscences of sandbars and coastlines. This kind of delicacy is a little unexpected from Motherwell, whom I link with Gottlieb and some others as carrying, or able to carry, mural painting well beyond the point where Léger left off rather too long ago. I do not like these collages of Motherwell's, perhaps for the same reason that I find his small studies for big compositions tight and suffocated. He works best with a few forms on a large canvas, as in La Danse, where three black curvilinear shapes weave a

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rhythm of terrific impact on a field of blazing red-orange bound by a deep border of khaki. The title suggested Matisse, and I have heard Motherwell criticized in intelligent quarters for merely warming up what Matisse did long ago and better. I do not agree with any such estimate. One way of expressing my feeling would be to say that Motherwell's rhythms and chords of color, though doubtless based on Matisse in some final analysis, are powerfully contemporary, whereas Matisse belongs, even today, to his own Art Nouveau generation, which also included Toulouse-Lautrec and Edward Munch, not to mention Aubrey Beardsley. (For this approach to Matisse I am indebted to an unpublished study by Frank Trapp, which strongly diverges from Alfred Barr's estimate.) Several seasons ago the Museum of Modern Art organized a show called Three Modern Styles: Art Nouveau, Cubism, and Free Form. Each was presented as a reaction from the preceding style, and in the natural course of events the third was to some extent a return to the first. To interpret Motherwell as neo-Matisse seems to me as erroneous as to interpret Delacroix, who moved away from the neo-classicism of David, as neo-rococo, though of course there are important points of resemblance between Delacroix and Fragonard.

TWO OTHER LEADERS of the newer American painting, Willem Dekooning and Bradley Walker Tomlin, have been exhibiting in the adjoining Sidney Janis and Betty Parsons galleries. [Dekooning's show ended April 11.] Nothing could more clearly indicate the perils of ism-coining than the wide divergence of these two so-called Abstract Expressionists. Dekooning was never altogether abstract (Black Friday, The Excavation, The Attic), and the present show offers six large canvases all titled The Woman. If I had seen these paintings before reviewing Jacques Maritain's new book in last week's *Nation,* I should have remarked that they illustrate perfectly Maritain's unfortunate attack on today's deformations of the human figure. I should also have remarked that his attack applies also to the early water colors of prostitutes by Georges Rouault, whom Maritain rates at the summit of modern art. Actually, Dekooning's females are less terrifying in the context of 1953 than Rouault's probably were around 1905-08, and they are no more worked over than many Cézannes. The violence of Dekooning's earlier work is still there, and so is the discipline: note how the grays and silvers inclose the new range of color and how the blacks set them off with something of Rouault's sense of contrast and accent. In addition to the six big canvases, there is a series of small studies. While these are chiefly interesting as examples of work in progress, the same can be said for many of Cézanne's water colors on the theme of The Bathers, which lead up to two major canvases, one at Philadelphia and the supreme achievement of them all at the Barnes Foundation—if photographs can be trusted.

From Dekooning's electric violence to Tomlin's measured elegance is a big shift in emotional gears. Tomlin's recent work is not essentially different from what he has been doing in the past four or five years, and as this vein is a richly productive one, we should rejoice in its continuation. On the whole, however, the tone is more tenuous than before and the color relations are increasingly subtle. At the Museum of Modern Art show of fifteen Americans, Tomlin seemed to me to play Braque to Pollock's Picasso; now he puts me in mind, if such a combination can be thought possible, of a large-scale mid-century Demuth. From me this is high praise indeed. Within the limits that Tomlin, like every good artist, sets himself, he has a considerable range. While all the pictures are completely non-objective, their poetic impact is very strong and very concrete. The first picture to the right of the entrance (Number 1) may be compared to the experience of looking at Japanese cherry blossoms against a gray sky, or even to the interior of Bavarian eighteenth-century churches of the style I like to call "barococo." But like Pollock, Gottlieb, Dekooning, and Motherwell, Tomlin is at his best in large canvases where the play of his forms has a wider scope. I do not think of him so much as an architectural muralist because of the overwhelming importance of texture and the nearly unbelievable refinement of color harmonies. Anyone who would pass this off as decoration alone should be prepared to make the same estimate of Watteau, for whom I suspect that Tomlin has a secret affinity. We are certainly not in an Age of Degradation, as Maritain would have it, when the prevailing idiom is varied enough to allow a Dekooning and a Tomlin to coexist.

Music

B. H. Haggin

THE New York City Opera's production of Rossini's "La Cenerentola" proved to be one of its finest achievements, which deserved its triumph with the audience at the first performance. The company has been—and continues to be—undiscriminating in its adventurousness; but this time it chose a work that deserved the effort expended on it: "La Cenerentola" is filled with superb and delightful writing in Rossini's lyric, comic, and florid bravura styles—the last in particular often taking one's breath away with its controlled extravagance. Also, the company has repeatedly undertaken works that one thought beyond its resources and powers; and this one required styles of singing that one didn't expect the members of the New York City Opera to be capable of. But the company usually has come through successfully in the past; and this time again Frances Bible astonished one with a bravura style that gained in security and impressiveness in the course of the performance; Richard Wentworth astonished one as much with his buffo style; and George Gaynes's buffo style was perhaps the greatest surprise of all to those who knew him as the romantic male lead in "Wonderful Town." Surprising too, if Riccardo Manning was the Italian tenor he seemed to be, was the musicality and taste that operated in his phrasing of lyric and florid music. Having said this I must add that one thing in the singing of Bible and some of the other Americans—Laurel Hurley, Edith Evans, Arthur Newman—was disturbing: their pronunciation of Italian, principally their sharp American t's; and I find it difficult to believe that these singers couldn't with sufficient work and care achieve as good pronunciation as Wentworth's. Also I must add that under Rosenstock's direction the orchestra didn't surprise one in the way the singers did—with the style, the sharpness and tension, that its playing would have had if Cantelli or De Sabata had conducted.

In addition the singers acted well—above all Gaynes, whose Dandini astonished one further with the make-up and all the other detail of a superbly worked out stylized characterization. And in this one saw the excellent stage direction of Otto Erhardt. Corny scenery and direction have been the weakness of most of the company's productions; and one felt a little uneasy at the first sight of the scenery of Rouben Ter-Arutunian based on an old English toy-theater adaptation of the 1830 production at Covent Garden. But what would have been unbearably cute with some of the direction the company has offered in the past proved quite charming as the background for the unaggressively amusing details of action in which Erhardt made the essential lines of character and story explicit. His work was a model of what opera direction should be: assuming the audience's inability to understand the Italian words and its knowledge only of what it had read in the program—e.g., that Dandini impersonates Prince Ramiro, and eventually reveals his true identity to Don Magnifico—Erhardt made this explicit, with restraint as remarkable as his sense for comedy, in details that caused the audience to burst into laughter at Dandino's first entrance and kept it laughing all the way through his duet with Don Magnifico. And it is therefore hard to understand the interpolation of a spoof of ballet that is completely out of context in the production and a shocking lapse of taste and intelligence.

In the Metropolitan Opera "Don Giovanni" that I attended George London sang beautifully, looked dazzlingly handsome and elegant, and acted with his force of presence and projection—which would seem to add up to a hundred per cent; but without the make-up that conceals his youthful appearance in other roles his Don Giovanni simply wasn't old enough to be credible as the libertine with 1003 conquests in Spain alone. In the first act Eugene Conley sang *Dalla sua pace* with flawless beauty of tone and sustained phrasing, and Roberta Peters surprised me—after her singing in "Rigoletto" last year—with a lovely performance of *Batti, batti;* but Regina Resnik's tremulous stridency in high notes, Margaret Harshaw's combination of tremolo and acid, and Salvatore Baccaloni's buzz-saw-like hoarseness amounted to sheer assault and battery on the ears. It was astounding therefore, and appalling, to observe what happened at the solo curtain-calls: the perfunctory applause for Conley, the storms of applause and yells not only for London but for Harshaw, for Resnik, for Baccaloni. I observed recently that the Metropolitan should offer the public only the good singing that would teach it to recognize bad; instead the Metropolitan has presented good and bad equally as the best in the world, until the public by now doesn't always recognize the good and even prefers the bad.

For the record I must add that in the second act Conley got a little breathless in one of the long florid passages of *Il mio tesoro;* and that on the other hand Resnik and Harshaw reappeared miraculously freed of their tremolos—the result being to leave Harshaw's voice merely rough and harsh, but to reveal Resnik's as quite lovely when it is under control. I should add also that Reiner produced a beautiful orchestral framework for the singing, but that the dramatic framework attributed to Herbert Graf is one of those most urgently in need of replacement at the Metropolitan.

Art Notes

WALLACE PUTNAM'S paintings present cows, landscapes, and seascapes of a far from wild and woolly West. He uses a pictorial shorthand that inscribes the essence of scenes in clear flat colors. —*Passedoit to April* 25.

BETH CREEVEY HAMM, former president of the National Association of Women Artists and an active exhibitor, shows water colors of scenes in Colorado and Connecticut. The colors are warm, the style illustrative, and much attention is paid to contrasting forms of flowers and rocks.—*Argent to May 2.*

ARMIN LANDECK is represented in this retrospective exhibition of twenty-five years of printmaking by etchings and engravings of lonely streets and buildings lit by street lights. They are fine atmospheric prints in a style akin to Hopper.—*Kennedy to April 30.*

LAWRENCE KUPFERMAN, one-time surrealist, has taken Biblical themes for his new paintings. These are richly colored abstractions which suggest the universality of their stated subjects.—*Levitt to April 30.*

SNORRE ANDERSEN is a Norwegian painter having his first show in the United States. These landscapes of New England express moods of nostalgia or loneliness.—*Serigraph to April 27.*

W. R. LEIGH, last member of the trio of painters of the Old West which included Remington and Russell, is showing a representative selection of a half-century of his work. His paintings portray cowboys, Indians, bronco-busting, and all the picturesque subject matter of the last frontier.—*Grand Central to May 2.*

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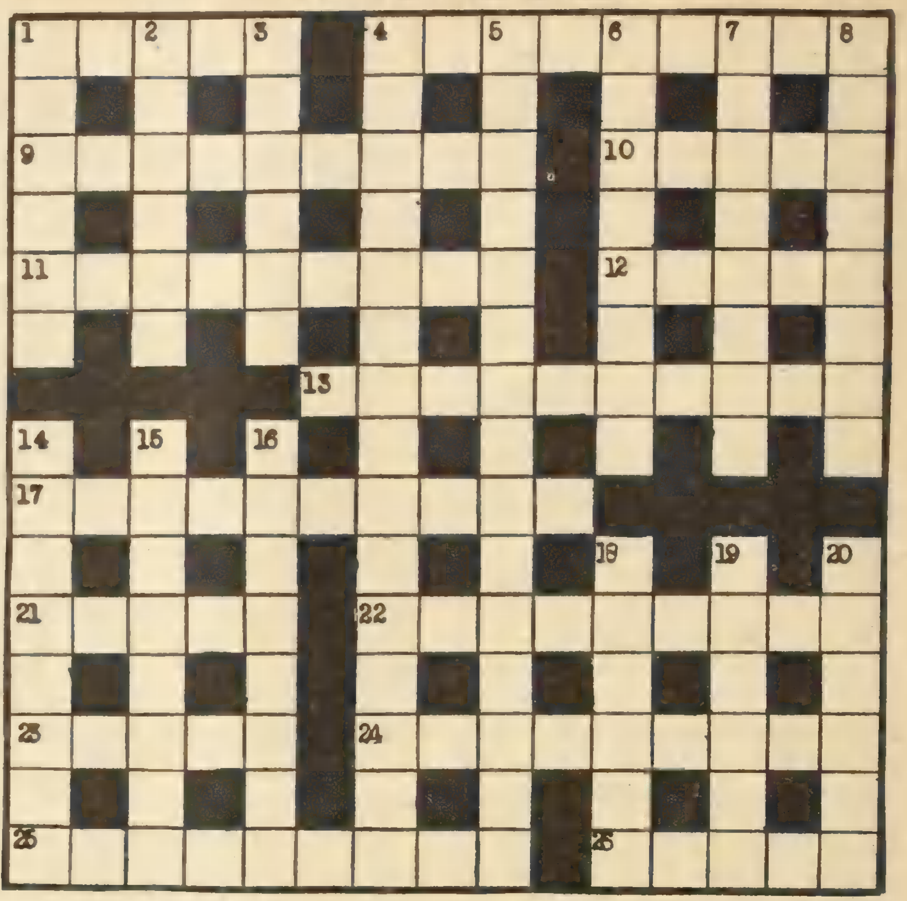

ACROSS

1 Aside from helpers, the president is entitled to a few. (5)
4 In the old days, many a vessel this; and some this with many a vessel. (9)
9 This is one lacing that certainly isn't ill-suited. (9)
10 Tarkington's magnificent family is left childless. (5)
11 Where Lady Macbeth immediately placed imprecations? (2, 3, 4)
12 A couple of notes for money of account in Italy. (5)
18 Various styles of baggage handled by the railroad? (5, 5)
17 One couldn't say Shelley or Keats was like a man in court. (10)
21 Does he admit to having something? (5)
22 Is ring poise acquired by a change of dressing gowns? (9)
23 Stradivari's teacher, named by proclamation. (5)
24 Were Elgar's variations so mysterious? (9)
25 Sort of dreads to see the name on the outside, perhaps. (9)
26 A rather plain sort of fur. (5)

DOWN

1 One of the things that makes the fleet so fast? (6)
2 Indicate the sort of need to take such things as 12 away? (6)
8 It holds things together more on the slant, perhaps! (6)
4 One would expect spoiled children with those who don't spare the rod and those who aren't wide-awake. (15)
5 Divided what is immeasurably great about 4, to barely mention an example. (5, 10)
6 Water which suggests the transfer of its barrier? (5, 3)
7 A glib line is bad enough, but even more dangerous in print! (8)
8 This sort of room used to be associated with Carroll's party. (8)
14 Convenient eating establishment article, typified by Olympia. (8)
15 Stops to make a sort of synonym for one who 4-across too often. (8)
16 Charge off, but not all at once! (The British would make this look like quite a joint.) (8)
18 This might make me lean over on my teeth, perhaps. (6)
19 Leave a little change for the chief—it's perfectly all right. (6)
20 Refuse to go where you might find wood and tin. (6)

• ✻ •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 511

ACROSS:—1 CONSTRAINS; 6 SPIT; 10 ARMLESS; 11 IMPLODE; 12 GENERAL SHERMAN; 14 ABERDEEN; 15 and 23 down SPACE SHIPS; 16 LABELS; 18 ASPIRATE; 22 SHOULDER STRAPS; 24 INSIGNE; 25 PROPOSE; 26 SO-SO; 27 PERSISTENT.

DOWN:—1 CHANGEABLE; 2 NOMINEE; 3 TIERRA DEL FUEGO; 4 ABSOLVE; 5 NEIGHS; 7 PROSAIC; 8 TIER; 9 APPROPRIATIONS; 13 ASSESSMENT; 17 BEHESTS; 19 STRIPES; 20 ABALONE; 21 ADHERE.

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Letters

(Continued from Inside Front Cover)

appreciate if he were working at United Nations Headquarters and not abroad—is but one indication of the interest which comes with proximity.

The most significant indicator of the connection between the location of the United Nations in this country and the influence its presence has on our government is to be found in the anti-United Nations editorials of the Hearst papers. "Get the United States out of the United Nations and the United Nations out of the United States!" What better testimony to the importance of the United Nations' presence do we need?. . .

Most important, however, Jean Berlitz's argument seems to be based upon a wrong diagnosis. The United Nations' troubles have been aggravated by its location in the United States. To argue, though, that a short trip to a neutral nation would cure its difficulties is the sort of naivete of which the best friends of the world organization cannot be accused.

PETER B. KENEN,
United Nations Correspondent,
Intercollegiate Broadcasting System

New York

Ruth Crawford Reprints

Dear Sirs: Many readers of *The Nation* have been kind enough to write to me about my article, I Have a Thing to Tell You, in the January 24 issue. . . . Their letters have given me reassurance that more and more people in this country, on their own and through organizations, are resisting the current shameful attack on our political freedoms. We must see the belligerent minority behind that attack for what it is and fight back with the strength of the majority. For we are the majority, and we must trust the majority to stand with us in this fight.

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New York RUTH CRAWFORD

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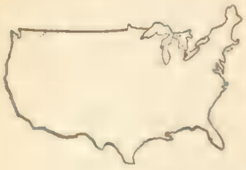
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Around the U.S.A.



The Great Crusade Takes a Header

Topeka, Kan.

AFTER all the Republican screaming about the "Missouri gang" and the "5 percenters" who operated in Washington under Truman, the Administration must have been shocked and humiliated to have the Republican-controlled Kansas legislature uncover facts which branded the chairman of the National Committee an accomplished "Kansas 10 percenter," leader of a clique closely allied with big utility interests and notoriously engaged for the past fifteen years in activities closely resembling "influence peddling."

Specifically, Mr. Roberts was censured for having violated the spirit of a state anti-lobbying law when without registering as a lobbyist he engineered a deal through which the taxpapers bought for $110,000 a tuberculosis sanatorium building which the Kansas Attorney General and many other lawyers declared was already owned by the state. Mr. Roberts was paid a fee of $11,000 for this piece of work.

It is regrettable that the Kansas legislative committee did not go on to show how Roberts obtained his power and influence and who induced President Eisenhower to make him chairman of the National Committee, with that post's far-reaching control of patronage. For some mysterious reason the committee did not even try to bring out the details of Mr. Roberts's work for the Cities Service Gas Company, though Mr. Roberts admitted that the company paid him $3,750 just to keep an eye on how the legislators were performing. He denied that this fee was for lobbying, but coincident with its payment the Cities Service Company obtained a long-sought objective. For fifteen years the big utility company had been trying to get the legislature to empower it to take over abandoned wells throughout the state for use as gas-storage facilities. It was never able to do so until it employed Mr. Roberts.

Frank Carlson, the junior United States Senator from Kansas, is generally credited with having influenced the President to pick Roberts to direct the Republican National Committee. But undoubtedly other powerful forces were active in Roberts's behalf. Eisenhower and the president of the Cities Service Company are such close friends that the latter journeyed all the way to Georgia just to play a round of golf with Ike when he took his first rest trip South after his inauguration. In fact, Roberts's climb to power in Kansas party politics had a "gas-company aroma" from the beginning.

■ The son of the publisher of a small-town weekly, C. Wesley Roberts entered public service in the middle thirties as a clerk in a Kansas port-of-entry station. When Payne H. Ratner was elected Governor in 1938, Roberts, who had worked at campaign headquarters in association with State Chairman Walter Fees, an oil and gas man, was given the job of executive secretary to the Governor. Soon after the election Governor Ratner and his family took a vacation cruise through the Caribbean, and it was established in a United States Senate investigation conducted by the late Senator from Kansas, Clyde M. Reed, that the money for the cruise was furnished by the Cities Service Gas Company.

That was the first evidence of a connection between Roberts's political associates and the utilities company. More was to come. Shortly after Ratner took office, with Roberts as his executive secretary, the Governor's State Tax Commission lowered the assessed valuation of the gas company's properties in Kansas some two million dollars.

When Fees retired as Republican state chairman, Roberts took over the job. He remained as executive secretary under Governor Frank Carlson and served as campaign manager for Carlson when the Governor moved on to the United States Senate. Roberts retired as state chairman in the fall of 1950 and set himself up as a "public-relations counsel." It was in that capacity that he engineered the "10 per cent" deal through which the taxpayers bought a building they probably already owned and collected the $3,750 from the Cities Service Company.

■ Although originally a Taft man, Roberts climbed on the Eisenhower bandwagon early in the campaign, and along with Senator Carlson traveled with the candidate on most of the campaign tours. He was credited with such astute work in the '52 "crusade for votes" that Senator Carlson had no trouble getting him made chairman of the Republican National Committee. As soon as he was installed in his new job, he began to make moves which indicated that a new "Kansas gang" might be in the making to take over where the "Missouri gang" had left off. Unquestionably it was at the urging of Senator Carlson and Roberts—aided by the real-estate lobby—that Kansas's lame-duck Congressman, Albert M. Cole, was appointed to administer the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency, despite the fact that throughout his Congressional career Cole had done everything in his power to cripple this agency.

At the time he was forced to resign his National Committee chairmanship under fire, Roberts, along with Senator Carlson, was also promoting, with apparent success, the nomination of Jeff A. Robertson, chairman of the Kansas Corporation Commission, as one of the new members of the Federal Power Commission. Robertston is known throughout Kansas as the "darling" of the big utility corporations, especially the Bell Telephone Company, to which his commission has granted several rate increases. It is said that a number of other key posts were scheduled to go to Kansans at the behest of Carlson and Roberts.

Now that Roberts is "out," we can hope that the President will use more care in selecting the men whom he expects to help restore confidence in the national government.

W. G. CLUGSTON

[*W. G. Clugston is the author of "Politics in Kansas," "Eisenhower for President?" and other books on public affairs.*]

Volume 176, Number 17
New York, Saturday, April 25, 1953

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Something for Nothing?

There is no question about the relief and hope with which the world responded to President Eisenhower's speech last week. His tone was sincere, his solemn pledge that the United States would join in the search for a just peace was backed by an impressive commitment to devote a substantial part of "any savings achieved by real disarmament" to the struggle against poverty and need. The desperate craving everywhere for an end to arms and to wars cold and hot created a welcome in which there was little room for doubt or criticism. Even the Russians played up the "positive" aspects of the speech.

But second thoughts are cropping up. People have had a chance to reexamine the President's proposals; the Secretary of State has amplified and commented upon them. Almost reluctantly, informed observers are beginning to ask how the conditions laid down by Messrs. Eisenhower and Dulles can possibly provide the basis for a negotiated settlement. In effect what the foreign-policy chiefs of the American government are saying is that the Kremlin can have peace if it is ready to abandon forthwith its domination over Eastern Europe—that is, dismantle its defense system—while accepting as the prerequisite of a peaceful continent, NATO, the European army, and a Germany unified, armed, and integrated in the Western defense system. In the cold light of the morning after, this formula for total victory in the cold war seemed to overshadow the President's more feasible and moderate demands for specific proofs of Moscow's desire for conciliation, such as the release of World War II prisoners still held by Russia and the prompt signing of the Austrian treaty.

Language of the Cold War

Quite as dubious as their plan for peace in Europe were the Eisenhower-Dulles conditions for the Far East. Fortunately they left the exchange of disabled war prisoners, now going forward successfully at Panmunjom, to the military men in charge. It would be worse than sad if these first smooth steps toward a truce were to end in a political quagmire.

President Eisenhower called for the conclusion of an armistice and the prompt initiation of talks "leading to the holding of free elections in a united Korea." This is fantasy, as the President and his advisers know. It will take many months and a process of massive rehabilitation, on both sides of the line, before Korea can be united and free elections held. The Russians could not work this miracle if they wanted, though they could cooperate with the United Nations to help bring it ultimately to pass.

Nor could the Russians call off what the President described as "direct and indirect attacks on Indo-China and Malaya." The war in Indo-China, particularly, is first of all a colonial war, an attempt to crush by military power a native struggle for independence. That Moscow and Peking are backing the rebel forces goes without saying; whether Ho Chi-minh would knuckle under to the French-Vietnam army on orders from the Kremlin is a different and very questionable matter.

Mr. Dulles dwelt at length on this nation's mounting commitments to the anti-Communist crusade in Asia, based upon our conviction that "our Eastern friends from Japan, Korea, and Formosa to Indo-China and Malaya, face a single hostile front, to be met by a common purpose and a growing cooperation between the component parts of freedom."

This is the language of the cold war, not of diplomacy and negotiation. Most earnestly we commend to the attention of both the President and his Secretary of State the article on page 342 by W. Macmahon Ball, a man whose knowledge and official experience of Far Eastern affairs tops those of both American leaders. His suggestions bring a welcome note of realism into today's speculations.

First Korea, Now Kenya

The conviction of Jomo Kenyatta and five of his chief lieutenants on a charge of having organized the Mau Mau secret society in Kenya and his subsequent sentence to seven years' hard labor invests L. S. B. Leakey's article in this issue with especial interest. Mr. Leakey's matter-of-fact account of the vicissitudes of the Kikuyu tribe throws a most revealing light on the origins of Mau Mau terror. The failure of the press to give adequate coverage to the fifty-eight-day trial of Kenyatta—one of the major political trials of recent years—was in glaring contrast

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to the space it has devoted to reports of the terror.

On occasion, certainly, the terrorists have lived up to their reputation for senseless violence, as when, at Lari, an armed gang of 300 or more attacked and murdered 150 defenseless tribesmen—the movement's most hated enemies are now the natives who will not conform. Incidents of this sort, sensationally reported, have obscured the gravity of the social crisis in Kenya, which may yet spread to other parts of Africa. World opinion should be warned that peace in Korea might well be followed by a form of mass terror in Kenya that is merely another name for war—war fought in the dead of night by desperate natives armed with spears and shotguns rather than by tanks and jet planes operating in the light of day under the eyes of the newsreel cameras.

Bonus for the duPonts

The nomination of Judge Stanley N. Barnes of Los Angeles as Assistant Attorney General in charge of the vital Anti-Trust Division conforms to the general pattern of the new Administration's appointments. Judge Barnes will not extend the horizons of the Anti-Trust Division. Not only does he lack the special qualifications for this strategic post, such as some economic training or background, but he holds ultra-conservative views. It may be taken for granted that he will look with favor on the campaign, already well under way, to induce the Department of Justice to drop a dozen or more crucially important anti-trust prosecutions now pending.

This latest appointment is a major "bonus" for the big-business interests that supported President Eisenhower. Politically it is another demonstration that California patronage is firmly controlled by Governor Warren and not by Vice-President Nixon or Senators Knowland and Kuchel. Judge Barnes was appointed to the Los Angeles Superior Court by Warren and like the Governor has been active in the affairs of the University of California alumni association. With his former assistant Warren Olney now in charge of criminal prosecutions in the Department of Justice, and Judge Barnes at the anti-trust desk, does Governor Warren plan to succeed Mr. Brownell one of these days?

Rolling Back the New Deal

Another interesting nominee of the new Administration is that of Ralph D. Demmler as a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission. Mr. Demmler, who is slated to be the new chairman, is a member of the largest law firm in Pittsburgh—Reed, Smith, Shaw, and McClay, with which the late Senator David Reed was associated—a former officer of the Commonwealth Trust Company, and a friend of Secretary George M. Humphrey, who recommended him for the post. To induce Mr. Demmler to accept the appointment, at "a big financial sacrifice," the President is said to have promised him a free hand in reorganizing the commission, including the privilege of passing on future nominees. The resignation of Donald C. Cook has already created one vacancy, and Richard E. McEntire is expected to resign soon. What is likely to happen to the S. E. C. under the new dispensation is suggested by the comments of Leslie Gould, financial editor of the New York *Journal-American,* who exclusively forecast the appointment of Mr. Demmler. "The S. E. C. has deteriorated since it started twenty years ago. It is in need of a reorganization . . . there is some question whether this can be done without winding it up and making a new start." The S. E. C. under Mr. Demmler's chairmanship will, it is obvious, call for careful and continuous scrutiny.

The Bloody Fifth Act

South Africa's tragedy is unrolling with all the inevitability of Greek epic drama. Frightened by native reaction to repressive measures, the white minority has voted for more repression, setting the stage for an authoritarian one-party state, banishing the last hope of peaceful progress based on race cooperation.

In last week's election Prime Minister Malan's Nationalist Party increased its popular vote but still failed to achieve a plurality. However, the massive over-representation of the rural areas, where most of its strength lies, allowed it to double its Parliamentary majority. The Nationalist government seems to be in an almost impregnable position, and faced only with a weak and vacillating opposition, it is likely in the next four years to take steps that will insure the perpetuation of its power. Its program includes emasculation of the Supreme Court, the one remaining bulwark of constitutional liberties, abolition of the franchise for the "colored" (mixed) population of Cape Province, tightening of the segregation laws, prohibition of any kind of native labor organization, and discriminatory measures against the English-speaking section of the community.

The Nationalist triumph can hardly fail to turn the native African organizations to desperate courses. With all legal avenues of protest blocked, with even passive disobedience punishable by savage floggings and jail sentences, the moderate leaders who up to now have maintained an amazing discipline, are likely to be thrust aside. No doubt for a time the government's machine-guns can keep revolution in check. But since 2,500,000 whites cannot indefinitely hold in a condition of near-slavery four times as many Africans, colored, and Indians, a bloody fifth act is all too probable.

Any Bids for a Museum?

Former President Herbert Hoover wants the federal government to "get out of the business of generating and distributing power as soon as possible." Specifically he feels that Congress should appropriate no more funds for projects intended solely for the generation of power—a dig at the T. V. A.'s program of enlarging steam-plant capacity—or for multiple-purpose projects unless provision is made that the power output be "leased" to private industry or to cities, states, or state-managed regional authorities. Such a policy, Mr. Hoover estimates, would save the government $600,000,000 a year and halt "creeping socialism." Charles E. (General Electric) Wilson made a similar proposal last fall but Mr. Wilson wanted the government to dispose of the Post office, as well as to "denationalize" industry by selling the T. V. A.

The fairly wide condemnation that has greeted both proposals seems to have missed their real significance. We doubt that Messrs. Hoover and Wilson believe that the people would readily permit the federal government to liquidate its investment in public-power projects; the *Wall Street Journal* drily comments that Mr. Hoover's proposal "may not bear early fruit in legislation." But there is real danger that discussion of these suggestions may divert attention from the tidelands-oil issue and certain proposals which, if enacted, would permit a handful of industrial interests to muscle in on the atomic-energy program. Messrs. Hoover and Wilson are thinking of the future, not of the past.

The day before Mr. Hoover unveiled this latest example of elder statesmanship, the press reported that the house in which he lived as a boy in Newberg, Oregon, would be restored to its original appearance and preserved as a museum. We trust that no public funds will be used, and that once the structure is restored it will be sold to the highest bidder for cash and operated thereafter for private profit.

Not-So-Free Enterprise

The Administration has repeatedly expressed its devotion to the principles of government economy and competitive free enterprise. Practice, apparently, is another matter, for both principles were violated when the Army Engineers, with the approval of Secretary of Defense Wilson, rejected all bids on two contracts for generators and transformers to be installed at Chief Joseph Dam on the Columbia River. Low bids in both cases were received from a leading British firm which submitted prices 11.4 per cent and 16.8 per cent, respectively, less than the lowest American offers. In announcing its action the army merely stated that it "reserves the right to reject any and all bids." But surely some further explanation is in order. The refusal of a saving totaling $840,000 is a curious way of cutting government expenses. The apparent discrimination against a foreign company is a queer method of illustrating our frequent lectures to European industry about the importance of making their economy more competitive.

The Middle East's Link With World Peace

ON ISRAEL'S fifth anniversary it is evident that its principal need is peace with its neighbors.

Herculean labors, sacrifice, imagination, and austerity have produced a democratic oasis in the feudal Middle East. The population of the country has grown 120 per cent. In Israel now is the largest portion of the Jewish survivors of Hitlerism, who, but for Israel, could not have found homes and rehabilitation, as well as large numbers of Oriental Jews, unexpected refugees from persecution in North Africa and the Middle East. With the population have grown also agricultural and industrial production, education, and cultural development.

But what this little democratic outpost still urgently needs is an international climate of peace and good-will which will allow it to develop normally, in friendship with its neighbors, and without getting imbroiled in the East-West tensions.

This need for international equilibrium and the settlement of the Palestine war has been strikingly demonstrated by the march of events in 1953. The year's beginning saw the shocking charge that a group of Jewish doctors were the instruments of a "Zionist-inspired conspiracy" against the Soviet state at the behest of the Western powers. Reptured diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel followed.

ON MARCH 5 Stalin died and almost exactly a month later—on April 4—the charges against the doctors were withdrawn and they were released by the Soviet authorities. On April 17 the Soviet Minister of Justice warned that the preaching of racial hatred or scorn in the Soviet Union would be punished by law, and in the United Nations Mr. Vishinsky, on April 15, reiterated the government's withdrawal of the charges against the doctors, the intention of punishing those responsible for them, and gave assurances that "the restoration of truth is one of the fundamental aspects of the U. S. S. R."

Unhappily, in the interval between accusation and withdrawal, the seeds sown found fertile soil in the Arab countries, as was shockingly demonstrated by Arab statements in the United Nations last week. It was a campaign animated by two considerations—genuine hatred of Israel and an astute sense of the trading value that a flirtation with Russia could produce in possible returns from the West.

The delegate of Syria openly stated that the stand taken by the Soviet Union on Zionism and the severance of relations with Israel "are in our view an indication of a good understanding by the Soviet Union of the realities of the situation in the Middle East. . . . We see nothing strange in the Soviet attitude except that it was delayed."

The Arab bloc, borrowing literally from the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," charged that the Zionist movement represents an "orderly fifth column," which has for its purpose the subversion of every government in the interests of the Zionist objective. The Arabs charged that these groups, when they cannot otherwise secure their objectives, do not hesitate to turn to murder, and would even start a war to destroy their opponents.

At the same time, fearful lest the Soviet Union restore relations with Israel, the delegate of Syria added: "We have substantial reasons to believe that Zionism today is trying hard either to compromise its differences with the Soviet Union and the countries of the Peoples' Democracies to secure support and immigration, or to incite, with all its means, a destructive war against them."

ISRAEL was compelled out of self-respect to reply to the Arabs. It was this necessity which precipitated the new attack of "Zionism" on April 16 by the delegate of Czechoslovakia, who could not swallow the statement of Ambassador Eban that "events in Prague and Moscow have had a dire effect on the political and moral atmosphere of the Middle East." Ignored was Israel's expression of satisfaction with Moscow's repudiation of the "doctors' plot." But violent exception was taken to Eban's statement: "The central question to be watched with all vigilance is whether, as we hope, the repudiation denotes an intention to eliminate all over Eastern Europe the entire atmosphere which accompanied and followed the propagation of the original libels."

The delegate of Czechoslovakia made it clear that, for the time being at least, the Eastern bloc will not abandon the political advantages to be gained from pursuing the anti-Zionist line in the Middle Eastern countries. Reading from a prepared text, he stated that he agreed with the Arab delegates who had exposed "the imperialistic threat of Zionism."

Vishinsky's repudiation of responsibility for Arab anti-Semitism betrayed continuing Russian sensitivity to international reaction to anti-Semitism, despite his sharp attack on Israel. But certainly he held out no hope for early resumption of Russian-Israeli relations.

As long as there is no settlement of the Palestine war, the Arab states and the Soviet bloc will take advantage of every opportunity to use the disturbed situation for their own interests. Both Israel and the Arab states require peace. With peace there can be a settlement of the Arab-refugee problem and substantial aid for the development of this highly important area. Above all, the international community needs peace, for the continued instability of this highly strategic area makes for the insecurity of all the rest of us. At a moment when the climate for peace seems to have improved, earnest consideration should be given in the U. N. and elsewhere to producing the incentive for ending the Palestine war.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

Shift to Geneva

United Nations

WITH the second session of the Seventh Assembly nearing its close and the delegates relieved by the word that the United Nations Supreme Command in Korea has been authorized to accept the Communist proposal for an early renewal of truce talks, interest has shifted to Geneva, where the experts' meeting on East-West trade has just begun. This session, which the Russians are attending, will tell whether it will be possible within the next few months to hold a full-scale conference on the subject, thus realizing the constant ambition of Gunnar Myrdal, the able and imaginative Swedish economist who is secretary general of the U. N. Economic Commission for Europe.

Both Western and Eastern Europe may find in renewed trade between capitalist and Communist countries a solution for their present difficulties. And Western Europe is in a much stronger position than many Americans believe. A recent study by a group of French economic experts, "The Economic Power of Europe," published by the Institut International d'Archéocivilization, contains a series of comparative figures that may surprise American readers. For example, as regards hydroelectric energy, Western Europe has 108,400,000,000 kilowatts as compared with 96,000,000,000 for the United States and 23,100,000,000 for the Soviet Union. Among products suitable for export, Western Europe has 36,900,000 tons of cereals, the United States 31,700,000, and the Soviet Union 96,600,000; Western Europe's share of the output of dairy products is 75,320,000 tons, that of the United States 55,321,000, and that of the Soviet Union 43,000,000. It is on the basis of such figures that Professor Paul Rivet has developed his concept of a Western Europe politically independent and economically "liberated from servitude to the rest of the world in general and the United States in particular." But Western Europe would be less anxiously dependent on the dollars that today influence its politics so decisively if it could find new sources of imports and new markets for its exports through trade with the Communist world.

Take the case of Great Britain. That country has made a tremendous effort to reduce its financial and economic dependence on the United States. The 1953-54 budget introduced in Commons by Chancellor of the Exchequer R. A. Butler proves how successful the effort has been. But a larger trade with Russia and the other Communist countries of Eastern Europe would not only mean new markets but also free Britain from its continuing monetary troubles. The East does not work with money but with goods, and in Britain's present situation a barter trade of this kind is just what it needs.

France is equally interested. It was on the basis of a French motion, approved by twenty-four of the twenty-five nations represented at the annual session of the Economic Commission for Europe, that the Geneva meeting of April 13 took place. France feels the ill effects of the restricted international trade. In the next few months it faces a most acute economic crisis caused by the lack of foreign markets, an accelerated flight of gold, increasing unemployment, and an internal situation fraught with political and social perils. Allowing for obvious differences of degree, the same thing applies to the rest of Western Europe. The only exception is Switzerland, whose currency is in excellent condition; the other countries find their gold and dollar reserves inadequate to cover indispensable imports.

Commerce between East and West is part of the European economic tradition. Western Europe has always been accustomed to exchanging its manufactured products for raw materials and other necessary goods from the East. It can still provide Russia and the satellite countries not only with industrial and transport equipment and such manufactured goods as artificial yarns, fibers, and textiles, but also with agricultural produce, vegetables, fish, and so forth. In exchange, Russia and its neighbors can send to Western Europe grain, timber, manganese and chromium ores, furs, asbestos, anthracite, and oil.

At the Moscow economic conference held last year the desire of certain industrialists from the West to trade with the Soviet bloc proved stronger than the obstacles which various governments placed in the way of their pilgrimage to Moscow. And yet that conference had an obvious propaganda aspect which the Geneva meeting lacks and which kept away many potential traders. Also, the economic situation was then less favorable. Today Russia's conciliatory gestures toward the West work in favor of the Myrdal plan. Western European financial circles view with great concern the existing situation in which even minor economic fluctuations in the United States, such as may result from a lessening of international tension or from cuts in aid to Europe, could seriously jolt the economy of Western Europe.

No miracles should be expected from the Geneva meeting or from the full-scale conference that may stem from it. West-East trade on a large scale cannot be reestablished overnight. There are influential business interests in the United States that oppose trade of any kind with the Soviet bloc and urge the kind of embargo which is being applied to Communist China. But there are also important American business men who have a broader outlook. A step forward at Geneva followed by a successful plenary conference might contribute more than any other single thing toward normalizing international relations and lessening the danger of war.

[Mr. Del Vayö has left for Europe. His next article, on the meeting of the Council of NATO in Paris, will appear in the issue of May 9.]

TESTING CHINA

How Far Dare We Go? . . *by W. Macmahon Ball*

Melbourne, Australia

WHAT are the things we Westerners really want in the Far East? And what are the means at our disposal for getting them? If the new negotiations in Korea can open a way to a wider and lasting settlement, this is the moment for us to do some hard thinking.

The solid core of Western policy, stripped of its embellishments and variations, is the same in the East as in the West. It has two aims. The first is to avoid war—not only to end local wars in Korea and Indo-China but to achieve a situation that will cut down the risks of a third world war. The second, inseparable from the first, is to maintain and if possible improve our relative power position against the Communist world.

It is easy to state these aims but appallingly hard to know how best to organize and distribute the material and moral means at our disposal. Our material strength is made up of arms and fighting forces, with the industrial and economic resources that sustain them. Our moral strength is created by the sense of common interests and good-will of our friends and those we might win as friends. Moral and material strength do not always go together. At times the increase of our material strength may reduce our moral strength in a particular area—when, for example, we station garrisons in a foreign country that resents their presence—and it is often hard to decide whether this brings a net increase or reduction in our total strength. Nor can we hope to be strong everywhere in the world at the same time. In general it will be best to concentrate our material forces—our bases and garrisons—in areas where they have strong moral support rather than in those in which widespread hostility to their presence reduces their actual military effectiveness.

It is fatally easy at a moment like the present, when Communist governments are making some conciliatory gestures, to overestimate the ability of military strength to extract concessions or withdrawals. Some people are now excitedly declaring that since it was clearly the application of force that made the Communist leaders see a little reason, if we use more force they will see more reason. Some seem to believe that if we now raise our demands on China, and are prepared to back them with the threat of more military aid to Chiang and perhaps the blockade and bombing of the mainland, we can overthrow the Communist regime. This line of thinking, or feeling, is a sort of hangover from the nineteenth century, when visits from Western gunboats resolved so many vexatious problems in East Asia. It is possible, though doubtful, that Western victory in a third world war might shake the authority of the Peking government, but it is as nearly certain as anything can be in human affairs that no lesser catastrophe could shake it. The days when the West could push the East around have gone forever.

Resolute resistance to the aggression in Korea, efforts to induce Japan to rearm, increased military aid in Formosa and Indo-China have perhaps made the Communists want to extricate themselves from a position that is becoming more difficult than they expected. But it does not follow from this that the application of more pressure would make them ready to make more concessions. If the Communist countries, like the Western countries, want to avoid a general war and at the same time want to avoid any over-all weakening of their military position, their policy will naturally show some flexibility, some readiness to withdraw in this or that particular area at a particular time. It would be ridiculous to conclude from this that they would be prepared to withdraw from positions they consider vital. To try to force them to do so might precipitate the general war we are so anxious to avoid. We should remember the mistake that Hitler made. When he found that force, or the threat of force, got him what he wanted in Czechoslovakia, Austria, and other places, he thought he had hit on an infallible recipe for expanding the Reich. It was almost inevitable that he should try it in Poland. And then the appeasers, despite their fears, hit back. Any Western effort to put pressure on China beyond a certain line will risk war. This is the line beyond which the Peking government feels it cannot withdraw without great injury to its prestige and its territorial security. Let us not delude ourselves that peace can be brought to East Asia by the strong dictating to the weak; it can only come from negotiation among equals.

THIS LEADS to a more specific question. To what extent do Western military bases in East Asia promote our two aims—peace and strength?

In so far as Western military power acts as a deterrent to Communist aggression, it is because of its over-all pre-

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W. MACMAHON BALL, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is professor of political science at the University of Melbourne. At one time he was Australian minister to Japan.*

ponderance rather than because of its local distribution. It is doubtful, for example, whether American military bases in Japan can give those islands effective protection against an attack from the mainland. The only effective protection is the fear in the Kremlin that if Russian bombs were dropped on Tokyo, in a very few hours American bombs would be dropped on Moscow. It is generally accepted, particularly after the Korean experience, that the West has neither the intention nor the ability to wage land campaigns in Asia. In a new general war the West's strategy in the Pacific would be based on sea and air power, working from islands and other distant bases. In these circumstances it is doubtful whether bases and garrisons in Asia increase the West's over-all strength. Their presence seems always to excite racial and nationalist resentments, even when, as in Japan, they are maintained by a friendly and protecting power. When they represent a Western effort to buttress a regime hated and scorned by its own people, they arouse deep and widespread hostility. The question is whether the military advantages are not overbalanced by the political disadvantages. Western armies, or Eastern armies only kept in being by Western aid, are not likely to have any appreciable effect on Asian nationalist movements except to strengthen their more inflexible Communist and anti-Western elements.

It would seem, therefore, that the planned withdrawal of Western military forces from East Asia is a condition of improved relations between East and West. The problem is how to withdraw them without deserting the principle of freedom the West has proclaimed and without weakening its over-all position. In the two main areas of conflict—Korea and Indo-China—the holding of free plebiscites is possibly the way to stability. To determine when a plebiscite is really free is always difficult, and exceptionally difficult in Eastern countries, where so many people are illiterate and vulnerable to traditional pressures, but the recent general elections in India show what can be done to give ordinary people something approaching a free choice. It might be possible for a United Nations commission composed of men from neutral countries, countries like India and Switzerland and Sweden, to hold plebiscites, say, one year after the armistice, in both Korea and Indo-China. The purpose of the plebiscites would be to elect in each country a national assembly to which the government would be responsible. Once this national government had been established, all foreign forces would be withdrawn, and members of the United Nations would recognize the government as legitimate.

THERE WOULD, of course, be dangers in this procedure. The divisions in both countries may be too deep and bitter to permit cooperation in a single government. The new governments might turn out to have Communist majorities, or might soon come under Communist control. The real question is whether it is not even more dangerous to try to prevent such an increase in Communist influence by Western military intervention. Nationalism seems to be more powerful than communism everywhere in East Asia. As long as the nationalist movements feel that the West is the main and immediate enemy, they will be forced to lean toward Moscow. We know that it is the common fear of Russia and communism that holds so many Western nations together. Have we not enough imagination to realize that it is a similar common fear of the West that holds so many Communist nations together? If that fear were to diminish, Mao Tse-tung would almost certainly become more concerned to guard against China's interests being subordinated to Russia's, and Ho Chi-minh would be more eager to resist any threat of Chinese domination. If the West wants to keep China bound to Russia and other Communist-led nationalist movements in East Asia bound to China, the best way to insure this is by military intervention in East Asia.

The West's military withdrawal from East Asia would not mean that it was losing interest in the region. On the contrary it would open new opportunities for technical and economic cooperation, for helping the new nations of East Asia to secure themselves against domination by either the Communist or the Western world.

It goes without saying that if peaceful settlements are to be negotiated in East Asia, they must be negotiated with Communist China, not with the Nationalist regime in Formosa. If Peking is prepared to support arrangements by which the people of Korea and Indo-China freely decide their own future, it should not be too difficult for both Communist China and Japan to be received into the United Nations. These steps would not bring perfect harmony and peace, but they would be efforts to adjust Western policy to economic and political realities in East Asia.

Société Anonyme

He drives his lambent car over his jeweled, silken route;
With almost natural teeth, like Balzac's fabled ass, he feeds
On natural things, ejecting strictly cash. He speeds
Beside his princess and the royal kids. O fruit
Of fair exchange! O peace of movement! He glides among
  the wonders of his Rome:
The classic concrete of the banks, the templed culture, the
  articulate towers,
Electric cows rampant among electric flowers,
The cool, colonial good taste of the funeral home.

EDWIN MORGAN

OUR NEWEST WAR

The Mess in Indo-China . . *by Helen Mears*

Emperor Bao Dai

THE new "positive" American policy in Indo-China—made official in the joint American-French communique released after the visit of Premier René Mayer to Washington—not only puts the United States into the war in Indo-China, but represents an anomalous shift from our previous position. Up to now the United States has insisted that the war in Korea is a "local" problem to be settled without reference to broader issues. Now it declares that the Korean and the Indo-China war are "interdependent." What are the Chinese to make of this? It is they who have insisted from the beginning that the Korean war was "interdependent" with other Far Eastern political problems, such as Formosa, China's representation in the U. N., and the United States build-up of Chiang Kai-shek's military strength. If the United States continues to maintain that the Korean war is still "local" as far as China is concerned but "interdependent" with United States-French policies in Southeast Asia, the Chinese have no alternative but to assume that we are only seeking peace in Korea the better to wage war elsewhere.

As an answer to the Communist peace offensive the joint communiqué is inept. In fact, it seems ready-made to strengthen Communist propaganda. To equate the French war in Indo-China with the U. N. police action in Korea, on any terms whatever, is to jeopardize the legal authority of the action in Korea or to discredit United States sincerity in relation to the U. N. Up to now the United States government has found the legal and moral authority for its course in Korea in the powers delegated to it by the U. N. As an ally of the French in Indo-China it has no such authority. We assert of course that in Indo-China as in Korea the fighting is part of the pattern of "Communist aggression" and that this justifies our aid to France. The U. N., however, has not made any such declaration, nor has it authorized or approved any military intervention in Indo-China. In fact, a look at the record strongly suggests that if the U. N. should take an official position it would condemn the French as it condemned the Dutch in Indonesia.

In our current preoccupation with Communist aggression we tend to forget the important role played by Asian nationalism during the war. In both Indonesia and Indo-China, as in Korea, native nationalists had long resented foreign rule. The Japanese "liberated" these countries and set up "independent" native governments headed by nationalists. When the Japanese were defeated and the Dutch and French attempted to regain control, the native peoples resisted. The Dutch and French used increasing force, and savage warfare resulted.

In Indonesia the U. N. intervened to the extent of passing resolutions of censure and sending investigating commissions to the scene. Although the Dutch insisted that Indonesia was purely an "internal" affair and not within the jurisdiction of the U. N., the Security Council and Assembly decided otherwise and recorded their disapproval. Rumors of intervention in Indo-China kept appearing in the press, but nothing was done. Comment in general agreed that if no charges against France were made in the U. N., it was partly because the French had the veto in the Security Council—Holland had no such protection—and partly because Britain and the United States opposed such action. The United States did press the French to come to terms with the Vietnam nationalists and, according to newspaper reports, warned France that if some nation should bring a charge against it in the Security Council, France could not necessarily count on United States support.

THE CURRENT French position in Indo-China seems morally and legally weak. Politically the situation is complex. In March 1945, the Japanese, who had occupied the country, proclaimed the "complete independence" of Annam and Cambodia, and Emperor Bao Dai announced the abrogation of the Franco-Annamese treaty of 1886. Cambodia and Laos also made declarations of independence. Meanwhile Ho Chi-minh had organized the guerrillas which fought against both Vichy France and the Japanese and worked with the Western Allies. After the Japanese rout Ho's resistance forces formed the "Vietnam Republic," which merged with the "independent" Bai Dai regime. Bao Dai abdicated as Emperor in order "to be a free citizen in an independent country," and Ho became President. In March, 1946, the French made an agreement with this Vietnam Republic, promising to give it genuine independence within the frame of a projected French Union. They delayed so long, however, about

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HELEN MEARS is the author of "Mirror for Americans—Japan" and of many magazine articles on the Far East.

working out the details that fighting broke out—each side accused the other of starting it—and has been more or less continuous ever since.

To gain some native support against the Vietnam Republic the French set up a rival "provisional government" in June, 1947, thus adding to the tension and confusion. Later, under urging from the United States government, which favored the development of independent native regimes attached to France in a union modeled after the British Commonwealth, they worked out plans for three "independent" states to be known as the Associated States of Indo-China. In this set-up the French were to control foreign policy and the army and retain safeguards for their economic interests. In the meantime Bao Dai had broken with the Vietnam Republic and gone abroad, but the French persuaded him to return as head of a new French-sponsored "Vietnam Republic." To forestall the rumored recognition of this by the United States and Britain, the U. S. S. R., in early 1950, recognized the original republic. Shortly afterward the United States and Britain recognized the independence of the French-sponsored regimes of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. The major Asian nations have refused to do so.

The French, of course, have charged—and of late the United States has echoed the charge—that the original Vietnam Republic of Ho and his Viet-minh is dominated by Communists working in the interest of the Kremlin. But the facts as reported by American newspaper correspondents strongly suggest that, whatever the extent of Communist influence, the major operative factor has been and is nationalism. Ho Chi-minh was a nationalist, anti-monarchist revolutionary before the Russian Revolution. Anti-Communist newspapers and periodicals in this country have consistently emphasized the limited amount of "independence" granted to the new regimes by the French and have quoted the expressed dissatisfaction of anti-Communist nationalists with continued French control of foreign policy, military affairs, and the economy. Even Bao Dai, whose anti-communism seems unquestionable, complains of the slow progress toward independence. The French in turn are disappointed in Bao Dai, who has shown extreme disinclination to lead troops in the field.

Since 1946 the French have spent about $5,700,000,000 on the war in Indo-China. For the past few years the United States has paid up to one-third of the cost. Now it appears that the United States is prepared to step up its contribution.

Our linking of Korea with Indo-China will prove an irretrievable blunder unless we accept the full implications of this policy and open the door to negotiation of all the interdependent issues in the Far East.

MAU MAU TERROR

Fear, Freedom—and Magic . . *by L. S. B. Leakey*

Nairobi, Kenya

THE Kikuyu tribe, from which the vast majority of the Mau Mau terrorists are drawn, is the largest single tribe in Kenya. Since it is also one of the most advanced with respect to education, social welfare, and political institutions, many people have wondered that it should have given birth to the Mau Mau organization, which commits such terrible atrocities and practices the most primitive magic. To understand how Mau Mau came into existence, one must look back at the history of the tribe for the last sixty years or more.

Early European explorers and travelers, making their way on foot through East Africa toward Uganda, customarily gave Kikuyuland a wide berth, knowing that the people were hostile to Europeans and resented any intrusion into their territory. But the Kikuyu country, though densely populated, produced large amounts of food, and soon a trade sprang up between the travelers and the tribesmen. The caravans used to halt for days on the southern edge of Kikuyuland to exchange trade goods—beads, cotton cloth, and wire—for maize, beans, bananas, and millet. Although the Kikuyu objected to the caravans entering their territory, they were more than willing to come out to meet them and benefit by the trade thus established.

Writing of the Kikuyu in these early days, various European explorers noted the very intensive agriculture that was practiced to support a population, which at that time had a density of from 300 to 400 persons per square mile. By 1902, when the first British settlers arrived in search of land, conditions in the southern Kikuyu country had been greatly changed by a succession of disasters. A smallpox epidemic had reduced the population, according to some estimates, as much as 50 per cent; an outbreak of the rinderpest had killed off thousands of cattle; a severe drought had caused one famine and an invasion of locusts another.

Finding the population depleted and a good deal of land reverted to bush, the early immigrants thought the area well adapted to settlement. Moreover, from their point of view it was most advantageously situated, lying as it did within a few miles of Nairobi, which was then just coming into existence as a small railway town. Not unnaturally, therefore, the settlers sought permission to occupy part of this land, and permission was granted. If the government had known the basis of the Kiku-

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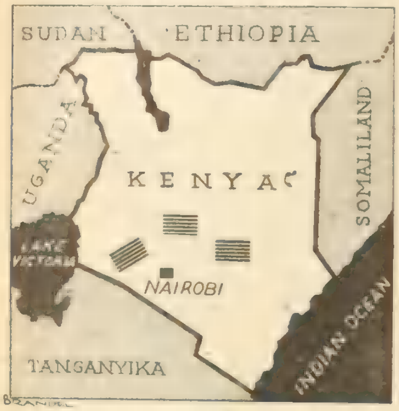
L. S. B. LEAKEY, British archaeologist, is curator of the Coryndon Museum at Nairobi. He is the author of "Stone Age Africa," "Kenya Contrasts and Problems," and, most recently, "Mau Mau and the Kikuyu."

yus' property rights in the region, it would certainly not have consented to this alienation of their land.

THE KIKUYU tribe had grown up in the country farther to the north, around what is now known as Fort Hall, but as its numbers increased, it spread both northward toward Mount Kenya, into what is now called the Nyeri district, and southward across the Chania River, into the Kiambu district, what I have called the southern part of Kikuyuland. It took over the Nyeri district by the "right of first user"—cutting down the forest and marking out family and individual estates. But when it started to move southward across the Chania River, it found the country occupied by the Wanderobo tribe, which had divided it into immense privately owned hunting zones. Each zone was clearly marked by natural boundaries within which one family claimed the exclusive right to hunt, trap, gather honey, and collect the wild edible fruits and roots. The Wanderobo undoubtedly regarded these hunting lands as their personal property.



The Kikuyu, by virtue of their numerical strength and organized fighting force, could have invaded the country south of the Chania and taken it away from the Wanderobo, but they did not do so. They firmly believed that the spirits of the dispossessed owners would prevent any successful harvest on land seized by force, and so they entered into negotiations with the Wanderobo families for the purchase of part of their hunting areas. The spirits of both tribes were properly propitiated and gave the transaction their blessing.

Thus all the land occupied by the Kikuyu between the Chania River and the territory of the Masai close to Nairobi was acquired by actual purchase. When the Europeans first passed through Kenya and started trading with the Kikuyu, it was owned by the wealthier families and occupied by them and their numerous tenants. When the white immigration started, it was still privately owned, though as the result of famine and disease only sparsely populated.

Unaware of these facts, the government of the time allowed Europeans to settle in the southern Kikuyu country, and the Europeans believed that they were acquiring outright ownership of the land. The Kikuyu, however, imagined that the occupation of these areas by the white man would be temporary, since they had not sold the land. It is true that some whites gave them money, but the Kikuyu took this to be payment for cultivation rights, since ownership of land could not change hands without certain elaborate religious ceremonies. Thus when the families which had fled from the region in the famine years began to come back, they were amazed to find that European settlers claimed the land as their property and refused to relinquish it.

In succeeding years the Kikuyus' desire to recover their old lands became very strong, and in 1922 they formed a political organization known as the Kikuyu Central Association whose principal object was to find a way of doing so. The fact that they had themselves acquired the land by purchase made their grievance still greater, and political agitators were not slow to exploit it.

THERE WERE, of course, other causes at work which prepared the ground for the agitators. The influx of whites and the accompanying religious, educational, and economic changes have broken down the well-tried social structure of the tribe and replaced it with very little of solid value. The medical services introduced by the Europeans have improved the health of the people and the schools have opened the door to economic progress, but unfortunately the new education has not adequately prepared the younger generation for the more complex way of life.

As literacy increased and as more and more of the young men were able to travel and see something of the outside world, the Kikuyu learned of the movements for independence and self-government going on in other colonial countries. Many became convinced that "self-government" would be the cure for all their troubles, and a group came into being which was determined to achieve it. Since the old belief in magic and witchcraft was still strong in the majority of the people, despite the fact that Christian missions had been at work in Kenya for fifty years, the organizers of the Mau Mau movement decided to make use of these deep-rooted superstitions for their own political ends. The Mau Mau oath is not an old and traditional oath at all, and in many ways it contravenes accepted Kikuyu rules for oath-taking ceremonies. Nevertheless, once taken, it is for most tribesmen absolutely binding, since they genuinely believe that if they break it, supernatural punishment will be visited upon themselves and their families, unless they have first been cleansed of its power.

In the earlier days of the Mau Mau movement recruiting was entirely voluntary, but gradually the leaders introduced the forcible administration of the oath to persons unwilling to join. It was essential to the success of their plans to have practically the whole population either actively involved or at least so bound by an oath that no one would give the active members away. If some more resolute Kikuyu resisted taking the oath, torture was used, and eventually it became necessary for the Mau Mau leaders to murder those who still refused, lest they report what had happened.

Fortunately for the country, certain men who had been forced to take the oath against their will preferred the risk of supernatural punishment to suffering silently the indignities inflicted on them. Through the brave action of these men the authorities discovered what was afoot, and the Mau Mau movement was declared to be unlawful. Not a few of those who denounced Mau Mau in this way were murdered by terrorist gangs; others had their houses burned over their heads. Some of the more reckless and lawless members of the organization also took upon themselves to attack individual Europeans, although it seems certain that the leaders' plans did not envisage such a step until their organization was more complete.

NEGRO TEACHERS

Martyrs to Integration? . . *by Oliver C. Cox*

Jefferson City, Mo.

THE abolition of segregation in the public schools and colleges of Missouri is now being debated in the legislature. Recently the House Public Schools Committee reported favorably a bill to eliminate segregation in the public schools, and the House has passed and sent to the Senate one stipulating that any qualified citizen shall be admitted "to any state-supported institution of higher learning without regard to race, color, or religion."

Although many white individuals and organizations are supporting this legislation, Negroes are naturally at the forefront of the movement. The whites have relied upon two principal arguments: that the bi-racial system increases costs, and that racial segregation in the schools has no moral sanction. Negroes have insisted not only that their self-respect as American citizens has been injured but that their right to acquire the national culture has been illegally abridged.

For Negro teachers, however, the issue is complicated by the possible effect of integration upon their chances of employment. "If segregation is abolished," some legislators are reported to have said, "all the colored teachers now employed in the public-school system will have to be discharged from their positions, and Lincoln University for Negroes may be closed as an economy measure." In neighboring Kansas, the Topeka *Daily Capital* disclosed a few weeks ago, school boards in the ten leading cities have already begun to "purge" Negro teachers on the ground that they "would not be welcome" in mixed schools.

Some Negro spokesmen consider this threat relatively trivial. In fact, one Negro newspaper asked recently: "Is that too great a sacrifice to pay for integration and a beginning toward real democratic living? . . . We cannot have our cake and eat it too." But while some selfless champions of democracy may think their employment and that of others are as nothing compared to the achievement of integration, this position seems to me in general unsound. Freedom to work is at least as sacred as the right to non-discrimination in education.

Indeed, education itself will have a decreasing value if the occasion to employ it is increasingly limited. One sometimes hears it said that Negro teachers "should prefer to dig ditches" rather than endure the disadvantages of segregated schools. But what about discrimination in the ditches? In the early nineteen thirties I saw Negroes fighting to the death on the streets of Chicago for an opportunity to work as laborers on paving jobs. It is unnecessary to multiply examples of the daily struggle of Negroes to secure their right to work. Moreover, the confidence of some individuals that they can always find another job is irrelevant, for the problem is not personal but social.

If Negro teachers must face unemployment as the price of the abolition of discrimination in education, the bargain is unacceptable. The integration of the elementary schools may, it is true, call for a reduction of plant and teaching staff, but in that case both Negro and white teachers should be released on some non-discriminatory basis, such as length of service or academic qualifications. And now is the time to insist upon this. To discharge only Negro teachers would be a most unconscionable act of racial discrimination. It would not only shatter the life organization of many families but darken the prospects of every Negro youth now planning to become a teacher.

While the abolition of segregation in the educational system of Missouri has already been too long delayed, it should not now be carried out so recklessly as to cause undue economic and educational hardship. Far from being a barrier to integration, an insistence that provision be made for the employment of Negro teachers is an indispensable test of the sincerity of the integration procedure. Anti-segregation legislation is important, but its proponents must remember that their real purpose is to enhance the welfare of a people.

THE FUTURE of Lincoln University is a more complex question. Located within fifty miles of the University of Missouri, some may say it should be closed in the interest of economy. This reasoning, however, could also be applied to the University of Missouri, since there are great universities only a few hours away in Illinois. Missouri, of course, will not be closed—for reasons more important than economic considerations. And so, too, there are other than economic factors to be weighed when the question of closing Lincoln is broached.

In a non-segregated school system forces may come into play to increase both the size and the usefulness of Lincoln University. The proportion of white to colored students at Lincoln will be the opposite of that at Missouri, and each should make its contribution to the development of a unified nation. In these times the public interest demands that the quality of instruction at Lincoln be improved and that white students in the community be encouraged to go there. There is an

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OLIVER C. COX is professor of sociology at Lincoln University and the author of "Caste, Class, and Race."

increasing need for the interracial education of white Americans.

Negroes who conceive of themselves not as hangers-on of our American culture but as meriting a place in its creative heart will not treat lightly the fate of their scholars. To admit in connection with integration that it is impossible to eat one's cake and have it too is to consent to the elimination of Negroes from college teaching or at least to their existence by sufferance on the periphery of sympathetic white faculties. The racial consequences of this would be manifestly regressive. Moreover, colleges for Negroes have such significance for Negro youth that their closing could result in a net cultural loss to the race.

Since "integration at any price" may work against the interests of colored people, Negro leaders, in their laudable struggle for the abolition of segregation in education, should perhaps curb their zeal for democracy and their anticipation of martyrdom lest they find themselves taking one step forward and two back.

FAILURE IN AUSTRIA

Poor People Get Poorer . . *by Charles A. Hoffman*

WITH fewer than seven million people and no military forces Austria has no need for United States arms, but it occupies a key position in United States strategic plans, and more than a billion dollars in E. R. P. funds has already been channeled into the country. The average Austrian, however, feels that his economic position is as precarious as it was before Marshall Plan help began.

A report prepared by the Economics Division of the Office of the High Commissioner for Austria emphasizes how slight a dent American aid has made on Austria's basic economic problems. And it suggests no way to utilize that aid to bring about the economic and political reforms that are necessary if the Austrian people are ever to enjoy a decent standard of living.

A non-Communist Austrian newspaper recently ran a front-page editorial acknowledging the unprecedented generosity of the Americans but bitterly attacking E. R. P. officials for allowing Austrian politicians to pursue their ruinous policies. "After seven years of peaceful development," it said, "in which E. R. P. credit has provided many times the amount of money otherwise available from government sources, we have arrived today exactly where we might have expected to be at the end of a war—facing a menacing inflation." Among the reasons for this crisis the editorial cited both "the government's irresponsible spending, on the principle that we can throw money out of the window whether we have it or not because the Americans will give us more, and the blind faith shown by the Americans in retaining practically no control over the uses to which E. R. P. credit is put."

The editorial then complained that the use of American money to bolster the Austrian economy had enabled the government to escape the consequences of its failure to plan or take positive action on such problems as administrative and tax reform, how to increase productivity and exports, how to improve credit facilities, and how to change the oppressive licensing system which is strangling trade. The government believes, it concluded, that "the specter of communism can still squeeze out dollars. With sour-sweet mien, it continues to make promises, but fundamentally everything will remain the same."

TO AN AMERICAN the Austrian idea of "free enterprise" is incomprehensible. Every business and trade is licensed. A man cannot start even a haberdashery without first serving years of apprenticeship at low wages. Then he may apply for a license, which will be granted by the government on the advice and consent of a trade association with whose members the applicant is a potential competitor. The law provides that if approval of an application will cause unhealthy competition, a license must be refused. Every approved licensee must become a member of the association under which his business is classified and conform to its regulations. These associations are powerful enough to direct the economic policies of the country. They firmly believe in restraint of competition and are the foundation of the most thoroughly cartelized economy in Europe. Prices are set artificially, and the interest of the consumer is ignored. The inevitable result is, of course, gross inefficiency and low productivity. It is a veritable medieval-guild system.

Unfortunately the Austrian licensing system has actually been strengthened by E. R. P. aid. The report of the Economics Division referred to above gives innumerable examples of the program's disregard of the principles under which it was inaugurated. For instance, when one of the most modern spinning mills in all Europe was presented as a free gift to Austria, it was widely proclaimed that the whole Austrian economy would benefit from the resulting rise in production. Three years later, the report declares, "though productivity has increased, there is no evidence as yet that the benefits have been passed on in the form of higher real wages to workers in the industry or lower consumer prices."

Since 1937 the number of textile dealers in Austria has more than doubled —from 7,000 to 14,000—but the turnover of goods has dropped by one-third. Profits, meanwhile, have increased from a pre-war average of 15 per cent

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CHARLES A. HOFFMAN was stationed in Austria from 1945 to 1951 as a State Department information and editorial specialist.

to 35 per cent at present. With twice as many dealers but far less turnover, the profit margin has more than doubled!

Because yarn prices are controlled by the cartel they are more than 75 per cent higher in Austria than in France or Belgium. This not only pinches the Austrian consumer but makes textile exports—a vital need for Austria and a cornerstone of E. R. P. policy—almost impossible. Austrian manufacturers cannot compete with manufacturers in countries where yarn prices are competitive.

The marketing of agricultural products is tightly controlled through cooperatives and special chambers of agriculture. And in a country often dependent for its food on E. R. P. grants, the prices of imported foods are kept up through taxes and duties so that they will not undercut the prices set for the domestic product by the farmers' marketing organizations. Though millions of dollars have been poured into agriculture by the E. R. P. and hundreds of millions of schillings by the Austrian government, production is 20 per cent below the pre-war figure. Whether the farmers are selling their produce illegally or are using the aid money for personal needs, as the Socialist Party claims, one thing is certain: E. R. P. aid has not succeeded in increasing significantly the amount of food on the dinner table.

As early as 1949 the United States protested to the Austrian government that representatives of the official Austrian agencies designated to carry out purchasing and sales contracts under E. R. P. were misusing their position. These protests were simply ignored. Eventually the abuses became so flagrant that a Parliamentary investigation was authorized. In 1952 an official white paper revealed that the Credit Anstalt and the Länderbank, the two largest financial institutions in the country, both government owned, had been engaged in profiteering from E. R. P.-financed exports and imports. The Credit Anstalt had even transferred E. R. P. dollars from a government agency to privately owned agencies in the United States and Switzerland, thus enabling private interests, at the expense of the Austrian economy, to obtain dollars for their own unrestricted use. Two purchasing and sales agents appointed by the banks and a third appointed by the trade associations were accused of using their positions to extract rebates from buyers and sellers. Through the operations of their own private firms, these men, who were known to have unsavory reputations, had participated in the very government business they handled.

STRANGELY ENOUGH, American aid, planned as a weapon against Russia, has in several instances in Austria indirectly benefited Russia or its satellites. The price of wheat in Austria is controlled by statute, and farmers are supposed to deliver certain fixed quotas at the controlled price. Since this price is well below the world-market price, the farmers complain bitterly. Three years ago Soviet agents began buying wheat from farmers on the black market at a price above the controlled price but below the world-market price. Wheat disappeared from the Austrian market and a bread shortage developed. The People's Party, which draws its support from the farmers, was not inclined to make an issue of the farmers' failure to deliver their grain quotas; in fact, one important party spokesman and government official stated that the violations were on such a large scale that the government was helpless. After much shifting of the blame between the Socialist Party and the People's Party, the government appealed to the Americans to make up the grain deficit with E. R. P. grants. For once this seemed to be more than the Americans could swallow and they refused. Then the pressure was applied: the Communist menace was played up; the need of American help was emphasized. Austria got the wheat.

Since the war Austria has paid for practically all its imports from the satellite countries in dollars furnished by the United States. It has exported to them such valuable commodities as iron, steel, and aluminum, to say nothing of the oil which Russia ships out of Austria without paying compensation of any kind. The satellites were supposed to pay for their imports from Austria with foodstuffs, raw materials, and producers' goods, but they have repeatedly broken their agreement and have tried to pay with cheap items like buttons and glassware, which Austria makes itself.

The Austrian worker not only gets no benefit from American aid in the form of lower prices but is paid substandard wages. The average wage is roughly $40 a month, while prices of most articles are higher than they are here. No wonder the United States finds it hard to convince the Austrian man in the street that it is providing E. R. P. funds to help him and not for selfish, imperialist motives. What answer can there be to the agitator who points to the new American automobiles driven by the prosperous directors of a busy factory and then asks the workers, "Has the Marshall Plan helped you?"

Any objective observer of the European economic structure knows that revolutionary changes are long overdue. For five years we have attempted to promote reforms in the liberal, democratic tradition. The results, particularly in Austria, are not encouraging. The ruling political and economic groups have failed to realize their precarious position or to take steps to save the society in which they flourish. Their attitude is one of unbelievable unconcern. They seem as fearful of American-sponsored reforms as of communism.

Americans should remember, moreover, that Russia acquired a tremendous share of Austrian industry and natural resources through an agreement among the four powers which granted it ownership of former German assets. In addition, the Russians have used the Austrian resources at their command to build a system of intricate and solid economic interests. Large as are the contributions we have made to Austria's wealth since the war, the United States, economically, will be in an extremely subordinate position in Austria after the peace treaty is signed. Russia has already demonstrated that it can make deals with Austrian cartels to strengthen its control. How long will Austria maintain its independence then? And what will happen to our strategic aims?

BOOKS

Monsters and Men

A Review by H. H. Wilson

GIANT BUSINESS — THREAT TO DEMOCRACY. By T. K. Quinn. The Exposition Press. $3.75.

THIS is a useful and important book written by a former executive of one of America's major corporations. T. K. Quinn is a democratic humanist who understands that "our kind of limited democracy cannot long withstand the conflicting authoritarian economic cancer."

One of the greatest sources of danger for any society is confusion about the nature and implications of existing institutions and practices. In the United States we are inclined to assume that we live in a society characterized by a free-enterprise economy. This is a fantasy that serves to perpetuate the irrational, to blind us to dangerous trends in both our economy and our political practices, and to restrict our capacity for creative change. In reality institutions and practices have developed in our society which contradict basic assumptions of political democracy. Furthermore, the danger is compounded when institutions and pressures appear to thrust forward to positions of power charismatic leaders or egocentric psychopaths.

To warn us that in the process of creating an enormous productive capacity we have changed the whole economic foundation of our society Mr. Quinn draws on his experience in General Electric and as a consultant to small business firms. He recognizes that democratic values and institutions stem from economic and social conditions that existed during much of our national history. These conditions no longer exist:

> We have changed from a nation of small capitalists into a nation of hired employees. No longer can the majority of our people realize themselves in their work. The work of three-fourths of them is not their own but an item in the business plans and operations of others. Economic balance, formerly achieved by each one acting freely, is no less certainly attempted by centralized authorities allocating men and materials to specified assignments. This shifting of economic security from property ownership to job-holding has also endangered political freedom, which is always dependent upon economic freedom.

This means that unless positive counteracting measures are introduced, our political and social institutions will be drastically reorganized. The United States of the future is being shaped by the economic structure we have created.

TODAY ours is an economy dominated by giant, quasi-private collectives, with government permanently installed as governor and general insurance fund. Though we protest against creative, positive planning by government, every sector of the economy has called upon government to eliminate risk and, in many cases, to legalize the elimination of competition, to absorb loss, and to guarantee profit. One result is that we confront a dual problem—the need to develop effective techniques for controlling formal government agencies and their bureaucracies and also for controlling the policy and actions of huge private collectives. It is worth emphasizing that these private collectives—corporations—are instruments of power and that they have many of the attributes of government. For the monster corporation is an economic state ruled by non-elected, self-perpetuating officers. "It is a device which . . . threatens to undermine the foundations of free society and create a tyranny more ruthless than any mankind has ever known."

After this hard-hitting analysis it is disquieting to consider the solutions Mr. Quinn proposes. He advocates federal incorporation of concerns doing interstate and foreign business; the prevention of mergers and the dissolution of those already existing; prevention of the building of retail chains by major corporations; the extension of R. F. C. loans to aid small business; the extension of price-maintenance laws and encouragement of "non-destructive" competition; and insistence that efficiency take account of social welfare.. These are measures intended to re-create something like a free competitive economy, with decisions made through the mechanism of a free market.

Mr. Quinn is convinced of the creative potential of relatively small business, in part because he knows of "no original invention [in the line of household appliances] . . . made by any of the giant laboratories or corporations, with the possible exception of the household garbage grinder." And he so fears "the totalitarian ultimate in the hands of communism or in fascistic Big Business" that he "would deliberately subsidize the democracy of smaller units if necessary." This, he believes, can begin with a planned program of decentralization of great corporations. If decentralization fails, "if I have to choose between the rulership of monster private corporations on the one hand and too big government on the other, I shall unhesitatingly choose the latter, for at least I have an effective vote in government. I have none in monster business, not even as a stockholder."

THERE ARE many possible reservations about such a program. Basically it is inadequate in conception and timing, as compared with Mr. Quinn's analysis of the situation. It underestimates the power factor involved and ignores the actuality that we have reached a point of no return. Mr. Quinn says, for example, that it may even be impossible to get so much as a federal incorporation law: "The truth about the economy has been obscured by paid agents and publications and the influence of lobbies and dollars." Despite this awareness he seems to minimize the fact that big business and big government have already merged. The Republican Administration reveals the impossibility of differentiating between private corporate power and governmental power. We live now in a corporate society in which economic and political power merge as we move toward a garrison state. "While we fight

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H. H. Wilson, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is professor of political science at Princeton and author of "Congress: Corruption and Compromise."*

totalitarianism from without, we encourage it from within."

There is no effective opposition to this development. No section of the public, no important organized group, is prepared to work for the restoration of a free competitive economy. Even if this were not the case, there are some who would deny both the feasibility and the desirability of the effort. For though Mr. Quinn believes that "the so-called crises of capitalism are brought about by its abuses," others are convinced that they are inherent in its structure. He admits that economic stabilization "involves a degree of planning or over-all regulation" but fears the bureaucracy and centralization of socialism. It is no deprecation of a valiant author to conclude that we are left with the problem of inventing social techniques and institutions which will make possible effective control of power and prevent subjugation of human beings.

New Books in Brief

Love and Pleasure

MY HERO. By Maude Hutchins. New Directions. $3. Highly recommended as a supplement, or antidote, to "The Second Sex." Mme de Beauvoir discussed everything about sex except love or pleasure; Mrs. Hutchins describes in effect nothing else but that. In existentialist terms she is a remarkable example of an immanence so complete, powerful, and beguiling that it is transcendent. And how! "My Hero" has less solidity perhaps than her previous work, "A Diary of Love." It is less deliberately shocking and directly physical; but full of wit, gaiety, and charm. In plain terms Mrs. Hutchins is an original. She is on the side of the gods—the pagan gods—and she speaks with the voice of a mischievous angel.

Provocative Economics

ECONOMIC CHANGE. By Simon Kuznets. Norton. $4.50. This collection of essays written over the last twenty years by a distinguished economist and statistician who had much to do with the development of national-income measures strikingly combines technical mastery and imaginative vision. Most though not all of the essays can be easily understood by an interested lay reader, and such a reader will surely find in them a concern for the meaning of economic change most provocative of reflection. Among the long-run developments that Mr. Kuznets analyzes are the closing of frontiers, the decline in birth rates, the shift of populations to cities, the rapid progress of industrialization, and the growth of trade restrictions all over the world. He concludes that the rate of growth in output in the Western world has slackened, that our increases in national income may not reflect parallel increases in human welfare, and that international comparisons of national income are of uncertain value. A most gentle complaint could be made that Mr. Kuznets has often only hinted where one would have appreciated a fully story.

Story Teller

THE VAGRANT MOOD. Six Essays. By W. Somerset Maugham. Doubleday. $3. Perhaps Mr. Maugham is neither sufficiently passionate as a man nor sufficiently concentrated as a writer to be a great novelist. Perhaps he usually either transforms his material too little or transforms it in the wrong way by making it seem artificial instead of intense. But he is a superb retailer of anecdotes, reminiscences, and impressions when he merely gives them a slight novelistic touch without actually making fiction out of them. Several of the so-called essays in the present volume are admirable examples of the genre and not really the worse for a certain diffuseness which makes them all the easier to read. Edith Wharton pontificating on contemporary art and music as well as on literature, and being intolerably right about everything, may be a caricature but is probably revealing as well as funny. Augustus Hare, writing his guidebooks in his own country house and editing out of the household Prayer Book all the passages in glorification of

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God because, as he said in perfect seriousness, "God is certainly a gentleman, and no gentleman cares to be praised to his face," may be hard to believe, but no harder than most of what was said and acted upon in that vanished world of maids carrying cans of hot water and curates who came in by the servants' entry which Mr. Maugham describes with something remotely like the loving irony of Clarence Day recalling life with father.

Essays by Orwell

SUCH, SUCH WERE THE JOYS. By George Orwell. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50. Although "Animal Farm" and "1984" made the late George Orwell something of a hero to the professional anti-Communists, he had no more in common with them than he had with the professional apologists for Moscow As this posthumous collection of essays shows once again, he was a fierce hater of injustice, of tyranny, and of cant, no matter in what cause it was uttered. Primarily political in his interests, he held aloof, as a writer, from political organizations, since "acceptance of *any* political discipline seems to be incompatible with literary integrity." That integrity is stamped on every page of this too brief volume, which covers a variety of subjects ranging from anti-Semitism in England to the writings of Henry Miller.

The piece from which the book takes its title is a fragment of autobiography, the author's reminiscences of the English preparatory school into which he was thrust at the tender age of eight. Under a headmaster who was a sadistic snob he suffered a traumatic experience that clearly left both physical and psychic marks. Here he relives that experience with poignant intensity and yet comments on it objectively. It is a literary achievement that this reader found almost unbearably moving.

Jeans the Astronomer

SIR JAMES JEANS. A Biography by the late E. A. Milne. Cambridge. $4. A more or less official memoir which includes a sketch of Jeans's life but is devoted principally to an account and evaluation of his contributions to mathematical physics and astronomy, with some attention also to the popular books he wrote enthusiastically somewhat late in life. Some of the technical portions can be understood by the layman who is sufficiently interested, but a good deal will be comprehensible only to those who feel at home with highly generalized differential equations. Milne, a fellow-scientist and personal friend, is frank in discussing what he regards as the scientific limitations as well as the achievements of his subject. One of his general conclusions is that though Jeans accepted the "new" physics, he made his most important contributions within the field of the traditional. Perhaps the lay reader will be most amused by the unconscious humor of the paragraphs on the allegedly inevitable death of the universe by "running down." When one remembers what a popular subject this was only a few years ago and with what awe "the second law of thermodynamics" was invoked by those with only the foggiest notion of what it meant, there is something hilarious about Milne's solemn assurance: "I am now convinced that an unconditional prediction of a heat death for the universe is an overstatement."

On Medieval Poetry

THE SPIRIT OF ROMANCE. By Ezra Pound. New Directions. $4. This book, first published in 1910, is a monument to the prejudices of genius. In it, without condescending to state his critical principles, Pound evaluates the work of late medieval poets who wrote in the Romance tongues, often passing swift and aphoristic judgments. He ranges with astonishing, though not infallible, erudition over languages and climes, touching upon the troubadours of Provence, the epic of the Cid, Dante, Villon, Lope de Vega, and Camoëns. Bypassing the cultural incrustations which have obscured the artistic qualities of many of these works, Pound fastens firmly on whatever is crisp, vivid, and exact. His taste is a premonition of the regard for precision which was to become a leading principle with him and link him to imagism. As Pound was ready to admit, the volume is more like a notebook than a finished work, but its disorder offers many adventures. It had a salutary effect on the literary tastes of 1910, and this reissue with notes added later by Pound himself will enable it to continue its mission. In addition, it is a generous anthology of valuable and limpid translations which Pound succeeds marvelously in using as a form of criticism in themselves.

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Theater

Harold Clurman

PERHAPS one of the marks of the true New Yorker and the real theater lover, as distinguished from the merely fashionable one, is his adventurous pursuit of entertainment in the odd spots of the town, the city's cordial "underground." While East Fifty-seventh Street (the Washington Square Players), Grand Street (the Neighborhood Playhouse), MacDougall Street (the Provincetown Players), Sheridan Square (Macgowan-Jones and O'Neill), and East Fourteenth Street (the Civic Repertory Theater) were once the places where the enlightened playgoer sought the most stimulating fare our theater had to offer, the so-called off-Broadway theater is now usually an apologetic and discouraged phenomenon—possibly because everything off-center in our life today has lost its confidence and spunk. Still, if one has forbearance, hope, and humility, one may find special pleasure in treading the theater's byways.

One playgoer certainly was happier during the past fortnight on Christopher Street (Theatre de Lys), where the Touring Players gave a series of three one-acters by Ellen Violett bearing the collective title "Which Way Is Home?" than he was at the Forty-eighth Street Theater at a revival of the 1937 farce hit "Room Service." Not that the latter is a poor piece: I still found some of it funny—despite a so-so performance—but at best I was amused as by a rather perfunctory joke that someone might tell me on my way out of a restaurant.

Of the three playlets presented by the Touring Players the most satisfactory by far is "Brewsie and Willie," based on a story by Gertrude Stein. In this rambling yet unified stretch of dialogue which is both naturalistic and stylized, Gertrude Stein—through her adapters Ellen Violett and Liz Blake—has caught and interpreted for us the basic homelessness of the G. I. at the end of the last war, and through him the basic confusion in all of us.

Tenderly and wisely Gertrude Stein points out the fear we suffer from being at once a pioneer people (yes, even now!), with eager, inquiring, youthful minds, and credulous, gullible victims of ready-made answers which have very little to do with our daily experience. We are afraid of experience, afraid of life, because it baffles and upsets us by being so persistently contradictory to the prefabricated concepts with which we approach it. We are immensely delighted at our shrewd discovery that there is no Santa Claus, and we howl with pain because there is none. We proclaim our virile capacity to face the world, and we shrink like scared children at every actual confrontation. Hog-tied by materialism, we are ineradicable idealists. We cannot reconcile our "practical realism," upon which we are constantly urged to rely, with our idealistic impulses, which torture us with their unexpected but unrelenting intrusions.

The sensitive American—he who has not allowed himself to be altogether canned—is an emotional eccentric. His craziness bears witness to his aliveness and is one of his most engaging qualities. He must not be put in a position where he has to beg permission to be pessimistic; he must learn to give his optimism a foundation in fact. He must come to understand life not in terms of "yes" or "no" but in terms of "yes and no." Gertrude Stein says all this and more in "Brewsie and Willie" with a curious directness that masks itself behind a studied casualness. I half suspect her of having been a good woman!

The Touring Players act the Stein play with a certain unvarnished and slightly awkward naturalness which helps it. The company that calls itself Current Stages (Cherry Lane Theater) is well cast as to type for most of the parts in O'Casey's "The Plough and the Stars," but is frequently unintelligible in its attempt at Hibernian speech.

The play comes off, nevertheless, in its power and poetry. How lucky poor tormented Sean was after all! Life offered him a strategic position amid the Dublin tenements, with their abounding riches of humor, tragedy, and native eloquence, as well as the vantage

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point of being a witness at the moment of dramatic crisis in the days of the Easter rebellion. Thus he was able to write truly contemporary realistic plays which are passionate in feeling and prophetic in utterance. Here the distinction between prose and poetry vanishes without detriment to either. One is reminded of the lines in Chekhov's "Seagull": "I come more and more to the conviction that it is not a question of new and old forms; but that what matters is that a man should write without thinking of forms at all, write because it springs freely from his soul."

What most of our playwrights nowadays seem to lack is roots in some reality more fertile and inspiring than their professional world provides. Sprung from a deep soil of reality, the fanatically and explosively honest sensibility of O'Casey was able to produce three or four of the most expressive plays of our time.

Films

Manny Farber

OFF LIMITS" has Bob Hope horsing and miming like a Mack Sennett employee. The story casts him as a prize-fight manager in the army who smart-talks the most inept pug (Mickey Rooney) into winning the lightweight title. The part disproves the idea that Hope's comedy lies mainly in his fast verbal satire, for here he creates a many-faceted character who is as boastful as Falstaff, as unmanly as Lloyd Hamilton, and as good-humored, in a misanthropic way, as Bugs Bunny.

An example of Hope's flexible characterization is in the scene where he cons his fighter at a 200-word-a-minute speed, and while the terms "Hook him," etc., seem apt for the situation, they are delivered with a dreaming fool's mien and mismated connections that hint the manager is not only contemptuous of both battlers but not even watching. Sometimes Hope gets feelings of deep distaste, disdain, into a single keen-eyed stare, a haughty quiver of his body, or a jutting of his leaden underslung jaw a fraction of an inch in the direction of his victim. But always his malevolence is so mixed either with comic self-debasement or utter selflessness as to make him seem precariously vulnerable.

Although the audience is treated to the entire range of great silent comedies —violence, exchange of insults, intense humiliation and embarrassed apology, ludicrous mix-ups, and Don Juan love-making—somehow Hope never creates the laugh that kills. It is not that he refuses to milk or build a gag but possibly that he just looks too normal and prosperous to evoke the delighted rush of relief—"Gee whiz, that guy's worse off than I am"—that the pathos of Chaplin, Keaton, and Langdon achieved. Or possibly Hope's style, which combines precision of timing with intellectual suppleness and finesse, puts too fine an edge on all this sort of foolishness.

In one sequence from the dark ages of situation comedy he scratches and paints a general's mile-long black sedan, believing it belongs to a loathed gangster. For ten minutes of screen time he gets your thoughts away from the ancient heaviness of the gag by doing an elf-child's display of grace and roguish self-delight. He paints fetching abstract patterns with broad calcimine strokes, while giving you the footwork of a sissified Nijinsky. It is really swell, but you are reacting not to humor but to cleverness.

In the hands of director George Marshall, a sort of Studs Lonigan distant cousin of Sennett, the film emerges as an uneven work that often hugs bad gags and zooms past promising situations. Marshall has an uncommonly good eye for hard-boiled harried types; he turns Marilyn Maxwell into a classic figure of brassiness. The list of assistant laugh getters—Rooney, Stanley Clements, Eddie Mayehoff—promises more than it achieves. Making brief personal appearances are some muscular fellows —Dempsey, Tommy Harmon, Art Aragon—who seem almost gentle in the midst of the pratfalls and mad activity.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

SCHUBERT'S great song-cycle "Die Winterreise" is given the best performance I have heard on LP—by Karl Schmitt-Walter, baritone, with Hubert Giesen at the piano (London). The voice is a fine one, though tremulous now and then; and the singing achieves moving expressive effect with unfailing respect for the shape of the musical phrase. I question only the insufficiently animated pace of "Die Post"; and I think that the pianist or the recording engineer should have made the piano parts count for more in the joint performance than they do. The texts are given; and the accompanying notes are best ignored.

Many of the Strauss songs sung by Anny Felbermayer, soprano, and Alfred Poell, baritone, with Viktor Graef at the piano (Vanguard) are unfamiliar to me; but it is the few well-known ones that I like: the "Traum durch die Dämmerung" and "Ruhe, meine Seele" superbly sung by Poell, the "Hat gesagt, bleibt's nicht dabei," "Ach Lieb', ich muss nun scheiden," and "Die Nacht" sung by Felbermayer with a crystalline voice that gets to be a little monotonous. Texts are given; but the third stanza of "Hat gesagt," with the point of the song, is missing.

Several of Strauss's best songs—"Ständchen," "Traum durch die Dämmerung," "Zueignung," and "Freundliche Vision"—and the sugary "Morgen" are sung by Suzanne Danco, soprano, with Guido Agosti at the piano (London). The exquisite voice and phrasing that are exactly for "Ständchen" and "Morgen" are heard also in the others, which seem to me to call for darker coloring. On the same record are Mozart's mildly engaging "Das Veilchen," "Abendempfindung," "Dans un bois solitaire," and "An Chloë." The texts would be more useful than the accompanying notes. The recorded voice blasts occasionally.

The exquisite voice and phrasing are heard again in Schumann's "Liederkreis" (London), and are exactly right for the lovely "Mondnacht"; but the dialogue of "Waldesgespräch" calls for contrasting vocal colors. These used to be the only songs of the cycle that I cared for; but I have been impressed this time by the dramatic atmosphere of "Zwielicht." Texts are given.

Beethoven's lovely song-cycle "An die ferne Geliebte," his earlier Gellert songs, and Schubert's "Nacht und Träume" (one of his greatest), "Fischerweise," "Auf dem Wasser zu singen," "Im Abendroth," "Die junge Nonne," and "Die Forelle" are sung by Elena Nikolaidi, contralto, with Jan Behr at the piano (Columbia). She sings them well, but with a voice that has lost the sensuous richness it once had. Only English summaries.

Danco's Recital of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century music (London), with Agosti at the piano and Jeanne Demessieux at the organ, offers one piece of declamatory arioso by Schütz that I find uninteresting, but other pieces that are lovely: Bach's "Bist du bei mir," "Komm, süsser Tod," and "Warum betrübst du dich," Gluck's "O del mio dolce ardor," Alessandro Scarlatti's "Sè Florindo è fedele," Caldara's "Come raggio del sol," Durante's "Danza, danza," and Caccini's "Amarilli." The singing again is exquisite. And again notes instead of texts.

Three Mozart arias—*Ach, ich fühl's* from "Die Zauberflöte," *Venite, inginocchiatevi* from "Figaro," and *L'amerò, sarò costante* from "Il Re Pastore"—are sung very beautifully by Hilde Gueden with the Vienna Philharmonic under Erede (London). She also sings well in the Motet K.165 "Exultate, Jubilate," which I care less for; but her voice, as recorded, doesn't sound as beautiful and blasts occasionally. Again notes instead of texts.

Famous Operatic Excerpts Volume 2 (London) offers excellent performances by Fernando Corena, bass, of three delightful comic arias from Donizetti's "L'Elisir d'amore" and "Don Pasquale" and Rossini's "La Gazza Ladra"; and a good performance by Aldo Protti, baritone, of *Largo al factotum* from "The Barber of Seville," but one of *Il balen* from "Il Trovatore" in which his voice is dry and has an excessive vibrato. Again notes instead of texts.

An RCA Victor extended-play 45 is mentioned here because it offers *Ella giammai m'amò* from "Don Carlo," one of the outstandingly impressive demonstrations of Verdi's artistic powers—like the Sleepwalking Scene from "Macbeth" and the *Dio! mi potevi scagliar* from "Otello"—and a performance which is a demonstration of the impressive powers that still are Pinza's. Frank Miller plays the cello solo; Leinsdorf conducts the Victor orchestra. Pinza also sings the Catalogue Aria from "Don Giovanni" with an orchestra conducted by Wallenstein.

Art Notes

HERBERT FERBER has had several one-man shows of his sculptures, and his work is found in leading national collections. His abstract forms are done in lead. They are strong, spiraling compositions, architectural in conception.—*Betty Parsons to May 9.*

EDWARD MELCARTH'S first show in several years presents scenes from contemporary Venetian life. The colors are bright and sunny; the style reflects his interest in the Renaissance masters. He has also devoted several canvases to American scenes.—*Durlacher to May 2.*

HENRY KALLEM, a Pepsi-Cola prizewinner some years ago, shows figures, city scenes, and fantastic images. His design is geometrical and his colors are balanced.—*Salpeter to May 9.*

MARK TOBEY, famous West Coast modernist, recently exhibited at the Whitney. These twelve paintings evoke representational images but are abstract in concept. The colors give evidence of Oriental influences.—*Willard to May 2.*

BYRON BROWNE'S twenty-second one-man show in as many years reveals a change in style. He now paints in semi-abstract forms and dramatic color. —*Grand Central Moderns to May 2.*

MANFRED SCHWARTZ, who is represented in collections all over the world, exhibits brilliantly colored semi-abstractions of figures, circus scenes, and other subjects in his first show since 1949.—*Fine Arts Associates to May 9.*

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Letters

No "Father" Needed

Dear Sirs: Alexander Werth is to be congratulated on his sympathetic and generally understanding comment (The *Nation,* March 14) on the death of Stalin. I venture, however, to suggest that he has insufficiently appreciated that it does serve to mark what is, in effect, the end of an era—the era which started before November 7, 1917. This is perhaps understandable, since Werth himself belongs to that era, in which the peoples of the Soviet Union looked to their political leader to fulfil the "father" role. It is perhaps difficult for him, therefore, to realize that most of that generation in the Soviet Union are now dead. . . . The Soviet people of today have achieved a higher state of maturity in which Malenkov, one of themselves, can amply satisfy what they require of him. Since Werth has used Freudian terminology, I would follow suit and say that the Soviet peoples do not now need a "father.". . .

EDGAR P. YOUNG,
Commander, R. N., Retired
London, England

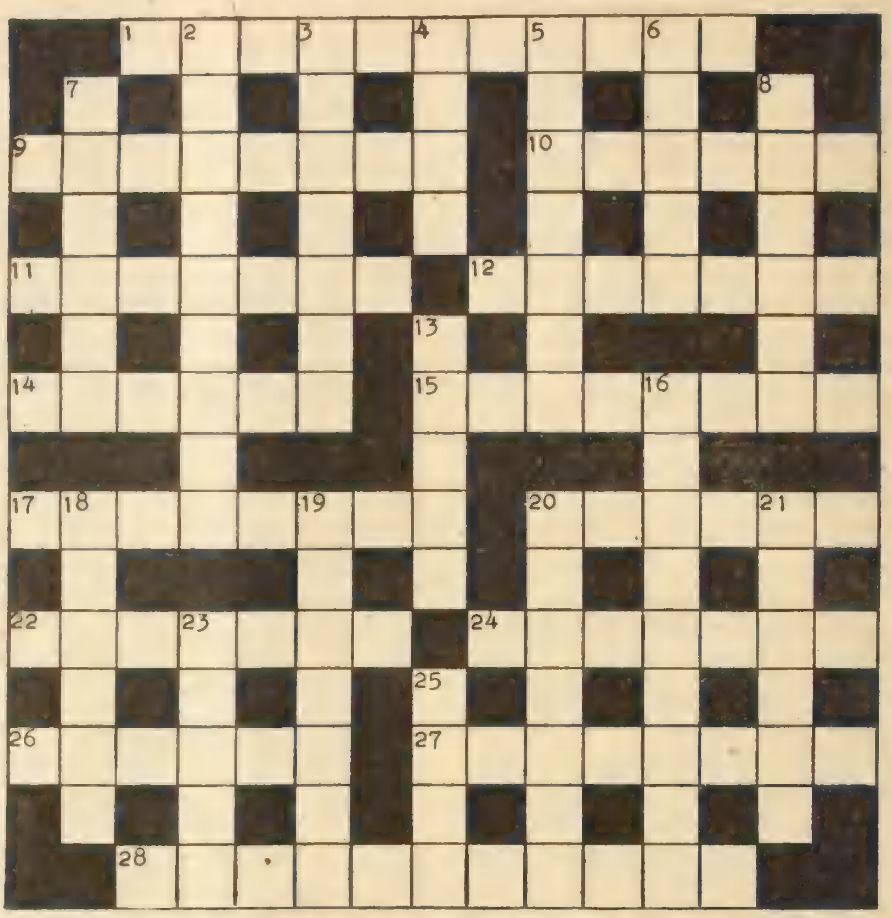
The Smear Technique

Dear Sirs: The truth about McCarthy, McCarran, Velde, Jenner, and lesser evil lights in the Congress should come out soon. If men like this can be elected, a fraud must have been perpetrated against the people in their states. . . . Did the people get the facts from the press on all the candidates? Certainly we know that backers with money can get mediocre candidates elected. It is one of the evils of our election procedure, and we ought to expose it more often before 1954 and not be afraid of being called "left-wingers," "Commie lovers," and so on. These attacks against teachers, professors, ministers, and labor leaders are certainly planned, and we had better recognize the pattern. Whisper, insinuate, write anonymous letters to the F. B. I., phone or write to the Winchell type, or the Fulton Lewis office, where investigators piece together bits of unfounded statements for the broadcasts. In the next few months the charges are made, repeated, and rehashed until some readers and listeners let the smear words stick in their minds. . . .

I saw the remains of political prisoners at Buchenwald as a member of the

Crossword Puzzle No. 513

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 13 down. Where to find what-not articles in a Colonial kitchen, just before you get in deep? (11, 5)
9 Game suggesting the Dance of the Apprentices? (8)
10 Slayer of the human race, occasionally involved in current change. (6)
11 See 24.
12 Those who take this stand should be able to bear it. (7)
14 Would you consider it soap in the mouth of one who speaks vulgarly? (6)
15 This record is probably over your head. (4, 4)
17 Implying no dearth of water from the pump, as you know. (4, 4)
20 It's immature to cry out with an expression of pain. (6)
22 It takes poise to acquire form, elementally. (7)
24 and 11. In the ground if at peace, in the head if at war? (4, 3, 7)
26 Even stupid West Pointers can pass in this. (6)
27 Those of state find a dish on a second appearance. (8)
28 Austerity linen, after part of the 16? (5, 6)

DOWN

2 and 25. Typified by Harvard O, William and Mary O? (3, 6, 4)
3 Not original picture producers, to reveal certain aims. (7)
4 Little girl who sounds as though a stroke might have fatal implications? (4)
5 Women who do this might leave well enough alone. (7)
6 No one is left out, even if this is exhausted. (3, 2)
7 Masculine articles in the future? (6)
8 Mineral involved in a fraudulent amount? (6)
13 See 1 across.
16 Somewhat smaller than a pleasure yacht! (5, 4)
18 Gray implied some blossoms are created to turn rosy like this. (6)
19 If the mop were shaken, this might come out. (7)
20 Displayed by stout fellows a century before our time? (7)
21 Available ring position? (2, 4)
23 A Dickensian yarn might have such a gimmick. (5)
25 See 2 down.

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 512

ACROSS:—1 AIDES; 4 WASSAILED; 9 CONGENIAL; 10 AMBER; 11 ON THE SPOT; 12 SOLDO; 13 TRUNK LINES; 17 UNROMANTIC; 21 OWNER; 22 PEIGNOIRS; 23 AMATI; 24 ENIGMATIC; 25 ADDRESSEE; 26 LAPIN.

DOWN:—1 ANCHOR; 2 DENOTE; [illegible] SKEWER; 4 WHIPPERSNAPPERS; 5 SPLIT INFINITIVE; 6 ADAM'S ALE; 7 LIBELING; 8 DORMOUSE; 14 AUTOMATA; 15 DRUNKARD; 16 AMORTIZE; 18 ENAMEL; 19 TIPTOP; 20 ASHCAN.

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THOMAS E. KENDALL
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3 announcements*

A New Series from Europe

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO, *The Nation's* distinguished foreign editor, will report weekly for the next few months from Western Europe. His chief job will be to cover the U. N. Economic and Social Council in Geneva, which—under the impact of new Soviet policy—could conceivably become the stage for a dramatic reversal of East-West relations. In between, Mr. del Vayo will report on a multitude of other important events: the coming elections in France, Italy, and Germany; the NATO meeting in Paris; the French parliamentary debate on the European army; the meetings of the independent peace movements in London; and the situation in Franco's Spain. Mr. del Vayo will return in time for the September session of the U. N. General Assembly.

Spring Book Number

OUR ISSUE OF MAY 2 will carry a double punch: a big Spring Book section and a special feature entitled Eisenhower's First Hundred Days. The book section will itself be studded with features: a review by Maxwell Geismar of Leon Edel's biography of Henry James, which has already been greeted in the trade as a publication event of great magnitude; a unique essay on that lustiest of literary infants, science fiction, by Ray Bradbury, the acknowledged maestro of galactic literature; a dramatic report by William Murray on the new threat of book censorship—this one engineered not by the bluenoses but by the Red-baiters.

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Who Owns the Atom?

UP TO NOW atomic energy has been a government monopoly, and its chief product has been the bomb. But now we are reaching stage two of the Atomic Era—the age of industrial application. Who owns the atom's energy? Who shall make it build as well as destroy? What can it build? Shall it be developed for private profit or public good—or is there no contradiction in these terms? The time for decision is at hand—already Washington is preparing legislation which may affect not only our own lives but those of our children and our children's children. Soon to appear in *The Nation* is a series on atomic energy by Leland Olds, former member of the Federal Power Commission and the country's outstanding expert on public power. *This is must reading.*

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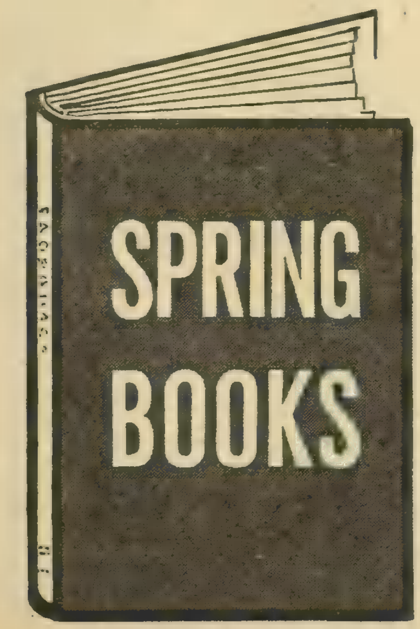
Report and Appraisal



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Volume 176, Number 18
New York, Saturday, May 2, 1953

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

NATO and the Stretch-out

At Paris last week the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization formally agreed to maintain its "posture of strength": nothing had been changed by recent Soviet overtures. Verbally, the exhortations of Mr. Dulles were echoed by all his European colleagues at the Palais de Chaillot. But as indicated by "deeds rather than words" a quite different state of mind prevailed. The armaments stretch-out decided upon at the session reflected a definite lessening of apprehension. (It also reflected, of course, the Eisenhower economy program—but this stems from the same thing.) One can be sure that if the famous showdown last set for 1954 were still seriously expected, the planned strength of the NATO army for that year would not have been cut by twenty-six or twenty-eight divisions. The new program calling for a long-haul increase of strength but the scrapping of emergency measures, obviously makes sense; it also contains numerous political meanings yet to be explored.

For one thing, it suggests that Mr. Dulles's threatening language and the more unrealistic of President Eisenhower's peace conditions may represent tactics rather than fixed policy. In any case, the Russians, while rejecting most of the peace conditions recently set forth by the American leaders and staking out a few claims of their own, printed the Eisenhower speech in full and repeated in *Pravda* their readiness to proceed to "businesslike discussion of disputed issues." No doubt they too look to deeds for assurance, and the NATO stretch-out decision offset a good many "tough" words.

Germany's Play for Power

But if Russia's peace maneuvers exercised an unacknowledged influence at Paris, so did the growing doubt over the future of the European army. When Chancellor Adenauer reached home after his Washington visit, with American promises of aid and friendship in his hand, his stock rose very high. Already it is dropping. The vote in the Bundesrat, delaying action on the E. D. C. treaty until the international situation becomes clearer, was a sharp blow to his plans. It indicated not only reluctance to commit Germany to a tight military alliance with the West—thus challenging Moscow at its most sensitive point—but also the hope that a serious reunification offer by Russia might make the whole plan unnecessary. And as long as the pacts are hung up in Bonn, the NATO program will remain in a state of uncertainty. For German integration is a price Western Europe will pay only if Russian aggression seems likely and fairly imminent. Even the hint that some other solution for Germany may be possible played its part in last week's slowdown at Paris.

What Western Europe, and especially France, wants is a plan that will minimize the threat of German armed power and industrial dominance. Today the rise of German industrial strength, largely on American dollars, is the most startling and significant fact this side of the Soviet Union.

R. H. S. Crossman, in a recent issue of the *New Statesman and Nation,* reports Dr. Brentano, leader of the Adenauer forces in the Bundstag, as proclaiming in a public meeting that "whatever the Russians propose, integration with the West must proceed; every form of neutralization must be excluded, and the claim for the lost provinces east of the Oder must be fully maintained." What this means is all too clear: in a very short time Germany, its arms industry rebuilt (also with dollars), would dominate the alliance of which it became a part and would be able to gear the policy of the West to its own aims in the East. The one thing that could prevent all this would be a settlement between the West and Moscow. No wonder Dr. Adenauer regards the idea with such distaste.

Baloney at the Waldorf

Baloney was not on the menu at the annual Associated Press luncheon at the Waldorf-Astoria on April 20, but Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey's speech was full of it. To reassure his listeners Mr. Humphrey took the position that "talk of a truce" or "even an actual truce" would not have an early important influence on the rate of military spending; we must first achieve a "proper permanent posture of defense," a phrase left

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undefined. Then "readjustments" might be necessary, "sometimes to the advantage or detriment of one group and sometimes to another." "Sound currency" and "reduction of taxes" were offered as the best substitutes for government spending. Defined, this means deflation. Mr. Humphrey also called for "a radical revision of our tax system,"—a phrase which the Alsops obligingly defined later in the week. "Secretary Humphrey," they wrote, "is reliably reported to favor a uniform national sales tax."

The Secretary believes that such a financial "readjustment" would increase the incentive to invest. But any venture capital created in this manner would be likely to go to "underdeveloped areas" overseas, where "underdeveloped" wage rates promise higher returns than at home. Finally, echoing the President's statement, Mr. Humphrey suggested that "a substantial percentage" of any savings achieved by disarmament should be used for world aid and reconstruction. Since the government, however, has promised to reduce expenditures all along the line, it is difficult to see how this can be done. Just as Mr. Dulles was unprepared to cope with the Soviet diplomatic "peace" offensive, so Mr. Humphrey appears unprepared to cope with the economic consequences of even a protracted lull in the shooting war.

The Counter-Evolution

This is not a "do nothing" Administration; it is an "undo everything" Administration. A basic political philosophy which has been in slow evolution in this country since the days of McKinley is in process of reversal. Government is going to bat, not for the consumer, but for the producer; not for small business, but for big; not for low tariffs, but for high; not for public housing, but for banks and insurance companies; not for public power, but for private utilities; not for social security, but for the dole; not for civil-service expansion, but for the spoils system; not for price controls, but for profit guaranties; not for the worker, but for the employer. The counter-evolution extends beyond our land borders to the oil under the sea and down into the earth to affect our mines. Who will get the first C. A. B. license for lunar travel—Juan Trippe?

The retrogression is most clearly seen in the Administration appointments. We recommend careful reading of Mr. Catton's article in this issue. New items are reported daily: Parke M. Banta of Missouri, who in the Eightieth Congress voted to take 750,000 people off social security, becomes counsel to the new Health, Education, and Welfare Department; Jerome K. Kuykendall, long a private-utilities lawyer, is recommended as a Federal Power Commissioner.

In retrospect, Eisenhower's greatest domestic accomplishment during his first hundred days as President has been to make Taft seem like a man of the center.

Joe McCarthy's Scummy Snoopers

Senator McCarthy's junior investigators returned from their fast and furious European junket pouting but far from contrite. Seldom has more damage been done the prestige of our government in so short a time. Long before the two young men arrived in London, the British press had given them the drubbing they so richly deserved. "Scummy snoopers," "distempered jackals," jeered the *Financial Times;* "Will McCarthy Men Look Over B. B. C?" headlined the *Daily Express.* "Positively Mister Cohn, absolutely Mister Schine," and "Let McCarthy's two precocious youngsters see everything they want to see," wrote A. J. Cummings in the *New Chronicle.* "Let them be made familiar with the British hatred of bullying honest officials to serve the ulterior purpose of a fanatic in authority." Indeed, the British press was all set to have a go at "the bobbsey twins," but they arrived in London frightened and evasive and barricaded themselves in the American embassy. At the airport, however, British reporters managed to shoot one good question at them before they enplaned for home: "Don't you think that your investigations and activities are very little different from those employed by countries to whose political ideas we are opposed?" Their answer was: "There is nothing wrong in our activities at all. They are pursuant to a legislative act."

New Address For THE NATION

Beginning Friday, May 1, *The Nation* and the Nation Associates will be established in new permanent offices at 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. The telephone number will be CHelsea 2-8400.

IKE'S FIRST HUNDRED DAYS

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT came to office twenty years ago last March; the first three months of his Administration were known as the "First Hundred Days." The value of much that he accomplished during that period has been hotly disputed, but one thing even his bitterest foes acknowledge—he gave Congress and the country dramatic and compelling leadership.

What has Eisenhower given Congress and the country in his *first hundred days?*

I. FOREIGN POLICY

by Arnold T. Sloane

DON'T
ASK WHAT
I SHOT

Associated Press Wirephoto

THE terrific punch which the Eisenhower Administration was to inject into America's foreign policy now looks like a shadow-boxer's feint. Remember those fiery if irresponsible projects, so recently born and already laid to rest—the plan to "liberate" peoples from the Elbe to the Sea of Japan, the phantom naval blockade that was to force Communist China to its knees, and the sizzling repudiation of those Yalta agreements? Gone, all gone. As so often happens, the new management has had to acknowledge that glib opposition is one thing and the responsibility of power another. When a man moves into the White House and switches on the light, he sees the imponderables of geography and natural resources in all their nakedness.

It is hard even to survey United States relations with other countries when you have to keep glancing at the knife Joe McCarthy brandishes behind your back. John Foster Dulles had a sensible notion when he became Secretary of State. It was to leave administrative routine to his subordinates and with intervals for meditation stroke in new policies on the great canvas of the changing world. In planning his procedure Dulles forgot the men in Congress who are so impatient to usurp his conduct of foreign policy. Their interventions have proved a far more formidable distraction than the daily tasks of departmental administration.

Dulles's plan to guide America in world affairs from an Olympian peak has evaporated. First there was the McCarthy committee's assault on the State Department's Voice of America. Then came the unrelenting pressure, still continuing, to purge the department of independent thinkers and to intimidate the rest. Scarcely had Dulles caught his breath from the latest tussle when he was thrown head first into the McCarthy-led struggle over Charles Bohlen's confirmation as ambassador to Moscow. As if all this were not enough, he had to contend with the affair of McCarthy and the Greek shipowners.

This harassment, plus constant calls to appear before Congressional commit-

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ARNOLD T. SLOANE is the pseudonym of a close observer of American foreign policy.

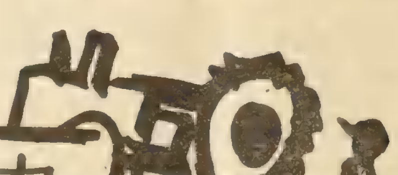
tees, left the Secretary of State precious little time for the meditative shaping of foreign policy. What skipper goes in for yogi exercises while his ship is foundering? But far worse than these distractions was the hopeless attempt to evolve enlightened policies that would be acceptable to the unenlightened but powerful band of Asia Firsters, get-toughies, and other fanatics on Capitol Hill. His own and President Eisenhower's decision to buy peace at any price from their foes in Congress crippled the new Administration's direction of foreign policy even within the small room for maneuver permitted by the imponderables of contemporary history. What happened, then, in the first hundred days or so?

AT THE START we were told that our Far Eastern policy was to be zipped up, that we were going to give Western Europe a big heave toward unity, that we would end the nonsense in the Middle East which was blocking that region's integration in our strategic plans. One of the new Secretary's early pronouncements amounted to a threat to curtail United States aid to its European allies unless they moved rapidly toward federation and translated the European-army project from paper to actual divisions in the field. Dulles then set forth on a swing around Europe, on which he devoted much of his time to extinguishing the Europeans' flare of resentment at what they considered his essay in blackmail. Even the subsequent parade of Eden, Butler, Mayer, Bidault, and Adenauer to Washington left the European Defense Community wrapped in uncertainty. Nor was the Eisenhower Administration able to conceive an adequate alternative.

In reviewing our Far Eastern policy the Administration considered various courses. It weighed a new offensive in Korea and recoiled from the cost in lives and money and from the big question-mark hovering over military success. It contemplated a naval blockade of the China coast and, mainly owing to grave doubts whether a majority of the United Nations could be won for such an adventure, shelved it. What finally emerged was the fatuous "wraps off Formosa" decision and a noncommittal French-American joint communiqué which said in effect: if the Communists take advantage of a Korean armistice to commit aggression elsewhere in the Far East, the United States and French governments will reserve their freedom of action.

The Eisenhower Administration, as had been foreseen, did shift the emphasis somewhat from Europe to the Far East. Dulles indicated that American aid to Europe would be reduced and aid to East Asia increased. The Administration was ready to pour still more money—perhaps $700,000,000 instead of $400,000,000 a year—into the war in Indo-China. Eisenhower and Dulles, more than Truman and Acheson ever did, have regarded the Korea-Indo-China-Formosa-Malaya campaigns as parts of a single struggle against the Communist opponent.

IN HIS CHOICE of men to represent the country abroad the President followed the standard pattern. The new ambassadors are the usual collection of wealthy business men who were helpful during the campaign and career diplomats. The most disconcerting turn in that field was the retirement of George Kennan from our foreign service. Stalin's insistence on Kennan's recall from Moscow last year was a piece of dismal Soviet stupidity. Those acquainted with the reports Kennan was sending home from Moscow knew he was an influence for moderation, courageous enough to warn his chiefs in Washington of the consequences of ringing the Soviet Union with air bases and rebuilding West Germany's military might. By dropping Kennan the Administration deprived itself of one of its most knowledgeable aids in Russian affairs.



Perhaps most barren of all is the Administration's world-trade policy. For two years one foreign government after another has been peppering Washington with requests to end commercial discrimination against foreign exporters. In mid-April the general secretary of the Organization for European Economic Recovery, Robert Marjolin, was in Washington, striking a note of urgency concerning Western Europe's lagging economy. For a year, he told the Administration, Western Europe's production had ceased to rise, and France's was even declining. Meanwhile production in the Soviet Union continued to mount, 10 to 15 per cent annually. If the trade-not-aid idea is to be more than just another catch phrase, Marjolin made clear, the entry of foreign goods to American markets must be facilitated.

In at least two speeches since he took office President Eisenhower has proclaimed that our policy was "to stimulate profitable and fair world trade." But when the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, R. A. Butler, came to Washington he learned that the Administration was unable to decide how far, if at all, it could go against America's protectionists. At a moment when Europe regarded its dollar shortage as menacing, Eisenhower created the Lewis Douglas committee and gave it the rest of this year in which to write a report on economic policy—he already has at his disposal three official reports and six others by competent private study groups, all recent and all recommending that our commercial restrictions be liberalized.

IN RESPONSE to Europe's cry of Fire the President asked Congress to prolong until June 12, 1954, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. On top of all this he appointed an arch-protectionist to the Tariff Commission. And despite Europe's financial plight the United States is preparing to cut its own defense expenditures while pressing the NATO nations to increase theirs. In the middle of these developments Dulles made his celebrated statement to Washington newsmen. The real lesson of that incident has not been generally understood. What Dulles suggested over the steak dinner was that while he hoped to end the wars in Korea and Indo-China, he would prefer to keep alive the Chinese civil war between Formosa and the mainland. He admitted that our allies would undoubtedly refuse to join us in backing Chiang Kai-shek; so one might consider, he said, a U. N. trusteeship for Formosa. The problem of Formosa would be sure to be raised if we proposed to redraw the frontier between North and South Korea at the peninsula's narrow waist, for the Communists would make counterclaims—especially concerning Formosa.

To assume that the Communists would accept U. N. guardianship for Formosa —under United States tutelage?—as compensation for yielding the hundreds of square miles they now hold below the waist of Korea is pretty naive. Yet this formula, which the Communists would reject out of hand, struck some obsessed but influential Senators as appeasement of the Reds. Senator Knowland was the first to leap to the telephone, if not to arms, to demand an explanation. Senators Taft and Wiley quickly followed. But Knowland's prompt protests to the President and to Dulles were enough to draw a feeble denial from the White House. The affair showed plainly that the merest hint that we might yield 5 per cent if the Communists yielded 95 per cent mobilized the pack of self-styled anti-appeasers, in Congress. It revealed the immense barrier Congress has erected against any move by the Administration to negotiate with the Communist bloc on a give-and-take basis, even if we proceed almost entirely on the basis of "you give and I'll take." A British diplomat concluded, characteristically, that the episode "was not promising."

THE EISENHOWER Administration, as some of its leading members confess, was totally unprepared for the peace overtures from Moscow after Malenkov's rise to power. These Russian advances promise to take the Administration off the hook in Korea. They have suddenly given substance to Eisenhower's campaign pledges. In the first weeks of the new Soviet leadership Washington echoed with the old familiar words about Russia. Dulles at a news conference set forth three reasons why we could not reach an understanding with the Kremlin. The President, more wisely, announced that we would accept the Soviet moves at their face value unless they were proved unworthy of confidence. His words cut straight across the torrent of abusive statements by Senators who insisted we must regard the Russian peace offensive as phony unless it was shown to have some reality.

The new Administration's most significant declaration on foreign policy came in President Eisenhower's April 16 speech to newspaper editors in Washington. Though it lapsed twice into the thesis of campaign days that the Russians must be pushed back to their 1939 frontiers, in general it shunned provocation. It was a cautious but encouraging invitation to Malenkov to answer the definition of American aims with a Soviet counterstatement. It left open all avenues to serious negotiation of a settlement between the Communist and the non-Communist world. It avoided the take-it-or-leave-it approach. The President was obviously presenting America's maximum program; he will hardly have expected Russia to relinquish its control over the satellites the next morning. Many of the ideas Eisenhower put forward were a revival of New Deal–Fair Deal concepts of world affairs: for example, his hint that if arms limitation became possible, America would join with other nations in putting a big part of the money saved into a fund for public works on a world scale.

At the moment, with a Korean armistice in sight, the outlook has perked up. But the really difficult problems must be tackled after a truce in Korea has been achieved, when a Far Eastern and then a German settlement move into the foreground. For these we are ill prepared. The President's latitude to negotiate appears rigidly restricted by a diehard Congress. However, that need not be fatal. Only last November Dean Acheson was opposing India's reasonable resolution in the U. N. for a Korean armistice. One day he discovered that the United States was a minority of one in the United Nations. Thereupon he switched to support of the Indian proposal, ignoring the China Lobby.

Unless the United States now gives evidence of its own good faith, in addition to demanding more proof of Russia's, it may again find itself a lonely wallflower at the U. N. ball. We need not suffer that humiliation if President Eisenhower has the stamina to override not merely the China Lobby but the Congressional majority of obstructionists.

II. DOMESTIC POLICY

by Bruce Catton

Washington

ACCORDING to Holy Writ, the heavens and the earth were created in six days. Remaking them necessarily takes a bit longer, even for a Republican Administration. At the hundred-day mark the Eisenhower Administration is still busy with warming-up pitches.

Yet a pattern has been set, the pattern on which the government is apparently going to operate in the years just ahead. It contains no surprises; in fact, it could have been forecast by anyone who paid close attention to the Republican campaign speeches. The Republican Party in office talks and acts precisely as it did when it was out of office.

To trace the pattern, begin by remembering Sherlock Holmes's inquiry into what the dog did in the night. When he was told that the dog had done nothing in the night, he remarked that that was extremely significant. The very inactivity of the Eisenhower Administration in its first hundred days is significant. Of six thousand bills introduced in Congress during this period, only thirteen have been enacted into law, and of these only one could be considered "major." Here is the clear tip-off that we are not going to have a "strong" President, in the traditional political meaning of the term. Not since Teddy Roosevelt have the Republicans had or wanted a strong President—a President who presents his own clear program and by political acumen and drive prods and

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BRUCE CATTON is a contributing editor of The Nation.

pushes the whole machinery of government until the important parts of the program are put into effect.

I do not mean that there is no program, or that it will not be carried out. I mean that the real power is shifting back to Capitol Hill.

MORE THAN three months after inauguration an Administration that campaigned vigorously for lower taxes and a balanced budget has not yet submitted its budget. Since the start of the new fiscal year is only ten weeks away, Congress is setting out to do the job itself. It is of course doing it piecemeal, subject to innumerable pressures from within and without, blithely deferring expenditures and presenting the result as "savings," struggling as best it can against its very strong desire to cut taxes first and get the budget in balance sometime in the future.

Increasingly, the Senate has asserted control over the executive branch, especially in matters under the jurisdiction of the State Department. The Voice of America is almost wholly at Senator McCarthy's mercy. Important officials have been dropped from the department at Senatorial instigation. When Harold Stassen tried to curb McCarthy's independent operations in the foreign field, the White House pulled the rug out from under his feet within twenty-four hours. Senator Mundt has announced that he and his pals will purge the State Department since Secretary Dulles has failed to weed out the horrible Acheson hold-overs. This interference has been taken with astonishing meekness. The mere fact that confirmation of the Bohlen appointment was finally voted, after McCarthy and his crowd had had a ten-day field day over it, was actually presented as an Administration victory. In a way perhaps it was—at least the executive branch stopped short of complete surrender.

On the question of revising the Taft-Hartley act the White House has to date offered no leadership whatever, despite campaign promises. Instead, the Congressional hearings on the act are drifting along so aimlessly that no legislation at all may result. So far the hearings have served to air the extremely conservative view—abolish the union shop, eliminate nation-wide bargaining, turn as much control as possible back to the states. There is not much chance, as of now, that this reactionary position will be embodied into the law, and that is quite all right with the anti-labor group. The mere demand for a tougher law tends to offset organized labor's demand for modifications, and as one spokesman for big industry remarked, "Why should we worry about amending the law? All we need to do is enforce it as it is."

The President's demand for extension of social-security coverage has been pretty well smothered by Republican diehards in the House. The same forces are now engaged in blocking the relatively modest slum-clearance program. If stand-by controls against inflation are continued it will not be because the White House fought for them but because Senator Capehart of Indiana, of all people, took up their defense. The farm program remains in the air; apparently no effective effort will be made to redeem the campaign pledge to help "the farmer obtain his full parity, 100 per cent parity, with the guaranty in the price supports of 90 per cent."

To some extent all this is due to very bad liaison between the President and Congress. A good deal has been made of the "get-acquainted" luncheons at the White House, but the fact remains that understanding between the legislative and executive branches is almost non-existent. A common complaint by Republicans on the Hill is that they cannot talk even with the White House assistants who are supposed to handle liaison. It might be noted that one reason for the fight on the Bohlen nomination was the bitter feud between presidential assistant Sherman Adams and Senator Bridges.

Much of the trouble comes from sheer political ineptitude. Senator Taft himself commented on this rather sharply in a recent speech. Seeking to explain why progress in implementing the Republican program had been slow, he said: "Men who have been eminently successful in their own lives have been chosen [for top government jobs], but as far as I know they don't have a single day's experience running a federal government—the biggest institution the world has ever seen." Worse than its political inexperience is the Administration's apparent reluctance to make up its mind about things. President Eisenhower does not dominate, and there is nothing to show that he especially wants to dominate, or that he could if he did want to.

A case in point is the Defense Department's turning down of the low bid offered by a British firm on machinery for an Army Engineers' project. Quick, routine action was called for: either accept the bid as a means of promoting reciprocal trade or reject it in line with the buy-American policy. Instead, the matter dangled for a long time. It was discussed with officials of the Board of Trade in London and with the embassy in Washington. It was discussed at two separate Cabinet meetings. The decision that was finally taken went directly against one of the President's cherished policies.

THE EVIDENCE so far is fairly good that on most matters Congress will call its shots during this Administration. But that is only part of the pattern. It is also apparent that this is going to be one of the most conservative Administrations the country has had in many a year. That the Cabinet should turn out to be a millionaires' club was perhaps only to be expected, but that so many other top-level appointments should go to representatives of the big interests is rather appalling. The Agriculture Department is glittering with processors and traders. The Interior Department is filling up with men who have their doubts about public power and the importance of safeguarding the public domain. The Housing and Home Finance Administration is headed by a vigorous foe of public housing. A prominent lobbyist has been named to the Federal Trade Commission, a strong protectionist to the Tariff Commission. The Office of International Trade is under a Secretary of Commerce known as a high-tariff man, and the new appointee to the Federal Power Commission is not one who will ever frighten the private power interests.

These men are not there just for window-dressing. What will happen to the farmer, the worker, the consumer, and the taxpayer in the coming years depends only partly on the laws passed by Congress. It depends as much on the administrative and policy-making decisions of high-level appointees. It will be affected, for instance, by such things as the recent rise in interest rates on short-term obligations, the proposed abolition of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the growing tendency to consider the whole business of government lending from a strict banker's viewpoint.

Furthermore, precisely at the time when the extreme conservative wing holds the leadership in Congress, the Administration has been setting the example for a give-away policy in respect to the nation's basic resources. Eisenhower blithely committed himself to the offshore-oil give-away before he even understood it. There followed the Barrett bill, which would in effect give away grazing rights on the public domain via leases in perpetuity; the President's recommendation that government-owned synthetic-rubber plants be sold to private industry; Herbert Hoover's proposal that federal power projects be sold to the power interests; the move to shut down the government's synthetic-liquid-fuel pilot plants and turn the whole operation over to private industry; the proposal that mineral rights in the public domain—properties of incalculable value—be turned over to the states; and, lastly, the rising clamor to dump in industry's all-receptive lap the tremendous industrial potential of atomic energy.

ADD IT UP for yourself: an ultra-conservative Cabinet and Congress, a White House that refuses to exert firm leadership, a set of well-heeled party backers breathing deeply of the Washington air after twenty years in the wilderness. The sheer clumsiness of some of the Administration's leading figures may, to be sure, create stumbling-blocks here and there. Secretary of Commerce Weeks's incredible mishandling of the Bureau of Standards case is the kind of political blunder no Administration can afford to repeat very often. Secretary Dulles's conduct of the State Department already has the press corps speculating quietly about a likely successor. Defense Secretary Wilson's acts have not yet provided any evidence that his opening gambit—what's good for General Motors is good for the country—was a mere fluke. Secretary of Agriculture Benson continues to build up bad relations with the farm bloc.

Perhaps no serious political damage has yet been done. President Eisenhower enjoys the best press relations in memory. How could he help it? The publishers are all on his side. The Presidential press conferences have gone much better than was anticipated; perhaps the one real expert on the White House team is press secretary James Hagerty. But the indecision and the fumbling have not gone unnoticed by the newspaper corps. Of course they can do very little about it, since the overwhelming majority of the men who own and operate newspapers and magazines remain firmly committed to the theory that President Eisenhower is exactly what the country wants and needs. Not many reporters bother to file critical stories because such stories are not acceptable. With this setup the Administration can afford to make a good many mistakes.

EISENHOWER'S "CRUSADERS"

HERE are some typical appointments made by the Eisenhower Administration in vital just-below-Cabinet-level spots:

ALBERT M. COLE, Housing and Home Finance Administrator: a bitter foe of public housing is put in charge of the government's housing program.

JOSEPH E. TALBOTT, member of the Tariff Commission: a high-tariff advocate of the McKinley variety, who feels that the President has too much to say about tariff and trade policy.

EDWARD F. HOWREY, member of the Federal Trade Commission: an able lawyer who has represented big business before the commission for years.

ANCHER NELSON, head of the Rural Electrification Administration: a Minnesota politician who helped draft the farm plank at the last Republican convention and showed strong hostility to loans for power generating plants and transmission lines.

JOHN H. DAVIS, director of Commodity Marketing and Adjustment, Department of Agriculture: an officer from the National Wool Marketing Corporation takes charge of the department's price-support operations, bringing with him a belief that a large part of the job could be handled better by private industry.

DON PAARLBERG, Economic Adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture: a confirmed opponent of farm price supports.

FRED G. AANDAHL, Assistant Secretary of the Interior in charge of water and power: a strong supporter of the states'-right philosophy, favoring a maximum of local ownership and control of public power projects.

FELIX WORMSER, Assistant Secretary of the Interior in charge of mineral resources: another outspoken high-tariff man—as far as lead and zinc are concerned.

ROBERT W. S. MCLEOD, top security officer, State Department: the former administrative assistant to Senator Bridges and good friend of Senator McCarthy gets a key post with Secretary Dulles.

The personnel turnover has extended into what are normally considered civil-service career jobs. Thus Secretary of Commerce Weeks has tried to get rid of the Director of the Bureau of Standards—and may yet succeed; Secretary of the Interior McKay has recommended the dismissal of the directors of the Bureau of Mines, the Fish and Wildlife Service, and the Bureau of Land Management. The proposed change in the Bureau of Mines has aroused the ire of the formidable John L. Lewis.

DAY AFTER TOMORROW

Why Science Fiction? . . *by Ray Bradbury*

THREE years ago I wrote a short novel entitled "The Fire Man" which told the story of a municipal department in the year 1999 that came to your house to *start* fires, instead of to put them out. If your neighbors suspected you of reading a mildly subversive book, or any book at all for that matter, they simply turned in an alarm. The hose-bearing censors then thundered up in their red engines and squirted kerosene on your books, your house, and sometimes on you. Then a match was struck. This short novel was intended as science fiction.

Elsewhere in the narrative I described my Fire Man arriving home after midnight and finding his wife in bed afflicted with two varieties of stupor. She is in a trance, a condition so withdrawn as to resemble catatonia, compounded of equal parts of liquor and a small Seashell thimble-radio tucked in her ear. The Seashell croons and murmurs its music and commercials and private little melodramas for her alone. The room is silent. The husband cannot even try to guess the communion between Seashell and wife. Awakening her is not unlike applying shock to a cataleptic.

I thought I was writing a story of prediction, describing a world that might evolve in four or five decades. But only a month ago, in Beverly Hills one night, a husband and wife passed me, walking their dog. I stood staring after them, absolutely stunned. The woman held in one hand a small cigarette-package-sized radio, its antenna quivering. From this sprang tiny copper wires which ended in a dainty cone plugged into her right ear. There she was, oblivious to man and dog, listening to far winds and whispers and soap-opera cries, sleep-walking, helped up and down curbs by a husband who might just as well not have been there. This was *not* science fiction. This was a new fact in our changing society.

Ray Bradbury

As you can see, I must start writing very fast indeed about our future world in order to stand still. I thought I had raced ahead of science, predicting the radio-induced semi-catatonic. In the long haul, science pulled abreast, tipped its hat, and fed me the dust. The woman with the radio-thimble crammed in her ear the other night symbolized my failure to count on certain psychological needs which demanded satisfaction earlier than I supposed.

Whether or not my ideas on censorship via the fire department will be old hat by this time next week, I dare not predict. When the wind is right, a faint odor of kerosene is exhaled from Senator McCarthy.

All of the above long prologue leads up to the simple fact that I very much enjoy, I *relish*, writing science fiction.

There is great serious fun for the writer in asking himself: when does an invention stop being a reasonable escape mechanism—for we must all evade the world and its crushing responsibilities at times—and start being a paranoiacally dangerous device? How much of any one such invention is good for a person, bad for a person, fine for this man, fatal to the next?

So much depends, of course, on what the individual *hears* when he gives himself over to the electronic tides breaking on the shore of his Seashell. The voice of conscience and reason? An echo of morality? A new thought? A fresh idea? A morsel of philosophy? Or bias, hatred, fear, prejudice, nightmare, lies, half-truths, and suspicions? Or, perhaps even worse, the sound of one emptiness striking hollowly against yet another and another emptiness; broken at two-minute intervals by a jolly commercial, preferably in rhymed quatrains or couplets?

In writing a science-fiction story around such an idea, the author must consider many things. Is there, for instance, a delicate interplay where the society does not crush the individual but where the individual realizes that without his cooperation society would fly to pieces through the centrifugal force of anarchy? Is the programming on such an ear-button receiver of a caliber to enable a man to be a gyroscope, both taking from and giving to society; beautifully balanced? Does it tell him what to do *every* hour and *every* minute of *every* day? Or, fearing knowledge of any sort, tell him nothing, and spoon-feed him mush? The challenge and the fun come in handling all the above ideas and materials in such a way as to predict how perversely or how well man will use himself, and therefore his mechanical extensions, in the coming time of our lives.

It is both exciting and disconcerting for a writer to discover that man's machines are *indeed* symbols of his own most secret cravings and desires, extra hands put out to touch and reinterpret the world. The machines themselves are empty gloves into which a hand, either cold and excessively bony, or warm, full-fleshed, and gentle, can be inserted. The hand is always the hand of man, and the hand of man can be good or evil, while the gloves themselves remain amoral.

RAY BRADBURY'S science fiction has been acclaimed by many critics as a brilliant contribution to American literature. Among his books are "The Illustrated Man" and, most recently, "The Golden Apples of the Sun."

The problem of good and evil fascinates, then, especially when it is to be found externalized and purified in the thousands of semi-robots we are using and will use in the coming century. Our atomic knowledge destroys cancer or men. Our airplanes carry passengers or jellied gasoline bombs. The hairline, the human, choice is there. Before us today we see the aluminum and steel and uranium chess pieces which the interested science-fiction writer can hope to move about, trying to guess how man will play out the game.

THIS, I think, should answer why I have more often than not written stories which, for a convenient label, are called science fiction. There are few literary fields, it seems to me, that deal so strikingly with themes that concern us all today; there are few more exciting genres, there are none fresher or so full of continually renewed and renewable concepts.

It is, after all, the fiction of ideas, the fiction where philosophy can be tinkered with, torn apart, and put back together again; it is the fiction of sociology and psychology and history compounded and squared by time. It is the fiction where you may set up and knock down your own political and religious and moral states. It can be a high form of Swiss watch-making. It *can* be poetry. It *has* resulted in some of the greatest writing in our past, from Plato and Lucian to Sir Thomas More and François Rabelais and on down through Jonathan Swift and Johannes Kepler to Poe and Edward Bellamy and George Orwell.

If you try to cram philosophical and sociological theories into the non-science-fiction tale, you more often than not wind up with more crust than filling. It takes a very agile writer indeed to keep a book together under such conditions. But in the story of prediction, at its best, you are given leave to act out your problem in easily stage-managed symbols, in allegories, if you wish. It isn't necessary to stop for long-winded explanations of philosophical or sociological climates. Simply by showing your real characters living and dying against your fresh background, the reader can guess an entire and different world, can feel it come alive through an osmotic literary process which is often exceptionally subtle. Science fiction, then, does one the favor of making outsize images of problems so they can be seen and handled from all sides like those Easter balloons strung along the avenue by Macy's each year.

Over and above everything, the writer in this field has a sense of being confronted by dozens of paths that move among the thousand mirrors of a carnival maze, seeing his society imaged and re-imaged and distorted by the light thrown back at him. Without moving anything but his typewriter, that immensely dependable Time Machine, the writer can take those paths and examine those billion images. Where are we going? Well, first let us see where we've *been*. And let us ask ourselves what we *are* at this very hour. Fortified with this knowledge, nebulous at most, the writer's imagination selects the first path.

Would you like to know how a Communist government might run the United States? A fascist clique? A government of matriarchs? Novels exist covering all these subjects. What if all parents gave over the education of their children entirely to machines? Or if a law was passed forbidding pedestrians in the year 2001? Why travel to the Moon or Mars if we only continue our wars there with Russia or Britain or Africa? Why build rockets at all? For fun? For adventure? Or is this the same process which sends the salmons back upstream year after year to spawn and die—a subliminal urge in mankind to spread, in self-preservation, to the stars? Are we then secretly fearful that one day the sun might freeze and the earth grow cold or the sun explode in a terrific thermal cataclysm and burn down our house of cards? And is all this space-travel talk nothing more than the human race itself seeing to it that it survives when survival means getting off a single, unstable planet and seeding space to its farthest boundaries, where no natural catastrophe, no congealing of sun or passing comet, can destroy man? Is self-preservation, then, our prime mover, and all our speechifying about adventure and fun and a New West in the Sky so much rationalization?

I KNOW I cannot answer the above questions. But I also know I am endlessly fascinated with these questions, minor as they may seem to some, or pompous as they may seem to others. And many, including myself, are having a go at answering them, in the science-fiction field. Here are a few more:

How do you go about converting a group of non-materialist utterly alien Martians to the Methodist conviction? If you find a race of dogs or cows on Venus with I. Q.'s verging on 190, capable of carrying on highly enlightened and logical conversations on social and metaphysical topics, where does this put the Christian faith relative to their dictum that canines and cows do not have souls of transferable value? If these dogs and cows are morally aware and *responsible for their actions,* that is supposedly the test one must pass in order to be credited with a soul. Well, then, one is tempted to ask the Christian religion to point out that exact moment in the history of dogdom and cowdom on Venus when they stopped being brutes without souls and became equal and perhaps superior to man, thus inheriting the soul as a blessed gift?

I ask these questions both in good humor and in all seriousness. I ask them simply because some time soon they must be answered. The day of the rocket is not so distant that we can delay longer in answering some of them. It will be very embarrassing if we discover on Mars not only that the Adam and Eve legend is the myth we suspected it to be but that Mr. Darwin, too, has been thrown bodily out the window by the things we find on that far world. Science and religion might *both* run in circles, like broken toys, momentarily, confronted with such factual heresy.

Not that we won't be able to adjust to any problems met at home or abroad in the solar system in 1999. We *will* adjust. But I also think our adjustment will derive in part from our practicality in both entertaining ourselves with science fiction and looking to our answers now, while still it is afternoon. These problems are human problems, which all too soon will no longer be science-fictional but part of a past history our children will read. I consider none of the above questions improbable or impossible. I consider them very probable and possible indeed.

Consider the similarity of two books—Koestler's "Darkness at Noon," laid in our recent past, and George Orwell's "1984," set in our immediate future. And here *we* are, poised between the two, between a dreadful reality and an unformed terror, trying to make such decisions as will avoid the tyranny of the very far right and the tyranny of the very far left; the two of which can often be seen coalescing into a tyranny pure and simple, with no qualifying adjective in front of it at all.

Space, which is very large indeed, is not the only huge thing which stands before man. Bigness in all its forms towers above us—bigness in religion, bigness in the fields of communication, labor, corporative enterprise, and government. No sooner has the private citizen warded off the millstone wheel of one Juggernaut than another lumbers on stage. Compared to other ages, in which man hid from a single Giant here or a Titan there, we are living, it cannot be denied, in a year when every one of us must stand ready, alone, ax in hand, by the Beanstalk.

Science fiction, it has been suggested, could possibly be the ax which on occasion might hew as much as half an inch of fibrous material from certain Beanstalks. I do not know whether it has ever killed, maimed, or even bruised a Giant. I do not know whether it can be a sling to send the pebble against the brow of Goliath for the millions of Davids alive and put-upon today. I would not dare to say that it is probably the literature of warning or that it might be the dream which can help ward off the nightmare. Too many have claimed too much for science fiction already. And there is no charting agency available to show how much literature goes into the minds and, years later, works down and comes out through the hands of acting individuals.

I know only that there isn't a time, when I've had a really good night's sleep and am clear-headed, that I haven't thought of science fiction and been excited and concerned with its function, minor if you wish, both as fresh entertainment and as morality cloaked in symbol and allegory.

Certainly I have often wished that a new name might be applied to this field, since the old name has grown shopworn in the service of bug-eyed monsters and half-naked space women. But there seems to be no way to avoid that, and new writers coming into the field will have to carry the burden of the old label until someone provides a better one, in this land where everything must *absolutely* have a label.

EVEN AS I FINISH this article, our civilization is thinking about the future and pouring it into molds to harden and become the newer machines which will further prove that, in motion, mankind's ability to externalize his loves and hates, thus more quickly building or destroying his culture, is seemingly inexhaustible. As long as "science fiction" can keep me alert to all this, I'll go on writing it. And I'll go on as long as there is gusto and zest in the writing; for if it should ever become completely and bodily nothing but self-important social and political prediction, I think I would become bored, and my reader bored, too.

I once strongly suspected that fun was the handmaiden, if not the progenitor, of the arts; now I *know* this for certain. And with a great sense of pleasure and personal well-being I intend to

Best of Recent Science Fiction

IF YOU have not yet tried science fiction—or have read it only casually—here is a handy guide to the best that has been published recently. We asked four top men in the field to name six of their favorite new titles. These men were H. L. Gold, editor of *Galaxy;* H. H. Holmes (better known as Anthony Boucher), author and critic; Robert A. Heinlein and Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., authors. Not unnaturally, some of the lists overlapped; Alfred Bester's "The Demolished Man" had the unique distinction of appearing on all four. In the combined list which follows, the names of the individual recommenders appear in parentheses. Titles are in alphabetical order and include one or two old ones which have recently been reisssued. The fact that some of our judges named the works of their fellow-judges is purely fortuitous; the lists were prepared independently and no judge knew who the others were.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Best from Fantasy and Science Fiction. By H. G. Wells, Edited by Anthony Boucher and J. Francis McComas. Little, Brown; McClelland. (Vonnegut)
Flatland. By A. Square (Edwin A. Abbott). Dover. (Holmes)
Golden Apples of the Sun. By Ray Bradbury. Doubleday. (Gold)
Limbo. By Bernard Wolfe. Random House. (Gold)
Martian Chronicles. By Rad Bradbury. Doubleday. (Vonnegut)
1984. By George Orwell. Harcourt, Brace. (Heinlein)
Pebble in the Sky. By Isaac Asimov. Doubleday. (Heinlein)
Player Piano. By Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. Scribner's. (Heinlein)
Puppet Masters. By Robert A. Heinlein. Doubleday. (Vonnegut)
Rogue Queen. By L. Sprague de Camp. Fantasy Publishing Company. (Heinlein)
Ring Around the Sun. By Clifford D. Simak. Simon and Schuster. (Gold, Holmes)
Science Fiction Adventures in Dimension. Edited by Groff Conklin. Viking. (Holmes)
Star Science Fiction Stories. Edited by Frederik Pohl. Ballantine Books. (Holmes)
The Demolished Man. By Alfred Bester. Shasta. (Gold, Heinlein, Holmes, Vonnegut)
The Space Merchants. By Frederik Pohl and C. M. Kornbluth. Ballantine Books. (Gold, Holmes)
The Worm Ouroboros. By E. R. Eddison. Dutton. (Gold)
Tomorrow the Stars. From Twenty-eight Science Fiction Stories. Edited by Robert A. Heinlein. Doubleday; Dover. (Vonnegut)
What Mad Universe. By Fredric Brown. Dutton. (Heinlein)

continue in the field for a good many years along with those others who are interested in trying to find a bridge to cross that vast gulf of communication permanently for all of us. I do not know whether tomorrow's street will be full of human beings with Seashell thimble-radios whispering in their ears and all the world and its problems moved away from and neglected. Or whether by some miracle we may all carry supersonic stethoscopes with us on our rounds, so that each may know the sound of every other human heart. I only know that it would be interesting to walk on that street and think about it and write about it, before that evening sun goes down.

BOOKS ARE BURNING

The Spreading Censorship . . *by William Murray*

IN A recent speech in Chicago, Victor Weybright, chairman of the Reprinters' Committee of the American Book Publishers' Council, warned that unless we defend our right to read what we choose, we shall be subjected to a nation-wide censorship that will emasculate our current creative literature and ban many of the classics from our library shelves. "In my opinion," said Mr. Weybright, "the current drive which threatens the widespread availability of books in the United States portends the possible suppression of legitimate scholarship and creative literature in ways unmatched in our time except during the Hitler regime in Germany and, even more overwhelmingly, in Communist Russia." Investigation of recent censorship activity can only lead to the distressing conclusion that Mr. Weybright is not exaggerating. Readers of *The Nation* will not be surprised to learn that this campaign has been planned and organized by the same super-patriots who are undermining our Bill of Rights, attacking the U. N., subverting the Voice of America, and terrorizing our educators.

As Mr. Weybright pointed out, books are still the most important outlet for boldness of thought and imagination. Naturally, therefore, the conformists seek a way of plugging that outlet. Narrow-minded as they may be, we must not underrate them. They fully understand the value of publicity, and they have profited much from the successes achieved in other fields.

The campaign for book censorship is led by the Chicago Archdiocese Council of Catholic Men headed by Father Thomas J. Fitzgerald. The council publishes a nationally distributed black list which includes books by winners of Nobel and Pulitzer prizes. It works in close cooperation with local police officers in many parts of the country. Father Fitzgerald has repeatedly recommended the creation of a literary-review board for the publishing industry, headed by a "czar," which would impose self-censorship. The only alternative, he admits, is federal censorship. This, of course, would be a direct violation of the First Amendment's guaranty of freedom of the press. Father Fitzgerald's ideas have received support from McCarthy, Jenner, Velde, various Catholic organizations, the American Legion, and most recently from a Congressional investigating committee on "current pornographic materials" headed by E. C. Gathings of Arkansas.

Until the Gathings committee went to work, the campaign against books was carried on locally rather than nationally. As in the attack on Chaplin and "Limelight," pressure was brought to bear on local distributors and dealers. Often city and state legislation has managed to impose effective if unconstitutional censorship. *The Nation* reported last January on the censorship set up by a city ordinance in St. Cloud, Minnesota, with the result that more than three hundred books are on a banned list to which thirty titles are being added every month. Georgia has a three-man literature commission which is currently re-reading Chaucer before deciding whether to ban his works. Sixteen stores in Brooklyn have yielded to the pressure of the Catholic Decent Literature Committee and stopped the sale of 414 publications, including novels by William Faulkner, Budd Schulberg, Nelson Algren, Richard Wright, Willard Motley, Erskine Caldwell, and Irwin Shaw.

There have been public book burnings in North Carolina and Oklahoma. In Youngstown, Ohio, Police Chief Edward J. Allen, Jr., has forced distributors under threat of arrest to remove a number of pocket-sized books from the sales shelves, including Hemingway's "Across the River and into the Trees," Dos Passos's "Forty-second Parallel," and works by Maupassant, D. H. Lawrence, and Somerset Maugham. In Cleveland local police action has banned pocket-sized editions of Sigmund Freud's "General Introduction to Psychoanalysis"—because, according to a local distributor, "it contains a chapter on sex"—and of Apuleius's "The Golden Ass," because "the title of the book might be offensive." An organized drive against books is also under way in Detroit, where police censorship is already in force, and in Manchester, New Hampshire.

In Middlesex County, New Jersey, a local Committee on Objectionable Literature has succeeded in banning twenty-six titles, although the case is now being contested in the courts. The Civil Liberties Union is fighting the passage of so-called "obscenity laws" in New York and Minnesota. A proposed amendment to the New York State Code of Criminal Procedure which

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WILLIAM MURRAY is a frequent contributor to The Nation.

would empower police chiefs and sheriffs to seize "objectionable materials" has already been approved by the legislature and awaits the Governor's signature.

DEPRESSING as these facts are, there was little danger that censorship would become nation-wide until the Gathings committee began to operate last December. After all, we have had books banned before, notably in Boston. Then, too, the attack seemed to be directed not so much at ideas or personalities as at pornography and obscenity. It has been concentrated chiefly on pocket-sized books, which are printed by some ten major publishers and a host of smaller firms. The theme of the reformers has been that children now have easy access to harmful literature which before the rise of the reprint trade was limited to adults willing to spend three or four dollars for a book. The low price and availability of the reprint, the reformers contend, make it imperative that we take action to protect our children from the corrupting influence of such notoriously indecent authors as Hemingway, Dos Passos, and Faulkner, not to mention that master of obscenity, Shakespeare.

But they have in mind more than the morals of our children. Some prominent members of Congress would like to limit our right to read for other reasons. One bill has been prepared for presentation to the House which would compel the Librarian of Congress to apply the subversion test to all the books within his jurisdiction. The list of condemned books would then be circulated to other librarians to take what action they wish.

Senator McCarthy would censor not only what Americans read but what Europeans and Asians read. Two arrogant and foolish young men, the Senator's investigators, have been touring libraries maintained by the United States Information Service abroad. One of their complaints has been that not enough copies of the *American Legion Magazine* are available and too many of *The Nation* and the *New Republic.* That ex-Communist and perennial absolutist Louis Budenz, always the first to testify, was quick to assure McCarthy that the State Department distributes books by "at least seventy-five Communist authors" to our overseas libraries. Clearly, freedom of ideas is the issue, not pornography.

The Gathings committee began its investigation by piously claiming that it was concerned with pornography only because "pornography is big business." But on the second page of the committee report is a reference to "content that was believed to be subversive of morals, allegiance, or faith." The report asserts that the reprints "have degenerated into media for the dissemination of artful appeals to sensuality, immorality, filth, perversion, and degeneracy." But as Representatives Celler and Walter point out in their minority report, it "directs unfavorable comment toward ideas themselves contained in cited publications." The majority report attacks "The Haters," a Bantam book, by Theodore Strauss, because "the author was obviously trying to cash in on the Scottsboro pro-Negro agitation which was Communist-inspired." It criticizes "Cage of Darkness," by René Masson, because "the author does not seem to like the 'upper classes' or law-enforcement officers," and condemns "The Harem," by Louis Royer, as advocating polygamy.

Representative Gathings.

Does the Gathings committee want federal censorship? No, says the committee on page 12. Yes, says the committee on page 17, where it urges an "effort by Congress" against the publishers. Past court decisions seem to block effective censorship of books. But this can be remedied, it believes, since Congress can pass new laws which will limit the "liberal conception of the tradition founded upon the constitutional provision guaranteeing the freedom of the press." The report concludes by warning publishers to take self-disciplinary measures or suffer the consequences of the public clamor for more federal action. What public clamor?

Bernard DeVoto points out in the current issue of *Harper's* that the chief danger lies in the fact that the committee intends to abridge the First Amendment and firmly believes that Congress is entitled to do so. "What we may care to read," comments Mr. DeVoto, "is no concern of Congress." He also reminds us that in June, 1949, Representative John S. Wood asked some seventy colleges to submit all their textbooks for examination and approval by the Un-American Activities Committee. That attempt at thought control failed, but the current one stands a better chance of success. The Gathings committee has requested another appropriation to enable it to continue the investigation and will probably get it.

THE REPRINT publishers, of course, are not blameless. Even the major firms resort to provocative illustrations on book jackets. Many of the pocket-sized books are trashy novels of a quasi-pornographic type. So it is easy for the reformers to scream "filth" and urge censorship as the only solution.

An article in *America,* the national Catholic weekly, points out that "if the pocket-book publishers had been more objective in their testimony before the committee, willing to admit mistakes that are obvious to everyone else, and less briskly defend every book under their imprint, we bystanders would have been much more persuaded of their realization of the responsibility that is inescapably theirs by the very fact that they are publishers." This is undoubtedly true, but it is also true that the publication of trash, however lurid, is not going to undermine American society to any devastating extent. Censorship, however, will be fatal. "I deplore the putrid state into which our newspapers have passed," said Thomas Jefferson, "and the malignity, the vulgarity, and mendacious spirit of those who write them. These ordures are rapidly depraving the public taste. It is, however, an evil for which there is no remedy. Our liberty depends on freedom of the press, and that cannot be limited without being lost."

SPRING BOOK SECTION

Six Young Authors in Search . . .

RECENTLY there has been a good deal of interest in the "values" and beliefs of the younger generation of American writers. In *Harper's*, the *Partisan Review*, and the *Saturday Review* there have been surveys and interpretations by various critics, historians, and commentators, but the writers themselves for the most part have remained silent.

The Nation has accordingly asked six novelists whose work has attracted interest and praise in contemporary letters to state their present convictions, as individuals and as representative figures. James Jones is the author of "From Here to Eternity." William Styron is the author of "Lie Down in Darkness," for which he received a *Prix de Rome* from the American Academy. Maude Hutchins is the author of the entertaining "Diary of Love," banned in Chicago, and of "My Hero." John H. Griffin is the author of "The Devil Rides Outside," also controversial, and perhaps the most original novel in 1952. Jefferson Young is the author of the highly praised "A Good Man." Leonard Bishop is the author of "Down All Your Streets" and "Days of My Love."

Together, these writers represent a valuable cross-section of what is going on in the American novel today.

EDITORS THE NATION

Too Much Symbolism

By James Jones

Marshall, Ill.

IT'S HARD to start cold, and attempt to define what you believe or feel about anything so complex as writing or writers. The very nature of writing and writers is diversity. Any comment has to be so general.

There is a lot in our age today that is similar to the Elizabethan Age, I think. The unrest, the perpetual wars, the opening up of new scientific and spatial frontiers, the sense of living daily amid many great dangers to continued existence. Individual life is growing much cheaper in our country—just as well as the rest of the world—no matter how loud we Americans holler the opposite; and on the other side of the same coin, the hidden side, the average person is living with much greater vitality than we usually admit, simply because he is existing under such stress. All that is a lot like Elizabeth's age, I think.

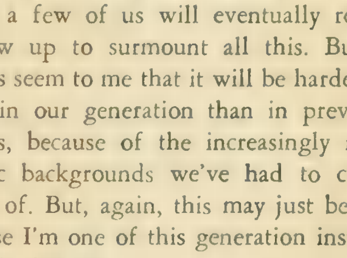
But our writers today, all of us, have a common neurotic background that prevents us from seeing all this with the enthusiasm of the Elizabethans. Sometimes, by hoisting ourselves up by our own bootstraps, which is a pretty rupturing method, we are able to rise above our cheap history and unwillingness to face moral paradox and write something good. More often we don't, because our neurotic backgrounds have enervated us and we lack the vitality and moral courage of the Elizabethans to enjoy un-morality. Only when we can screw ourselves up to a great pitch of excitement or inspiration are we able to do this occasionally. But the Elizabethan writers did it all the time.

I think one of the results of this attitude of ours is that we find ourselves concerned more with symbolism than with characters. Thus instead of letting our characters write our books we let our ideas write our characters. Consequently we're in constant danger of winding up preaching—either for or against, it makes no difference. Even our critics suffer from this same malady, I think. They criticize us, not for the lifelikeness of what we write or for the memorable characters we produce, but for the symbolic meanings our writing is supposed to impart. They worry about values. We worry about values. Have writers lost their values? Has our culture lost its values? Are there any values left anywhere? Meantime, the people who don't read our books and don't know themselves to be valueless go right on living as if they valued things. If the critics ever do find a book that doesn't claim to impart symbolic meanings, they holler like hell. They won't even accept the idea, let alone the book.

I suppose the same thing is also true of any generation of writers, any given period of writers. It's probably just because I myself happen to live in *this* period that it affects me so strongly to see it. But it does affect me strongly, very strongly, and it does make me wish we could all turn to life itself, rather than to our ideas about life—which are almost always wrong anyway. In every generation of writers there are always two or three great ones and a host of lessers, and I guess in our generation too a few of us will eventually really grow up to surmount all this. But it does seem to me that it will be harder to do in our generation than in previous ones, because of the increasingly neurotic backgrounds we've had to come out of. But, again, this may just be because I'm one of this generation instead of the last one.

I think the tragedy of the American writer today is not so much that he lives in a tragic time as that he would prefer to live in another one.

But like I said, I expect some day one or two of us will eventually grow up and stop being children. I'm about convinced you can't be a big writer unless you stop being a child and first become a big man. I hope someday I'll be able to do it.



The Prevalence of Wonders

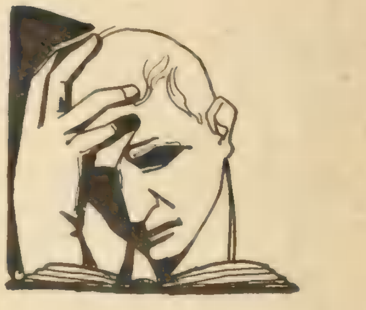
By William Styron

Rome

I HARDLY think that anyone in so short a space can do much justice to what he believes, and perhaps least of all should this be attempted by any writer, whose works, finally, should be sufficient expression of his credo. Lots of writers find themselves hopelessly baffled when it comes to dealing with ideas, and even though I suspect that this is a grave and lazy weakness, I none the less count myself among the group and, in a symposium of this sort, flounder about in a vague wonderland of notes and inconclusive jottings. But I was asked to write a "frank and honest statement of your feelings about your art, your country, and the world," so I will proceed, as frankly and as honestly as I can.

About my art: I know little of the mechanics of criticism and have been able to read only a very few critics, but I respect those people—critics and readers—who feel that the art of writing is valuable, since, like music or sailing or drinking beer, it is a pleasure, and since, at its best, it does something new to the heart. I for one would rather listen to music or go sailing, or drink beer while doing both, than talk about literature, but I am not averse to talking about it at all, just as lawyers talk about law and surgeons about surgery. And I take it quite seriously. I have no conscious illusions of myself as teacher or preacher; I do know that when I feel that I have been writing my best I am aware of having gathered together some of the actualities of myself and my experience, projected these whole and breathing on the page, and thereby have enjoyed some peculiar poetic fulfilment. This is self-indulgence; but I trust that it sometimes approaches art, a word which I'm not ashamed to use from time to time, and I trust that it might also please some reader, that person who, in my most avid self-indulgence, I am not so ingenuous as ever really to forget. So I might say that I am not interested in writing propaganda, but only in that sort of personal propaganda engendered by afternoons of vicious solitude and the weird, joyful yearning which it pleases oneself to think, just for a couple of seconds, that Bach must have felt. If out of all this, placed as vividly as I can place them in their moment in time, there are people who emerge worthy of a few moments of someone's recollection, I am satisfied. Good people and bad people—bad enough to justify the truth at every signpost in one's most awful nightmares, good enough to satisfy every editor on *Time* magazine, and so much the worse.

I would like to say something in regard to my feelings about America. I have lived in France and Italy for something over a year now—not a long time but long enough for me to feel well ahead in my postgraduate education. I have been here under a large handicap, though a handicap which, as I will try to demonstrate, might have its redeeming qualities. This handicap may be explained simply by the fact that I am one of those people who are unable to enjoy a painting, a piece of sculpture, a work of architecture, or, for that matter, practically any visually artistic representation. To suffer such a lack while in Italy is somewhat like being let loose, while suffering from ulcers, in one of those wonderful, large West Side delicatessens; yet, as Clive Bell, to whom I have run for refuge as apologist, so sympathetically points out in his essay called "The Aesthetic Hypothesis," there *are* people congenitally incapable of such an experience, just as there are people born without the sense of smell, and no more to be blamed than their equally sensitive friends who can visualize in the aerial, clear abstractions of a Vivaldi concerto, only horses galloping, nymphs and shepherds, or the first girl they ever kissed. So, deprived as I am in a place so rich in wonders as Rome of the means to assimilate those wonders, I have been thrown a bit on my own devices, so that my viewpoint, as an American living abroad, has probably often been closer to Burbank and his Baedeker among the ruins of Venice than any number of generations of comfortably adjusted artists. Many people can feel the true rapture at the façade of Chartres, and these are no doubt a step further toward an affection for France and its people than the aesthetically more limited who, attuned to the night clubs of Montparnasse or *escargots* primarily, are outraged, stricken, and resentful when it dawns upon them that the French consider them jackasses. Not all art lovers, of course, are nice people. But a warm and tolerant feeling of brotherhood for man is, I believe, often measured by the extent of one's love for man's monuments and man's artifacts, and not a few American tourists, like myself, don't know a Piero from a peanut.



I think this blindness of mine, though, has had its worthy effects, for if it has helped to keep me from understanding the more beautiful things about Europe it has also conspired with a sort of innate and provincial aloofness in my nature to make me much more conscious of my *modern* environment, and self-consciously aware of my emotions as an American within that environment. And thus at last, after more than a year, I think that I am as "adjusted" as I ever will be, having succumbed neither to the blandishments of exile nor to any illusions of a faultless America. There cannot be much dogma about nations when one lives in One World, eighteen hours from home, and for me now things are pretty well balanced.

The "U. S. Go Home" signs no longer offend me, since I have learned that they are the work of the Communists and don't mean *me* but the American army encamped nearby. I have even come to the point where I can sympathize with the signs and ask myself: "Suppose New York were full of Swedish soldiers all mouthing orders for beer in an alien, thick, jaw-breaking tongue. Would I not want to scrawl 'Swedes go home!' on every available wall?" I have learned, too, that anti-Americanism is many different things: unjustified among the spoiled and snobbish Italian upper class, with whom it's currently the vogue, and among whom was the famous actress heard at a party recently to utter the most slanderous anti-American remarks, and enplane the next day, via TWA, for New York; justified when a Parisian reads about McCarthy in *Figaro,* or when our most widely read weekly editorializes upon France and compares it to a whore; nonexistent, finally, among most Italians, whose happiest tradition has been an inability to be anti-anything and each of whom has a cousin in Brooklyn.

What I suppose I've really learned is the elderly truism that all of us can learn something from each other. That whereas our radios are better, no car from Detroit can match a fleet, shiny Alfa Romeo; that our planes work, crack up less often, and are generally on time, but that the dreadful snarl on Madison Avenue might be alleviated by a study of the marvelous Paris bus system; that, on the other hand, a bottle of Châteauneuf du Pape is ambrosia, indeed, but that there's still nothing like a Coca-Cola on a hot summer day, as every Frenchman knows but won't admit; that the man from Chicago gobbling hamburgers on the Champs Elysées is undoubtedly a fool, but there is something wonderful to be said about his brother, the July tourist with his straw hat and his lurid tie and his camera, and his almost pathetic eagerness to find, in a strange land, some kind of dazzling and miraculous enlightenment: sometimes his manners are bad but he's making the effort at least, and one finds few French tourists outside of France; that our mass production is the world's finest: "Oh," says the American, "your Italian sports cars are great, but in the states everyone can own a car." "But Signore," is the reply, "here not everyone *wants* a car"; that our Park Avenue head-feelers are the very best: "But Signore, here we do not *need* psychoanalysis." It's simply a matter of balance.

One must end a credo on the word "endure," but I think we will do just that—Americans and Italians and Frenchmen, in spite of all those who threaten us momentary harm. Humans have become involved too much in life, and the wonders are too thick about us, to be daunted by a handful of madmen who always, somehow, fall. The hope of heaven has flowered so long among us that I just can't envision that hope blighted in our time, or any other, for that matter; perhaps the miseries of our century will be recalled only as the work of a race of strange and troublous children, by the wise old men in the aeons which come after us. Meanwhile, the writers keep on writing, and I should like to think that what we write will be worth remembering.

The Lyre with One String

By Maude Hutchins

Southport, Conn.

PERHAPS the artist is the only one who is not entitled to his own opinion; what I mean by that is that I do not believe in propaganda, in a novel, political or social; or prejudice, or even opinion, in so far as they can be avoided without stress. I do not think it is the artist's business to *prove* anything at all. The artist is a professional observer, not only of things—shapes, colors, lilies, termites, trees—but of feelings, too, and what makes things work and how come Mary Jane said that, a kind of what's cooking. Unlike the doctor, more like the scientist, he leaves the conclusion to you; the scientist, nobody's keeper, weeps, it is true, when his infernal machine is morally misused, but he is not responsible.

On the other hand, I believe that each writer is trying to say one thing; one idea, perhaps, possesses him, he *is* possessed. It is as if he had been dealt a hand that he must make the most of, free to reshuffle it, but within his own parenthesis almost. The idea that he is trying to make clear to himself first, and secondly to his readers, naturally takes on a subject matter and he is stuck with it, as, let us say, a mathematician is with blocks or apples. That he doesn't *mean* blocks or apples is not always clear to the man in the trolley car. As for me, I have been accused of my theme—well, give me time, I'm stuck with it; it is

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the root in a sense, perhaps there will be branches and, who knows, blossoms maybe. No one is accusing Mr. Herzog of being preoccupied with mountains. I bet his publisher hasn't said, "Can't you write about something else?" On the other hand, perhaps he has said, "Look here, old man, try sex next time." I can't help it if the nursemaid, as I gazed at my first moon, with no subject matter in me at all, pointed out that a man and a woman were embracing in it. She was my literary sponsor in baptism, perhaps.

Unimportant as subject matter is, there has to be one. Certainly the idea is first, supported by analogy. Then, if the writer is an artist, his pages shine with beauty of phraseology and many little visions until the reader is seduced (sorry!). Nevertheless, the reader is not content. He says, "What does it mean?" The idea, so compelling to the writer, has escaped. Léon Bloy said that the first sorrow was the sorrow of not being a saint. I believe that the second is that of not being understood. But if you do not make yourself clear, do it as beautifully as possible, and in place of your little idea perhaps *the* idea, Beauty, will last longer anyway. An excited taxi driver was trying to make himself clear to me. He had just witnessed a shocking accident. It was not easy to follow his story; it was so fresh in his mind and he had not thought it out or what it meant. He ended up, "He was decapitated, in a sense." None of his violent images stayed with me, but that sentence did.

Well, I believe in enthusiasm, sentiment, hospitality, love; and I think that the artist by nature is a recluse, diffident and shy, but with a compulsion. Like Peter Rabbit, that talented rodent who tried really and truly to get away from Mr. MacGregor, but who felt all along that sneeze coming on that disclosed his whereabouts in the watering can. Well —here I am in *The Nation.*

The Buds of Ugliness

By Leonard Bishop

Paris

THE WAY I see it is this way. The first thing a writer must do before he picks up his pen for the creating of fiction, is to knock apart the fiction he has created about himself and which, in the past, has enabled him to get along. He must know himself more than others do, so that when he begins to write, the need to write comes from himself and he has familiar equipment with which to work. And after he has found an inner reality, permanent, enduring, staunch, the writer must again create a fiction about himself. He must believe somehow, through all the frailties in his discipline, all the unbridged spaces in his reasoning, that he is important. He must acquire a vanity of existence—not vanity of person—so that when he writes he never doubts that what he writes will be read and believed. To me, being a writer is not being a special guy who has been taken into an exclusive cult. Writing is my business, my job. I'm sure people will forgive me for enjoying my work. But I believe that to be a writer is a touch of noble. Not because we are special, not because we relieve the tensions of some human's mediocre existence, but because we face the terrifying brutalities needed to uproot the dignity of humanity which is so well hidden by habit, fear, bewilderment. If I seem to be fanatic, it is because I am so grateful (to whatever it is that propels us one magic day) for having found an ambition, a reason, a touch of the dream, and so much hope, because of writing. And it took me twenty-seven years of complicated, confused, bitter living to come to one simple clear sweet decision.

Now let me be a little opinionated. (What went before was nothing.) The writer today, or any artist, no matter what his medium, should not be frightened by the cultural youth of America or so fascinated by the overwhelming anciency of other countries that he must either rush to those countries or lose faith in American spirits. While the backwoods of Tennessee has produced as many ignoramuses as the township of Comitrion in France, I'm sure that as many people coming from Tennessee have integrated themselves, in time, to so-called society as have the French farmers. When I think of the States, and see what's around me here in Europe, someone ought to clout those idiots who run here for their learning. And it is not me that feels proud of America, but I hope that one day America will feel proud of me. I impose a debt on myself. That is to write, with a constant undercurrent of hope, so that in time I will explain part of America to Americans and to others.

And I know that a writer must write out of deep fruitful love for people. He must have faith, even if nothing around him justifies it at the time, that all people are born with the beginnings of good. They are corrupted along the way, but they begin good. A writer must make the fiction of a dream real, the quality of the air tastier, the streets which people walk on populated with more people and with more wisdom and with more friendship. A writer must, if this be his need, open the buds of ugliness and lay them out before others, and demonstrate how ineffectual ugliness is when it is understood. A writer must point his literary finger at the "trap" and keep shouting, "Watch out, watch out." Even if the writer is by the trap most of the time and some impulsive person he's warning pushes him into it.

Wisdom of the Child

By Jefferson Young

New Orleans

I KNOW that all the peoples of the world share a common heritage, that of humanity itself. I believe in the dignity of man, in his universal brotherhood, and that he will survive through love.

A writer, an artist, sounds a musical note and with the other members of his generation he strikes a chord in a symphony that began with the beginning of man. All the notes must be heard or the chord would be incomplete. Let us hope that the chord of my own generation will be a worthy addition to the symphony.

We must always be aware of what we know as a child: that God is love and that the birds sing.

Withdrawal of the Artist

By John H. Griffin

Mansfield, Tex.

THE WRITER of this generation, called the Silent Generation, is faced with a peculiarly silencing situation.

He is faced with a nation and a culture so derivative and many-sided as to be without sharply defined characteristics; with a people now going through the purifying processes of crisis; with a public the statisticians wrongly label mentally pubescent.

He is faced with a vast crowd of self-styled critics, unbelievably transparent in their technics, and so shallow and self-infatuated with their critical gowns that he cannot receive the kind of help for which he has any respect except from that handful of genuine critics who are themselves, for the most part, silent.

He is faced with a commercial proposition wherein the two best-selling commodities are religion and sex, not as integrated qualities but as extreme opposites, commercialized to a point where religion is devoured in proportion to its cheapness and tawdriness, and where sex is robbed of its beauty by being couched in fake terms that achieve precisely the opposite effects of their benevolent contentions.

The result has been withdrawal. The good talents, unable to draw focus on the whole scene, have preferred to deal with only minute portions of it. And the mistake has been that they have dealt with portions lifted out of the context of humanity rather than with those portions common to all humanity. Where we need Rabelais we find only Sappho—artists too sensitive and refined to dirty their hands on the livingness of their material, afraid of the heartbeat, afraid of the warmth, afraid of the sneers of the little coteries.

But this withdrawal has much justification. It is the result of a culture wherein certain concepts of "goodness" have been so horribly exploited as to make them repugnant to some source of truth within us. Nobility has become a questionable virtue because its showiest practicants are so un-noble as to disgust us with that false light. Christianity the same. Too many of its loudest practicants are people of such utter contemptuousness as to disgust us with the source they claim to espouse.

But I believe that the artist must utilize these raw materials, not reject them. He must be dedicated enough and humble enough to choose his subject matter from the universal aspects of the human apparatus, not from its aberrations. He must, as a combination priest, physician, jester, and lover, give the people what the heart of all people claims—entertainment, insight, nourishment, the substance of affection.

And most of all, I believe that the writer today must find a legitimate way of returning such words as *nobility, loftiness, virtue, merriment, ribaldry, humility,* and *compassion* to the spiritual vocabulary of our age, this without prudery or fear, and then he will be writing for all time and quite especially for his own time.

In Defense of Folly

What evidence his wallet hides
I neither know nor care; if it's a magic card
secreted in green sheaves of capital,
I will not hunt that witch. Parades
or trials are not for him, his hair
is wilder than his careless cowherd's heart;
but there is traitor in him still, betrayal
of some hurt he will not share.
As witness for dissent, I'll stand
to say him innocent: he is disloyal
only to the few who tolerate
him like a straying, sad-eyed hound:
history he doubts with a bravado
howl; cornered, he growls back his gospel
from a chain of lies. Let him go;
he is already prisoner, held incomunicado.

PHILIP BOOTH

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BOOKS

The Literary Orphan

A Review by Maxwell Geismar

HENRY JAMES. THE UNTRIED YEARS: 1843-1870. By Leon Edel. J. B. Lippincott Company. $5.

THE SACRED FOUNT. By Henry James. With an Introductory Essay by Leon Edel. Grove Press. $4.

SINCE the death of F. O. Matthiessen, Leon Edel has been the leading James scholar in America. He has planned this full-length biography—the present volume is the first of three—for more than twenty years, and meanwhile has edited the complete plays of James and various of the novels, including "The Sacred Fount" listed above. Like Matthiessen, Edel escapes from all the irritating and boring clichés of the cult of James; from the circle of the hit-and-run specialists, or those who have clung to the coat tails of the master and established their career by the fervor of their adulation.

Edel has humor, irony, perspective. He uses the resources of biography, history, and in particular psychology, to illuminate the values and craft of James. For the temperament of "this sick and disordered creature," as James described himself during these years, did indeed help to create those precepts, canons, and codifications, those Jamesian "laws" of fiction, which in some circles have been viewed as untouchable absolutes of immaculate aesthetics. The scene of "The Untried Years" moves from Washington Square and Boston to Europe and then Newport, during the years of James's youth and literary apprenticeship—the "pure Newport time" which he looked back upon with longing and nostalgia. And the family circle was in some curious way—bright and shining and affectionate as it seemed on the surface—disordered, insecure, even diseased.

The central effort of Mr. Edel's first volume is to describe and interpret this early environment, and it is beautifully done. The father, Henry James, Sr., son of "William of Albany," suffered from a profound depression during his youth, after he had lost a leg in a fire. Being told it corresponded to a "vastation" in Swedenborgian terms, he succumbed to the mystic theosophy of the Divine Man for the rest of his life. The mother, reticent, self-sacrificing, however much the young Henry resented what he thought was a lack of attention, was actually the real support of the family; and from here, as Edel suggests, the novelist drew his first uncertain, worried view of human relationships. The woman, almost indefinable, offering nothing that could be called her own, nevertheless dominated the man; after her death Henry, Sr., had nothing to live for.

One gets the impression that they were completely bound up in each other, physically as well as spiritually—the older Henry was blunter than his son in this respect—and perhaps at the expense of the children's comfort. At least the novelist consistently viewed love as the "sacred fount" which nourished perhaps only to destroy; he was careful to avoid entanglements, or even relationships, with either men or women that might injure his own independence. I myself believe there were deeper issues involved here which Mr. Edel, at least in this volume, does not discuss fully. Henry James's involvement with both fire and the fantasy of psychic castration, at least, forms a curious parallel with the career of Stephen Crane, whose work was clearly based on the themes which James kept circling around. Meanwhile there was the famous "accident," which James proclaimed, convulsively, to the world, and which was nothing more, physically, as Edel states, than a strained back.

This was complicated by James's guilt about the Civil War, in which he did not serve, and his attempt to link his personal misfortune with the universal catastrophe. Afterward William James described his brother's ailment in terms of constipation. The parental and family situation was aggravated by the intense, if underground, rivalry between the two gifted and ambitious brothers, for whom Mr. Edel uses the parable of Jacob and Esau. Henry's health improved considerably when William was absent. And directly after Henry had scored his first literary successes in Norton's *North American Review* and Godkin's *Nation,* Vol. I, No. 1, in July, 1865, William suffered his own period of crisis and despair. This was during the central love affair of Henry's youth, if it was that, with his Albany cousin, Minny Temple. With her "splendid shifting sensibility" and her "long, light, and yet almost sliding steps," this radiant and ill-fated cousin was the source of Isabel Archer, Milly Theale, and other heroines in James's later fiction.

Brooding over her illness and death just at the start of his own rise to fame and fortune—a career which had been presaged in his early nightmare of "Art and Love, Power and Glory, Fear and Terror"—the novelist believed that her decline, too, had contributed to the increase of his talent. (This became, in different ways, the theme of both "The Portrait of a Lady" and "The Wings of the Dove.") Or at least, as Mr. Edel suggests in a brilliant passage, her death had relieved James from his "great, brooding, disastrous anxiety," and he was free to pursue the rewards of the mind. Very early he had consciously committed himself "to my particular divergence," which was not responsive to James Russell Lowell's notion of a national literature dedicated to adolescent maidens.

For the young Henry had been reading not only Dickens and Browning, but Sainte-Beuve, Mérimée, and Balzac—who was, at the other pole of American literature, Dreiser's early master, too. He had already said, "My work is my salvation," anticipating the famous later statement: "We work in the dark—we do what we can—we give what we have. Our doubt is our passion, and our passion is our task." But this was in a quite different vein—wasn't it?—from that of the later critics and disciples who

---

MAXWELL GEISMAR, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is a literary historian and critic. The third volume in his series, "Rebels and Ancestors: The American Novel 1890-1915," will be published in the fall.*

adopted his arrogance, and a certain strain of narcissistic, even infantile egoism, without his humility. On his first Roman pilgrimage, where the sense of a remote and glamorous past had completely captured the imagination of this literary and domestic orphan—whose own church, as he said, was pewless—he had admired Michelangelo, whose vigor, health, and courage marked him as a "real man of action in art."

That was the American note, not too far from William's "virile" style, to which, incidentally, Mr. Edel pays only a somewhat grudging tribute. But it was also the note of Henry James's own self-realization. The life of art to which he had dedicated himself with utter and complete passion, and which apparently had prohibited, or become a substitute for, the rich and tormented human relationships of ordinary life, was for James his single great experience. In this light "The Sacred Fount" is, if not James's own parody of that self-infatuated "observer" who endows a mediocre scene with such mystery, at least an ironic comedy of the discrepancy between reality and illusion—a comedy of errors, that is to say, in which the enchantment of art and the enigmas of existence confront each other eternally, and invincibly.

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Recent Poetry—a Miscellany

A Review by Thomas Riggs, Jr.

EUROPA AND THE BULL AND OTHER POEMS. By W. R. Rodgers. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.

SPRING BIRTH AND OTHER POEMS. By Mark Van Doren. Henry Holt and Company. $3.

THE COLLECTED POEMS OF DYLAN THOMAS. New Directions. $3.75.

COLLECTED POEMS 1921-1951. By Edwin Muir. The Grove Press. $3.50.

HOELDERLIN. His Poems Translated by Michael Hamburger with a Critical Study. Pantheon Books. $3.50.

LET us start with Rodgers. He is Irish and rhetorical, and his verse is an excitement to the ear. His first volume, "Awake and Other Wartime Poems," was published over ten years ago. He works for the British Broadcasting Corporation, and the long "Easter Sequence" was written for performance on the air. Perhaps, as Stephen Spender has recently observed, his broad-brush musical exuberance is the beginning of a new popular poetry. How it does listen! There is an extraordinary poetical whoopee in the title poem, which is the best in the volume, but I doubt whether the B. B. C. would think it proper fare for all those grave British families gathered around the set. It is a strip-tease version, with verbal bumps and delays, of the intercourse of gods and men, and it has a marvelous sensual stride and motion:

> No one noticed
> The Bull and Europa sloping away
> Westward into the weed, she with both hands
> Holding her bellyful of jolted joy,
> Buoyant but dubious: he, bushed in stealth,
> Tiptoadying tenderly, picking his way
> Between brusque grass and briar, till at last
> He waded out: the slow subtracting depths
> Rose up; boldly he chinned the ruffling waves . . .

The verse is a celebrator of spectacles and, for these lush Ovidian subjects, is a real circus pleasure. When the subject matter, however, is more serious, as in the Easter sequence, the whoopee is of dubious taste, and flat imitations of Auden add to the uneasiness. Rodgers is limited in range but he has a special talent, full of delight in its proper employment.

THE TALENT of Mark Van Doren is of quite another kind, lucid, unpretentious, absolutely at home with itself, and with a wide range within surely mastered traditional forms. His mind as a poet is somewhere close to its own center and makes serene comments; paints pastorals; notes, creates, and praises. I think it is characteristic that one of his poems, in a time when the problem of evil seems overwhelming, should be called The Problem of Good, and that the angel of doubt with which tortured Jacobs wrestle should here be given welcome:

> Praise the good angel doubt,
> Guardian of us that walk
> On the deep waters of this world.
>
> Praise him. He never rests,
> However weary the way
> Over these dark, salt, dangerous meadows.
>
> Do not look down, he says;
> Beware with me and the sun
> Of faith's innumerable caverns.
>
> Monsters can be there.
> You will have plenty of time.
> Too soon descending, you are devoured.
>
> Praise him. He believes
> In the long day we are given.
> Praise him. He dances upon the whitecaps.

He is an extraordinarily prolific poet, and this collection of four years numbers more than 150 pages. His very pleasure in the traditional movements of English verse communicates itself; in the group of sonnets he sometimes plays contentedly with the conventions of the form, like a housewife happily polishing her silver spoons. In the last three sections of the book the air of naivete becomes an alert carrier for serious matters. There is a fine group here of speculative portraits of characters in the Old Testament, that most bloody book; and the late lyrics are aware of dangers but undaunted.

THE OTHER three volumes are collections: they contain what there is of a total work. The superb, strange lyrics of Dylan Thomas, the Welsh bard and young dog, are now gathered together in one volume. His poems merit all their praises, and with their collection one has the sense of a completed phase in a meteoric history, whose beginning was so striking that the imagination boggles at the thought of further reaches. The poems in this volume are developments of the original rush of energy which exploded, in 1934, upon a literary situation dominated by "social consciousness." Thomas has the bardic consciousness: he writes a personal lyric in which the sense of his own history and name is surrounded by strange lights and glooms, and if his poems are often obscure, it is that they obey nocturnal laws. His poetry exists in a world in which the sexual forces of nature, the shifting tides and currents for which the individual cannot fully account but to which the passion of his being is finally responsible, override the merely personal clamor.

Thomas's theme is struck with the first poem here collected:

> I see the boys of summer in their ruin
> Lay the gold tithings barren,
> Setting no store by harvest, freeze the soils . . .

And the development of the book, in its compact metaphorical compression, takes the boys of summer to the point at which the summer leaves them. Despite such fine occasional poems as A Refusal to Mourn the Death, by Fire, of a Child in London, these poems are inward hymns to an indwelling vitality—rich with juices, corrupt with various experience, laying claim to an absolute kinship with urges beyond rational definition. It is tempting to see the volume as a progression from the boys of summer to the old ram rod of the superbly bawdy and unforgettable Lament, who goes through the weathers of the body until the weather of the spirit lasts him out:

THOMAS RIGGS, JR., is an assistant professor of English at Princeton University, and a member of the Creative Writing Program. He has published a number of poems, and various articles and reviews on contemporary British and American literature.

When I was half of the man I was
And serve me right as the preachers warn,
(Sighed the old ram rod, dying of down-
fall),
No flailing calf or cat in a flame
Or hickory bull in milky grass
But a black sheep with a crumpled horn,
At last the soul from the foul mousehole
Slunk pouting out when the limp time
came,
And I gave my soul a blind, slashed eye,
Gristle and rind, and a roarer's life,
And I shoved it into the coal-black sky
To find a woman's soul for a wife.

In a characteristic note to this edition Thomas says what his poems are about. "I read somewhere of a shepherd who, when asked why he made, from within fairy rings, ritual observances to the moon to protect his flocks, replied: 'I'd be a damn fool if I didn't.' These poems, with all their crudities, doubts, and confusions, are written for the love of Man and in praise of God, and I'd be a damn fool if they weren't." This is both bardic and doggish. It echoes the advice of Thomas's distinguished predecessor, Edeyrn the Golden Tongued, who, compiling the rules of Welsh court poetry in the thirteenth century, established that it is the province of the strolling minstrel to deprecate and shame but the province of the poet to celebrate and give praise.

THE "Collected Poems" of Edwin Muir contain the choice of thirty years. Like Mark Van Doren, Muir is a poet without braggadocio. On the strength of this volume I would consider him unexcelled among living English poets. He has gone his own way, unmarked by the fads and manifestoes of the century. Suddenly, as with Hardy and Robert Graves, here he is; and has been all along, a fact of the landscape.

Muir's poetry is lacking in bravura of the surface but abounds in fine excesses. Here, for example, is the opening of Ulysses:

The doors flapped open in Ulysses' house,
The lolling latches gave to every hand,
Let traitor, babbler, tout and bargainer in.
The rooms and passages resounded
With ease and chaos of a public market,
The walls mere walls to lean on as you
talked,
Spat on the floor, surveyed some new-
comer
With an absent eye. *There you could
be yourself.*

The italics are mine, not Muir's; but I know no other way to point at a phrase so quietly remarkable as this. These are the best words in the best possible order: the words are not exotic nor the order complex, but mastery is there.

Like the poems of Yeats, Muir's poems need one another, and perhaps one could not gather a full sense of the richness and penetration of this remarkable mind from a smaller selection than this. Poem echoes poem, symbols gather substance and luminosity, until one becomes aware that the whole work, as it is in a different way for Eliot, is the chronicle, with no signs of the exhaustion of a vein, of a deep affair with time. For Muir time is not, as it is for Pater's children, a discontinuous process, a series of discrete moments each one

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of which is hectically responsible for the quality of life. The time of these poems is of complex dimensions. It is a river, a flow, through the channels of the individual life, and links the landscape of the Orkney childhood with the imagined landscape of age, as in the marvelous The Return. This is the common time of the poets, tragic and irreversible. But time is also the opening of the ego into myth; animals and landscapes become heraldic matters and not mere decorative backdrops for the human action. Muir's sense of myth has little to do with the modern pedantry of myth. Like Hardy's, it is a way of communion with the past:

> Archaic fevers shake
> Our healthy flesh and blood
> Plump in the passing day . . .

And time is also circled with eternity, within which time is transfigured: the "tormented wood" of the cross

> Will cure its hurt and grow into a tree
> In a green springing corner of young Eden,
> And Judas damned take his long journey backward
> From darkness into light and be a child
> Beside his mother's knee, and the betrayal
> Be quite undone and never more be done.

IT REMAINS to note with more than welcome the revised edition of Michael Hamburger's text and English translation of the great German romantic poet Hölderlin. Hölderlin was born in 1770, in the same year as Wordsworth and Beethoven, and died in 1843, but his poems have waited until this century for full recognition. The tragic and moving story of his life has become legend, and this has perhaps interfered with an appreciation of that lucid genius which shone beyond his madness. He was a brilliant philosopher and classical scholar, and, like many of the luminaries of the Enlightenment, a belated Greek. All the poetry which remains was written before the end of his thirty-sixth year. Then the schizophrenia which had always dogged him took sway, and for another thirty-six years he remained in the isolation of that "inner vision" with which Jung speaks of the schizophrenic state. His poetry moves from statements of philosophical idealism to the concise and tragic self-knowledge of his final creative phase:

> Mit gelben Birnen hänget
> Und voll mit wilden Rosen
> Das Land in den See,
> Ihr holden Schwäne,
> Und trunken mit Küssen
> Tunkt ihr das Haupt
> Ins heilignüchterne Wasser.
>
> Weh mir, wo nehm' ich, wenn
> Es Winter ist, die Blumen, und wo
> Den Sonnenschein
> Und Schatten der Erde?
> Die Mauern stehn
> Sprachlos und kalt, im Winde
> Klirren die Fahnen.

(With yellow pears the land, And full of wild roses, Hangs down into the lake, O graceful swans, And drunk with kisses, You dip your heads Into the hallowed-sober waters. Alas, where shall I find when Winter comes, flowers, and where Sunshine, And the shadows of earth? The walls stand Speechless and cold, in the wind Weathercocks clatter.)

The last half of Hölderlin's life was almost silence, in the Tübingen tower in which he took refuge. He wrote endlessly, but the bulk of the papers of his madness have not been preserved. "No one is harming me," he would often say, and once among his papers a visitor found written: "Only now do I understand human beings, since I have been living far from them and in solitude."

Experts and Policy

A Review by Robert Lekachman

ECONOMICS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE. By Edwin G. Nourse. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $6.

THIS book is the story of the President's Council of Economic Advisers by its first chairman. It is scarcely a record of success. Mr. Truman apparently wanted to use the council as advocates of his economic policies before Congress and the nation. When he encountered Nourse's opposition, he took to ignoring the council and its recommendations. As time went on, Leon Keyserling dissented more and more from Nourse's conception of the council as separate from politics, and eventually this difference of opinion became so acute and the President showed such a growing preference for Keyserling that Nourse felt called upon to resign. Nourse confesses that he was never able to establish intellectual contact with Mr. Truman: the Economic Reports represented compromises within the council and between the council and the President's aides, and he was defeated in his effort to secure Congressional support and cooperation. The low estate to which the council has now fallen and the doubts which surround its future contrast unhappily with the high hopes expressed by Congressional supporters of the Employment Act of 1946.

There were two major reasons for the council's failure. The first, explicit in this book, was the uncertainty about its purpose and functions. Should the council anonymously advise the President in the light of the best that economics offers, issue no papers of its own, and testify before no Congressional committees, or should it attempt a job of public and Congressional education designed to explain and to increase the role of economics in the determination of public policies? There are dangers in both courses. An anonymous council might have little influence. On the other hand, a council actively engaged in propaganda would soon destroy confidence in its economics. It cannot be said that Mr. Nourse resolves his dilemma.

A second reason is found in the current condition of economics. It is plain to me that economic analysis offers no clear-cut advice on many issues of current policy and that the advice economists give is compounded of their political and social views as well as their economic reasoning. This is a much-disputed point among economists, and in fairness it should be said that many economists believe that ethical and political neutrality is consonant with policy recommendation. If my point is well taken, then politics cannot be separated from economic policy and the Council of Economic Advisers cannot hope to be a group of technicians above the battle.

Although Mr. Nourse's book is important, it is unfortunately not good. It is repetitious, it takes hundreds of pages to

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ROBERT LEKACHMAN is a member of the Department of Economics of Barnard College.

pose its central issues, and its language is marred by its author's evidently compulsive love of the cliché. Nevertheless, anyone interested in the difficult question of how expert services can be used to influence political decisions, should read this book, even if he may judiciously skip a good portion of it.

New Books in Brief

Adventures of the Pilgrims

THE PILGRIM READER. By George F. Willison. Doubleday. $5.95. It is a pleasure to report that Mr. Willison, who some years ago gave us an entertaining and well-balanced account of the Pilgrim Fathers in "Saints and Strangers," has returned to Plymouth after an excursion to Virginia, "The Fifth Crown." In this new book he presents in the words of the Pilgrims, or their contemporaries, a narrative of their adventures from their secret gatherings at Scrooby to the absorption of the Old Colony by Massachusetts in 1692, intruding himself only to supply connecting passages and notes. The result is a revealing collective portrait of very human men and women, no more immune to the weaknesses of the flesh and the wiles of the devil than their descendants, but inspired by a passion for freedom to undertake incredible hardships and dangers. The realities of their saga are so much more instructive than the thick growth of pious myth that surrounds their graves that we should be very grateful to Mr. Willison for resurrecting them in this unvarnished manner.

Birth of Israel

STATE IN THE MAKING. By David Horowitz. Translated from the Hebrew by Julian Meltzer. Knopf. $4.50. This is a revealing behind-the-scenes account of some of the exciting diplomatic negotiations, 1945-48, leading up to the establishment of Israel. Mr. Horowitz, a Polish-born economist who later became director general of the Israel Ministry of Finance, was a key figure in presenting the Zionist case before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry of 1946 and its successor, the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, in 1947. He also served as the Jewish Agency liaison with the eleven-man U. N. committee which ultimately returned to Lake Success with a majority report favoring partition.

Horowitz and his colleagues, including Moshe Shertok (later Foreign Minister Sharett), Nahum Goldmann, Arthur Lourie and others, shuttled between Jerusalem, Geneva, London, Washington, New York, and Lake Success—a small group of men burning with a mission to explain, persuade, and prove their case before the international juries that were to decide the future of the Jewish National Home. His story touches on illegal immigration, the internment of Jewish leaders at Latrun, the hanging of Jewish dissidents, the blowing-up of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, and the extraordinary forty-eight hours preceding the adoption of the partition resolution by the General Assembly. It is all told easily, with interesting sidelights on such personalities as Ernest Bevin, Chaim Weizmann, Harold Beeley, Ralph Bunche, Richard Crossman, Bartley Crum, and others who figured in the birth of Israel.

On Doing Time

INSIDE. By Helen Bryan. Houghton Mifflin. $3. The impact of this book is out of all proportion to its content. With a world in conflict, why should the story of imprisonment of a woman in the model Federal Prison for Women, Alderson, West Virginia, move us so deeply? The writer is fifty-one, college educated, former secretary of the Fund to Aid Spanish Refugees. Summoned before the Un-American Activities Committee of Congress, she refused to reveal the names of subscribers. She was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for contempt.

The model institution gets full justice for its program, education, food, clothing, sanitation, and humanity. Absorbed in her new experience, the prisoner observes detail with a practiced eye. A moving part of the book is devoted to the life histories of some of her com-

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Happy Marriage

TWO LIVES. By Lucy Sprague Mitchell. Simon and Schuster. $5. Subtitled "The Story of Wesley Clair Mitchell and Myself," this is a record of two lives interwoven through marriage and through the sustained interest of each in the other's successful career. Mrs. Mitchell is best known for her work as chairman of the Bureau of Educational Experiments and for her books by and about children. Her husband, who died in 1948, was an outstanding economist and for a quarter-century Director of Research of the National Bureau of Economic Research. The book is too long; not in the narrative itself but in the voluminous extracts from letters, lectures, and published works, but it gives a buoyant and interesting picture of two lives of unusual happiness and fulfilment. As is usual in autobiographies, the most vivid and readable passages are those covering the author's childhood. The lack of an index is especially deplorable in view of the number of interesting people with whom the Mitchells came in contact.

Goya's Mind and Method

GOYA'S CAPRICHOS. BEAUTY, REASON, AND CARICATURE. By José López-Rey. Two Volumes. Princeton. $12.50. An exhaustive analysis of one of Goya's major achievements, this work richly rewards the reader's sustained attention. Fortunately the 265 plates, excellent in quality, are bound separately, and one is spared the discomfort of constantly turning the pages to follow the elaborate illustration of López-Rey's commentary. The plates include a full array of Goya's magnificent preparatory drawings and much related material, including a number of the illustrations for Lavater's "Physiognomy," from which Goya seems to have drawn many suggestions for caricature. The plates of the Caprichos themselves reproduce a copy owned by Mr. and Mrs. Philip Hofer which is remarkable because the impressions were pulled by Goya himself; the Caprichos have been too generally known from editions published well after Goya's death and after the plates had been badly reworked by other hands. While this book was written for specialists, the matter it considers is of such tremendous impact and is treated with such clarity and directness that it can be recommended to anyone willing to make an effort to learn about Goya's mind and his method of procedure.

Sainted Rascal

ZORBA THE GREEK. By Nikos Kazantzakis. Translated from the Greek and with Notes by Carl Wildman. Simon and Schuster. $3.50. Nikos Kazantzakis, the Italo Svevo of Greece, has reached American readers late in his career: he was born in 1885 and has been writing for over forty years. The vast novel his publishers have chosen as an introduction seems particularly suitable, since the protagonist, a figure not unlike the author in cultural background and interests, is as virgin to the more parochial Greek customs as we are ourselves.

This is the story of a well-to-do young man who inherits a lignite mine on the shores of Crete. Thither he repairs with his unfinished work on Buddha and his foreman, Buddha's antithesis, the flesh-and-blood child of Zeus, Zorba the Greek. Zorba is a wonderfully moving, loving tribute by his creator to the vigor and poetry of the Greek people. He belongs in the national gallery of sainted rascals.

The books meanders; it accepts on a grand scale the reader's willingness to explore superstition, hope, inanition, action, love, venality, and finally death and decay. There are hilarious and ribald high points, of course, one of the best being the fantastic chapters on the monastery in the hills to which Zorba and his "boss" have gone for their own reasons. Not since Rabelais have the good brothers been treated to such a dressing down; it will shock many but cannot fail to delight and amuse a goodly few. Add the fact that the whole long tale is superbly written and so well translated that one is unaware it is a translation.

Brittany Magic

WEDDING DANCE. By Anne de Tourville. Translated from the French by Mervyn Savill. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3. Some of the witchery of the Brittany about which she writes has been snared by Miss de Tourville, which helps to prove she is an uncommonly gifted author. One hopes to see more of her work in English. The present novel, a short love story, is a magical infusion of folklore, peasant reality, and poetic insight brought to small perfection by language of such loveliness as to have mesmerized at least one grateful reader.

In terms of craftsmanship, the author's most unusual achievement is probably her creative use of both nature and myth. Pre-Christian religious beliefs and ceremonies, in more or less adapted forms, survive in Brittany with surprising strength. Never vulgarized simply to supply local color, they are used in this book to illumine the inner workings of the characters and the external influences that bear on them. All of this stems from sound anthropology, but it is particularly suggestive when presented in poetic rather than documentary fashion. Love, hate, greed, envy are more than the personal motivations of the characters; they flow from mysterious and remote forces, present to the consciousness of the people, who move in response to their ancient and more powerful meanings. In this world, the elements again tremble on the verge of becoming incarnate.

Novel of Sicily

THE HOUSE BY THE MEDLAR TREE. By Giovanni Verga. Translated from the Italian by Eric Mosbacher. Grove Press. $3.50. Verga's finest novel of Sicily, first published over seventy years ago, has at last reached us in an English version that stresses the many modern devices characteristic of the author's narrative style. Repetition of catch phrases in dialogue is one of them; evocative use of an object—the silk handkerchiefs of the young girls, or the medlar tree itself—like a drumbeat in his prose, is another. This minute study of Sicilian life as exemplified in the destinies of one family, the Malavoglia, is written with a realism and compelling immediacy that we associate with the work of later writers.

At the head of the Malavoglia family is the grandfather, Mastro 'Ntoni, a fisherman who owns his own boat and hence does not hire himself out to others. The other members are his son, the son's wife, and their five children, three boys and two girls. The story is the recital of what happens when, through a misfortune at sea, the son is lost and the slow disintegration of the family begins. But beyond the harsh fate of the Malavoglia, Verga gives us a veristic study of the village of Aci Trezza and the villagers' subjugation to the implacable sea.

American readers will remember that the popular "Cavalleria rusticana" is based on a Verga story. Other Verga material—short stories and some travel notes—were translated by D. H. Lawrence, who gave Verga his rightful place as "surely the greatest writer of Italian fiction."

Love, Luxury, and Politics

THE ANGRY ANGEL. By Lajos Zilahy. Translated from the Hungarian by Thomas L. Harsner. Prentice-Hall. $3.95. Lajos Zilahy has been popular in Europe for over a generation as a novelist whose skill, craftsmanship, and familiarity with the milieu he recreates put him far above the merely slick writer. Unfortunately, as with Simenon until fairly recently, so marked is Zilahy's facility that some of his other qualities have gone by the board: he is a considerable commentator on the world we live in.

This country discovered him when "The Dukays" hit the best-seller lists in 1949. "The Angry Angel" will give readers of fat fiction another slice of the same with the difference that the author here interjects the crucial problem of divided political loyalties within a Balkan family. However, since Zilahy never goes deep enough to endanger his mass popularity on two continents, the theme that the anti-fascist of yesterday is the anti-Communist of today and that not everyone left of center is Red does not intrude to the detriment of love story or lavish atmosphere.

War on the Sea

FAR FROM THE CUSTOMARY SKIES. By Warren Eyster. Random House. $3.75 A convincing and effective first novel about life on a destroyer in the Second World War, in which the descriptions of boats, of battles, of the sea, nicely done as they are, take precedence over the study of character.

African Boy

BLANKET BOY. A Novel of South Africa. By Peter Lanham and A. S. Mopeli-Paulus. Crowell. $3.50. The story of the Basutoland culture, exploited and debased by the English and Dutch, told by a tribal chieftain and an Englishman living in South Africa. Awkward and contrived as the novel is, designed as a panorama of current history in Johannesburg, Durban, and Zululand, it is nevertheless tragic and informative as a record of racial conflict.

Backwoods Chronicle

THE LOT OF HER NEIGHBORS. By Bonner McMillion. Lippincott. $3.50. A colorful and picturesque chronicle of a backwoods farming community by a new writer who has the elements of a Texas Jean Giono. The suicide of a farmer's wife, which is assumed by all to be murder, starts a series of untoward events and illuminates a variety of hidden passions in these country souls, who are described with sympathy and humor, in fine prose.

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Theater

Harold Clurman

IN "An Experience of Critics," a thoroughly amiable but rather useless little volume which the Oxford University Press has just published, Christopher Fry sweetly says, "No man in his senses expects a critic always to be right—indeed it would be very disconcerting if he were: we should have to believe him, and the knowledge of his fallibility is often a great comfort." Bravo! But what "man" is Fry speaking about? The general reader or the person whose work is being criticized? And how can anyone determine whether or not a critic is right? What makes him "right"? What is "right"?

Every year or so, I decide never to utter another word about dramatic criticism, because it seems to me that whatever has to be said on the subject has already been said, and is surely known. But one inevitably returns to the subject not only because, as Goethe once remarked, "everything has been said, but since no one listens one must always begin again," but because dramatic criticism more perhaps than any other is everywhere a source of irritation.

"The dramatic critics are ignoramuses," says the theater worker, but he keeps on reading them, quoting them, appeasing them, defending himself against them, cursing them, and praying for good notices. Clarity on the subject never seems to be arrived at, and when at last the theater worker thinks he has achieved calm, he finds himself at some point once again caught in a spasm of exasperation over what "that idiot X" just said about his play or performances.

What causes and perpetuates this confusion? Not, I think, intellectual fuzziness so much as economic fear and the neuroses attendant upon it, which are no longer purely economic. At a party recently I encountered three people whose work I had reviewed. The actress whose virtues I had sung was effusively cordial (she had never met me before), a friend of mine—usually demonstratively affectionate—whose work I had praised with a slight demur greeted me with lukewarm courtesy, and another genial soul who felt I had been harsh—not to say "unfair"—grew pale with the strain of self-control. In all three cases, be it noted, the shows these people were involved in are great successes, and nothing I could say could in any way jeopardize their careers.

REVIEWS are an important factor in the making of commercial success in the theater today. Hence the reviewer's notice is feared. This fear makes it virtually impossible for the person engaged in a stage production to read a notice as *criticism*. It also makes the writing of criticism difficult. Perhaps the French critic who said that criticism of contemporaries is not so much criticism as conversation was right; and one can write true criticism only of artists who are far away or dead! For criticism, it must never be forgotten, has very little to do with "knocks" or "boosts," "pans" or "raves."

Beyond the economic concern which constitutes the root of the trouble—particularly in New York—and the natural desire of all people to be loved and admired, there is a terrible lack of self-confidence among our theater artists. They live in an environment which provides few established standards, traditions, or a secure basis for development. The artist among us does not educate his public, and the public never learns what it is supposed to demand from or give the artist except applause or indifference.

In such an atmosphere the artist, already terrorized by economic pressure and worry over a repute which seems to be won chiefly through affluence, is shaken in his judgment and spirit. He becomes dispossessed of himself. He seems somehow uncertain even in that of which he is supposed to be a master. When the theater man cries "Fool!" at the critic, it is as much a sign that he thinks the critic may be right as an epithet of contemptuous superiority. While the critic is usually sure as to whether or not he likes a play, the theater artist often behaves as if he himself had no idea of what he set out to do. He is a man of talent without a sounding board within himself.

The critic writes for the audience rather than for the artist. Theater folk, particularly actors, might do well not to read reviews of plays in which they are involved. The artist learns about his own work from a few other artists with whom he is in close contact and from a very limited number of people he trusts—hardly any of whom are ever critics. Sometimes he learns over the years from the audience *en masse*. The critic, in so far as he is a critic and not a private publicity or ticket agent for his newspaper, writes subjectively, but if he is a sound critic he will be sufficiently clear about himself to objectify his tastes, thoughts, prejudices. When the critic does this, the reader is enabled to measure the difference between the critic who judges and the thing judged. When in his review of a play, Bernard Shaw suggests his own attitude toward life and the drama, his reader may not only appreciate the Shavian philosophy but through it come to understand more fully the nature of the play being reviewed. That is one reason why, though we are no longer able to see most of the plays Shaw wrote about, we are still able to enjoy his criticism of them.

THE CRITIC is hardly to be valued by the degree of his "rightness" or "wrongness" on particular plays. There is no such thing. The critic is valuable only in so far as he is interesting and illuminating on his subject; when he helps us see or realize something about the play which has some significance for us independent of his conclusion as to its "goodness" or "badness." In fact, I believe the critic should avoid, as much as possible, most labels of merit ("great," "fair," "moderately amusing," "a play you must see," etc., etc.) and concentrate on the moral, intellectual, emotional analysis of the ingredients which compose the play or performance he is judging. In this way the critic will help the reader understand something important about the play and stimulate him to judge more knowingly for himself.

The essential function of the theater critic is not to blame or to praise, but to see, to describe, to clarify, to spread understanding and, if possible, knowledge. If the critic does this, he will be stimulating even when we think him "wrong." (One of the most brilliant and enlightening criticisms I ever heard was a violent attack on Renoir's painting, which I love!) The critic is not to be regarded as a burden or a competitor to the artist, but as an adjunct, someone by the artist's side, in a very real sense cooperating with the artist for the benefit of the community of which both artist and critic are a part.

The critic, like the artist, must be humble and also proud of his task, ready to learn and ready to defend his work. I know there have been some rare reviews that have outlived the plays they were about, but I am often very much inclined to tell my readers that the poorest play is worth more than the best reviews, and that they should go to the theater as frequently as possible with alert mind and open senses, regardless of what any of us (critics) say. Above all, the playgoer should not imitate the reviewers' most uncreative aspect and deadly fault, which is to think of plays as "hits" or "flops."

Records

B. H. Haggin

IT WAS TOSCANINI who gave the public of my time as a concertgoer —which began somewhere around 1915 —its first hearings of Beethoven's Missa Solemnis in 1934; and his performances of it since then have been the ones that have established in my mind the shape of the work for me, as his performances have established in my mind the shape and meaning of Beethoven's Ninth. They have done this because, for one thing, of the unique "feeling for continuity and coherence [that] finds tempos which integrate the many sections . . . into a progression from one dazzling sublimity to the next." Nobody else has achieved this with the finale of the Ninth, which I was writing about in the preceding quotation; and the achievement in the Missa is even more remarkable and impressive because of its enormously greater scale. Also, Beethoven's sustained intensity in those sublimities in the finale of the Ninth becomes in the longer stretches of the Missa almost unbearable; and one of the most remarkable achievements of Toscanini's performance is to make it bearable. To which I must add that a no less remarkable achievement is the treatment of some of the quiet pages of the work that are for me the most wonderful of all—the mystically introspective opening sections of the Sanctus and the Benedictus, the radiant Allegretto section of the Agnus Dei.

Concerning the recent broadcast performance there remains only to say that the playing of the NBC Symphony and the singing of the Robert Shaw Chorale were superb; but that the four solo voices were not well matched, and that while those of Eugene Conley and Jerome Hines were very beautiful, Nan Merriman's was threadbare, and Lois Marshall's—amazing in the assured way it climbed to any height and kept going at any length—lacked the sensuous loveliness one wants to hear in a soprano.

In Janacek's Slavonic Mass one hears extraordinarily powerful writing in a highly individual language and style. Brestislav Bakala conducts the excellent Moravian Mixed Chorus, Brno Radio Symphony, and Frantisek Michalek, organist, in a performance that is impressive even wtih the tremulous singing of the unidentified soloists (Urania).

The RCA recording of Rossini's "The Barber of Seville" offers ear-ravishing singing by Victoria de los Angeles (Rosina), beautiful singing and phrasing by Nicola Monti (Almaviva), Nicolo Rossi-Lemeni's singing of *La calumnia* as part of an amusing characterization (Don Basilio), and Gino Becchi's blatant extravagances in *Largo al factotum* (Figaro). With these soloists Serafin conducts the Milan Symphony and Chorus effectively. E. J. Dent's English version is too remote from the Italian text to be of practical use in following it.

Victor also has issued in its Treasury series a performance of Verdi's "The Masked Ball" in which Caniglia (Amelia), Gigli (Riccardo), and Becchi (Renato) sing better than in the "Aida" that presumably was recorded later. That is, Caniglia's singing in her arias is less explosive, more legato, and quite beautiful except for some strident high notes and occasional sagging pitch; Gigli, though he sobs through the later scenes, is content to sing with beauty of voice and engaging musical style in the first two; and Becchi too sings with restraint. In addition there are Barbieri (Ulrica), with a tremolo that isn't excessive, and Elda Ribetti (Oscar), with a soprano voice that I find unpleasant. With them Serafin conducts the orchestra and chorus of the Rome Opera. The dubbed sound becomes distorted near the ends of sides —worst of all in the beautiful second-act music on side 2. A good combination of translation and summary is provided with the Italian text.

- The Crossword Puzzle was unavoidably omitted from this issue.

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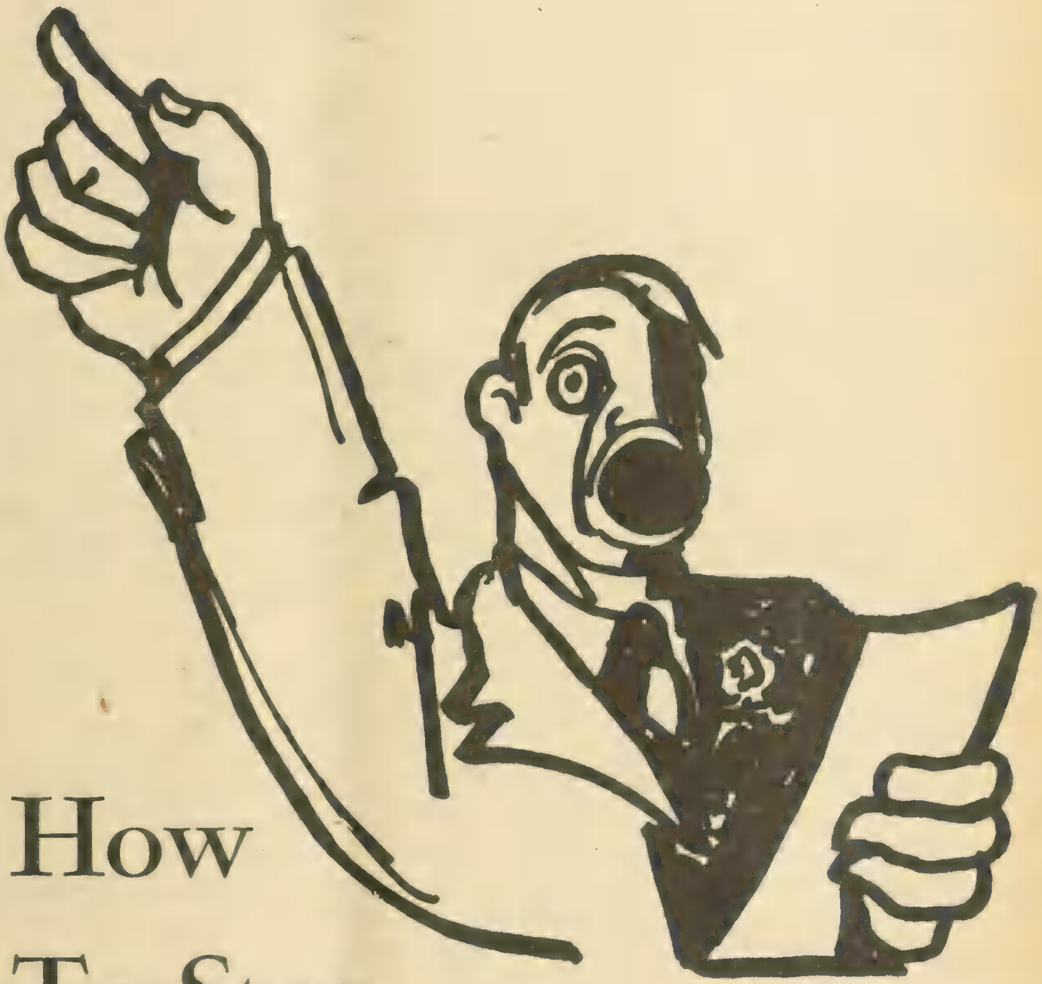

How To Stop The Demagogues

by Philip Wittenberg

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Around

the U.S.A.

Vigilantism Plays the Villain

Los Angeles

THE citizens of Silver City, New Mexico, paid scant attention last December when a score of motion-picture people arrived to make a film dealing with a Mexican American mining community not unlike their own. Six weeks later Silver City and neighboring towns were threatened with mob rule.

The last time Grant County had been the scene of organized violence was in 1951 when the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers' Union struck the Empire Zinc Company at nearby Hanover. After an injunction barred the men from picketing, the wives and daughters of the largely Mexican miners held the picket line for nine months, eventually winning working and housing conditions equal to those of the "Anglos."

The picture as planned was to be a fictional version of that struggle. It was sponsored by the union, which had also collaborated on the script. There was some fear that reenactment of the strike scenes might revive the hostility between Anglos and Mexican Americans and between labor and management, but the union, despite its left-wing leadership, was conceded even by the Silver City *Daily Press* to be in many ways "a good union," and it was allowed to go ahead. The Reverend John Patrick Linane, dean of Grant County's Catholic priests, read part of the script and granted permission to use the church and school yard in the picture. No organized protest was made even when it was learned that many members of the film company, Independent Productions Corporation, had been banned from major Hollywood studios for their defiance of Congressional investigating committees and alleged pro-Communist sympathies.

Then, on January 22, a local school teacher wrote a letter to Walter Pidgeon, president of the Screen Actors' Guild, asking him to look into the alliance between the movie-industry "questionables" and the "questionable" local union. The product of their cooperation, she said, could not possibly be "good American propaganda."

Mr. Pidgeon obliged, as did the Motion Picture Industry Council and the Hollywood Film Council (A. F. of L.). All three denied any connection with the Silver City company and asked federal agencies to investigate its activities. On February 12, before the picture was half completed, Victor Riesel in his syndicated column called the project "a new kind of 'shooting' war," declaring that Silver City was "not too far from the Los Alamos atomic proving grounds" (nearly 250 miles); that "hundreds of thousands of dollars" were being spent "by the lefties on this picture" (the picture cost approximately $100,000); and that "two carloads of Negroes" had been imported for a mob-violence sequence (the three Negro members of the company were a sound-boom operator, a still photographer, and a stage hand; but at about that time a Negro basketball team had appeared in the nearby town of Bayard).

On February 24 Representative Donald L. Jackson repeated most of Riesel's statements and told Congress that the picture was a "diabolical attack upon the United States," a "heinous effort of the international Communist conspiracy," "in effect, a new weapon for Russia." It was "deliberately designed," he said, "to inflame racial hatreds and to depict the United States of America as the enemy of all colored peoples," and would do "incalculable harm" if it were shown in Latin America, Asia, or India.

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The next day the heroine of the picture, Rosaura Revueltas, a leading Mexican actress, was arrested by the United States immigration officers on the charge of having entered the country illegally. She was accused specifically of technical irregularities in her passport, which a border official had failed to validate, and in her application for permission to work in the United States. "In view of what has been going on up there and the people involved," said the district immigration officer, Joseph Minton, "I think anyone has the right to assume there might be other angles to this case." On that assumption Miss Revueltas was taken to El Paso, denied bond, and held for ten days. She then returned to Mexico City, and the charges were dropped. Her arrest, reported the El Paso *Times*, "has caused international complications, and protests have poured into Minton's office from Mexico City."

Meanwhile, pressures were building up in Grant County. The Silver City *Daily Press* became increasingly hostile to the movie crew and union; submerged personal, racial, and labor grievances rose to the surface. The situation was made more serious by the mounting unemployment. At the peak of the agitation against the movie-makers 250 miners were laid off by the American Smelting and Refining Company.

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Was it, then, fear of subversion, the threat of unemployment, or outside provocation that caused the acts of violence in Silver City and its environs? During the week after the arrest of Miss Revueltas the hoodlum spirit was rampant. Several attempts were made to destroy the movie sets and halt production; two union leaders were assaulted and a camera was damaged; cars paraded through the city with a loudspeaker blaring anti-Communist sentiments. Some hundred persons held a vigilante meeting and sent union officials and film crew an ultimatum to "clear out of Grant County in twelve hours or be carried out in pine boxes."

Judging from all reports, only a small group of Silver City's 8,000 inhabitants were infected by the vigilante fever. However, ten days after the film company had departed and reinforcements of state police had been withdrawn, the home of a union official at Bayard was burned to the ground and a union hall at Carlsbad was set on fire.

As Representative Jackson predicted, Mexican American relations suffered "incalculable harm"—but before the picture was completed or shown.

HANNAH BLOOM

[*Hannah Bloom is* The Nation's *correspondent in California.*]

Volume 176, Number 19
New York, Saturday, May 9, 1953

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

The Loyalty Obsession

In the spring of 1947 the American people were sold a loyalty and security program for federal employees. It was accepted without question, loyalty being a good word and everyone who had read about the atomic bomb having become properly concerned about security. *The Nation* was one of a rather lonely company that warned of the dangers implicit in the naive notion that loyalty could be measured by the yard, like ribbon at a dry-goods counter. Six years and many million dollars later the entire program has been scuttled. A new security set-up has just been announced for which President Eisenhower has been at great pains to obtain the pre-natal blessing of those unlovely midwives, McCarthy, Jenner, and Velde.

Billed as a remedy for the evils of President Truman's ill-advised program, this latest attempt to measure the pulse-beat of the loyal gives to department heads virtually arbitrary power of removal and subjects all present and future federal employees to a character scrutiny based on certain specified standards of conduct. Under the new set-up authority is vested in agency heads for the final determination of an employee's security and the Civil Service Loyalty Review Board, which previously performed this function, will be abolished. The new "testing" will take nearly a year to conclude; some 18,901 cases which had received the full "field treatment" under the old program will now be reopened.

A year from today this latest test will doubtless be set aside in favor of some new method of checking loyalty. And so on, suspicion without end, doubt everlasting. "Fear," wrote Wordsworth, "hath a hundred eyes that all agreed to plague her beating heart."

Korea and Indo-China

No more reckless decision has been made by the Eisenhower Administration than to link the Indo-Chinese war with the Korean struggle as parts of a crusade for "freedom" in East Asia. In Korea the United Nations voted military sanctions to stop Communist aggression across a recognized boundary line fixed jointly by the Soviet and American occupying powers. Whatever has happened since to blur the meaning of the U. N. action, that was its cause and its justification. The war in Indo-China had a totally different origin. It began as a struggle by the Indo-Chinese people to end the colonial rule of France. It had the same purpose as the Indonesian rebellion against Dutch colonial rule. The Indonesians won their freedom with the backing of the United States and the United Nations.

By right and precedent the U. N. should similarly have offered its services to bring about a settlement—and self-rule—in Indo-China. Why has it failed to do so? The reason is simple. From the beginning the Indo-Chinese rebellion has had Communist leadership; and France is one of the "Big Five," a permanent member of the Security Council. In the seven bloody years since French negotiations with Ho Chi-minh's regime broke down, the rebels have inevitably depended more and more on Communist China for backing and arms. Whether the bonds created by this partnership would remain firm if peace were made nobody knows. But they exist today, and because they exist the Indo-China rebellion has become in American eyes part of Moscow's drive to overrun Southeast Asia, and France has become a defender of "freedom." By the same token the Communist thrust into Laos is being treated as if it were an invasion of a separate and sovereign state. But Laos, like Vietnam and Cambodia, is neither separate nor sovereign. The three are associated states of the Indo-Chinese union, equally subject to French rule.

The Price of Intervention

These elementary facts should be kept in mind as Mr. Dulles and the Pentagon rush American planes to help the French stem the Communist advance, and as France debates whether or not to refer the attack on Laos to the United Nations. The people of Laos, as the week began, were reported to be digging in to resist the invader, but there is real doubt whether either they or their King have much interest in being defended. The King is counting on the Golden Buddha to protect the capital and has firmly refused French requests that he depart for a safer place. Some close observers believe he would be ready at the critical moment to come to terms with the rebels, hoping that he might continue to perform his rather cir-

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cumscribed kingly functions by grace of the Communists rather than of the French. The King of Cambodia has publicly announced that his people will go over to the Communists if the French continue to exercise all real power in the country.

If the United States is committed to intervening in this particular war, we should at least recognize what sort of quarrel it is, and how vague are the definitions of "freedom" and "aggression" under which we shall act. It would be foolish to deny that a rebel victory in Indo-China would threaten the precarious equilibrium in Southeast Asia, but it would be even more foolish to dream that United Nations or United States intervention would silence the demands for an end to foreign rule. We should realize, too, that nowhere in the Arab-Asian bloc at the United Nations should we find support or thanks for a move in behalf of the French in Indo-China.

Line at the Tariff Trough

The line at the tariff trough is lengthening, now that the House Ways and Means Committee has opened hearings on the Simpson bill to extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. Spokesmen for a variety of industries, including glassware, tuna fishing, fine chemicals, and dairy products have already told of their sufferings at the hands of foreign competitors and demanded more protection. Other claimants are pressing to be heard.

The Simpson bill, it should be noted, goes a long way beyond the President's request for a simple extension of the present act for one year; so far beyond, indeed, that Mr. Eisenhower said at a recent press conference he "couldn't possibly accept" it in its present form. His clearly implied threat of a veto has induced Representative Simpson to indicate that he is willing to withdraw one new feature—a clause which would make Tariff Commission proposals for increased duties mandatory on the President instead of advisory as at present.

Even without this clause the bill consorts ill with the Administration's avowed policies. It includes, for instance, two particularly dangerous new sections—one sponsored by lead and zinc interests, the other by a coalition of independent oil producers and coal operators. The first provides for a sliding-scale tariff on lead and zinc which, under present conditions, would raise prices by 40 or 50 per cent; the second imposes a quota system limiting oil imports to 10 per cent of domestic consumption. These proposals are slaps in the face for foreign suppliers who are also important customers. "Some people in the United States," complains J. A. Byrne, Canadian Liberal M. P., "are trying to use Canada as a marginal supplier. They want to take our lead and zinc in times of shortage, and they want us to absorb the grief when supplies become adequate and prices are reduced." Considering our increasing dependence on foreign raw materials, this is an outrageously stupid policy.

The French Workers Speak

In the French municipal elections several predictions went wrong. For instance, a considerable Communist decline had been expected as the result of the recent crisis in the party. But the Communist candidates, even including several who had been expelled from the party, fared remarkably well. In Paris they obtained more than 27 per cent of the votes in comparison with 25 per cent in 1947. They lost ground in the rural districts, but kept their strength or even inched ahead in the industrial areas. The Socialists also gained. The Catholic M. R. P., which is represented in the government, did not succeed in capitalizing on the strength of the Catholic unions. As a whole the workers voted against the government, against high prices and low wages, against military expenses and the rearmament of Germany.

If De Gaulle was the heaviest loser, René Mayer certainly did not pick up any strength. Those who supported the right, turned again to M. Pinay and his Independents. The gains of Pinay's group make him a likely choice to succeed Mayer when the economic crisis now developing reaches its peak. But it is doubtful that even Pinay will be able to produce a remedy. One of the most serious men in public life, a man with real economic vision, Pierre Mendès-France, who has refused to participate in any of the recent Cabinets, is holding himself in reserve. Should the crisis become very grave he may step in—if it is not then too late.

The Press Meets McCarthy

THE appearance of James A. Wechsler, editor of the New York *Post,* before Senator McCarthy's investigating committee last week and the scheduled appearance of Cedric Belfrage, editor of the *National Guardian,* before the House Committee on Un-American Activities would be disturbing omens in themselves; but this crass effort to intimidate editors who have criticized Messrs. McCarthy, Jenner, and Velde is one of several developments pointing to the conclusion that the American press is now confronted by a danger without parallel in its history. Only those unfamiliar with McCarthy's tactics will question the accuracy of Mr. Wechsler's prediction that he is "merely the first of a long line of editors who are going to be called . . . because they refused to equate McCarthyism with patriotism."

Few men in public life have better reason to be grateful to the American press than McCarthy; nevertheless he has long reserved his bitterest enmity for the handful of editors and publications that have consistently opposed him. One recalls his unsuccessful attempt to intimidate Drew Pearson and subsequent campaign to drive Pearson from the networks, not to mention his current demand that the army hand over the Pentagon files "on a certain columnist"; his attempt to influence the Luce publications by appeal to their principal advertising accounts; and his long-standing feud with the Madison *Capital-Times* and the Milwaukee *Journal.* When Jack Steele of the New York *Herald Tribune* interrupted the cosy routine of a recent radio forum to ask McCarthy a few sharp questions, the Senator was immediately threatening—"If we were not on the air, I would treat this question [about his finances] in a different fashion"—and later forced the station to delete the passage from the tape recording. One recalls, too, the clumsy attempt of the inquisitors to drag the names of Alan Barth and Herbert Elliston, both of the Washington *Post,* into the record at a recent session, and the still cruder attempt to smear Mrs. Agnes Meyer, wife of the publisher. Indeed, the inquisitors, from Martin Dies to McCarthy, have consistently contended that any criticism of them was tantamount to subversion, but until quite recently a formula was lacking by which they could threaten American editors without appearing to attack the freedom of the press. The Voice of America hearings provided the formula.

THE COMMITTEE McCarthy heads is authorized to investigate not only the entire government structure but every industry, business, school, and charitable organization which receives money, subsidy, or tax relief from the government. The purchase of a book is a slender peg on which to hang an investigation of the press, but McCarthy is not the man to quibble about jurisdictional niceties. On April 14 the Senator announced that he intended to determine whether government agencies were paying subsidies to informational media, including the press, television, and radio, and a questionnaire was promptly dispatched to them requesting such information as the amounts paid for advertising, lists of newspapers and magazines purchased for use in the overseas libraries, the fees paid commentators for broadcasts, and so on. Once Wechsler was before him, McCarthy cynically explained that he was being questioned not because he was an editor but because the State Department had purchased one or more of his books for use in its overseas libraries; the man, not the publication, was being investigated. Yet we have Mr. Wechsler's word that the New York *Post* —its policies, its staff, and its opposition to McCarthy— was the principal target of the investigation. In fact, McCarthy frankly admitted that Mr. Wechsler had been called *mainly* because he was an author but *also* because he had led "the fight against everyone who is exposing the Communists in the government."

The pattern of the attack on the press that is now taking form is perfectly clear. Just as Velde contends that any number of clergymen may be haled before him without violating the First Amendment's guaranty of freedom of conscience and belief, and just as Jenner argues that any number of university instructors may be pilloried under his direction without impairing academic freedom, so McCarthy would now have us believe that he can summon newspaper and magazine editors and question them not only about their political beliefs but also about editorial matters without in any way impinging upon the guaranty of a free press!

It is high time that the American public grasped the full implications of this new wholesale application of the *ad hominem* fallacy. Currently the State Department has been conducting a witch hunt of American writers, journalists, scientists, and artists on the ground that a directive forbids the use of material by "known Communists" in its overseas libraries or elsewhere in its information program. In carrying out this directive the State Department has used name checks based on "unevaluated" material gathered by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. According to Ferdinand Kuhn, writing in the Washington *Post* of April 24, name checks were recently ordered on 150 American musicians and composers whose *photographs* were to be shown in an American picture exhibit in Europe! A security officer ruled that four names were *verboten* and that nineteen were "doubtful." As a consequence of this witch hunt, Mr. Kuhn reports, "the flow of books and reprinted magazine articles has dried to a trickle." Normally the State Department sends about 3,000 books each month to its overseas libraries; today it is sending only standard reference works, government documents, and books by "American statesmen"! Ludicrous? Certainly. But precisely this type of censorship—not of the book but of the author, not of the composition but of the musician, not of "Night Fishing at Antibes" but of Picasso—can dry up the sources of culture here at home.

"THE BEGINNING of defense," as Alan Barth wrote in *The Nation* a few weeks ago, "is the recognition of danger." In this instance, the danger of the new censorship may not be recognized in time; every editor not subpoenaed will be encouraged to believe that he enjoys some special immunity, and the public may foolishly conclude that since only a few editors are being catechized, the press is still free. But McCarthy does not need to silence more than a dozen dailies and half a dozen monthly and weekly publications in order to "coordinate" the press. Only a few hostages need be taken to silence the host. A large section of the press indorses his objectives if not his methods. Another section not only approves his methods but has shown the inventiveness of a Torquemada in suggesting still more drastic techniques. Howard Rushmore, who writes a column for the Hearst papers, is now a member of McCarthy's staff; in fact, he participated in the interrogation of Mr. Wechsler. McCarthy must have been encouraged no end by *Collier's* craven appeasement of a handful of West Coast crackpots who demanded the dismissal of Bucklin Moon from the staff because they did not like an article for which Mr. Moon was in no manner responsible. As a measure of his confidence, McCarthy is now "offering" a free weekly column to the press. The public did not buy his book because it did not have to; but how many newspapers will refuse his column?

IN GREAT BRITAIN the *Church of England and Record,* independent weekly, recently charged, and not without reason,* that the American press is largely responsible for McCarthyism. Here and there editors with a conscience have belatedly acknowledged a measure of guilt and, more important, have attempted to guard against the demagogue's exploitation of the press. Recently, for example, Palmer Hoyt, publisher of the Denver *Post,* instructed his staff to evaluate the source of loose charges against individuals, including those made by "official" agencies; to weigh such stories carefully and determine how they would be handled if official immunity were lacking; to withhold publication where possible until proper proof or a qualifying answer could be obtained; to ask themselves whether, of their own knowledge, they knew a charge to be false and to apply any reasonable doubt they might have to its treatment; and, finally in connection with headlines on this type of story, to determine whether the wording was necessary in order to summarize facts or was merely intended as "shock treatment." At the recent meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, forty-three of seventy-five editors polled by a professional journalism fraternity said they thought Congressional inquiries of the type sponsored by McCarthy did more harm than good. But how many of them have invoked the elementary safeguards suggested by Mr. Hoyt? And will the press as a whole recognize in time the clear danger to its freedom that is implicit in McCarthy's campaign to silence his critics? Now, at long last, those eloquent editorials on "freedom of the press," which have consumed so much good newsprint these many years, will be put to the test. Will the great dailies capitulate, or will they decide that now is the time to bring to an end an ignoble witch hunt which in a time of crisis and great danger has divided the nation and held it up to ridicule abroad, and now threatens to undermine three basic institutions of a democratic society—the churches, the schools, and the press? If the big dailies hesitate at the outset, if, as the universities seem inclined to do, they open the gates to the barbarians, they will not only have destroyed the spirit and purpose of a free press; they will have invited their own destruction.

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*"Witch-Hunting, 1952: The Role of the Press" by Dozier C. Cade, *Journalism Quarterly,* December, 1952; "A Moral Challenge to the Press" by Alan Barth, the *Colorado Quarterly,* Autumn, 1952. See also the Fifth Annual Memorial Lecture at the University of Minnesota School of Journalism by Elmer Davis, November 3, 1951.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

Churchill the Peacemaker?

Paris

THE eleventh session of the North Atlantic Council reflected better than any other event the complexities of the present international situation. For three days the Ministers of the NATO nations struggled to harmonize their numerous incompatible ideas. They were confronted for the first time since the signing of the pact with a Russian attitude that made many of the arguments on which the entire Atlantic coalition was based sound increasingly unconvincing. It was difficult to maintain, as Secretary Dulles did until the very moment when the final communiqué was drafted, that nothing was changed, that the threat of Russian aggression had not diminished in the slightest.

The situation is so fascinating and intricate that it encourages all kinds of sophisticated interpretations. The game has been going on ever since Stalin's death and is revived with every new conciliatory gesture from Moscow. But never was there greater need to try to reduce, without sacrifice of truth, the many conflicting aspects to one that offers a key to the solution of the puzzle. Mr. Dulles's attempt to do so here in Paris was made at the risk of his popularity with the French. He threw his entire weight against any action that could endanger the future utilization of a German army as the most important element of Western strategy. This confirmed again the view that Germany—not Korea or Indo-China or any other issue—is the point in which the contest between the two opposing blocs centers.

Mr. Dulles was not so much interested in obtaining from the NATO nations greater contributions in the form of new divisions or a larger economic effort as in salvaging the principle that the West must continue to rearm, and that its rearmament would be wholly inadequate if a half-million Germans were not incorporated in the European army. Since war does not seem to be around the corner, it did not matter so much whether, by the end of 1953, the West European forces would be stronger or weaker by a few divisions—though General Ridgway, of course, disagrees. For Mr. Dulles the essential thing was to prevent any prospect of a Big Four conference or any other form of negotiation with Moscow from spoiling the West's plans for Germany. Once the idea of the European army, including German contingents, was abandoned, there would be little chance of organizing the military strength upon which he depends for his policy of "liberation." It is not in terms of today but of tomorrow that the attempt to force ratification of the European army treaty is being pursued with such vigor and with so little concern for other countries' feelings.

IN FRANCE the whole plan is terribly unpopular. After even a brief survey of the political terrain I am more doubtful than ever that ratification of the European Defense Community treaties can be voted in the French Parliament before October, if then. Chancellor Adenauer is also facing difficulties in Bonn. But Mr. Dulles is convinced that the European army can be created if only he can succeed in winning the other Western leaders to his own total distrust of Moscow. He did succeed in obtaining a final communiqué in which the NATO Council declared its intention of strengthening Western military power until Russia matched its "peace offensive" with an authentic effort to end world tension.

The firm tone of the communiqué could not hide the fact that present goals have been reduced far below those set in December. This is mainly due to economic considerations—the menace of an impending financial crisis in France, the desire not to discourage the British, who are enjoying their first relaxation of restrictions and a little better daily life. But the impact of the recent Soviet proposals to settle the most controversial issues through negotiation was also evident. Apparently the 1953 goals add no more than eight divisions, the majority of them Italian, to the European command.

Everything now depends on how far Russia is ready to go in the direction of conciliation and how the European powers react to its next moves. The *Pravda* editorial is generally regarded here as an indication that, without making spectacular retreats which its position of strength does not oblige it to make, it is ready to yield at many points both in Europe and in Asia in exchange for an agreement that would free it from the nightmare of a rearmed Germany. And it is precisely there that the aims of Moscow and of Paris coincide. Any Russian proposal that would rescue the French from the dilemma of having either to accept the new Wehrmacht or displease Washington is most attractive.

Paris counts on Churchill to lend strength to its desire. It has been interesting to see the enthusiasm with which the London correspondents of the French papers have been reporting the activities of the Prime Minister, who during the past week, in and out of Parliament, has displayed a vitality that would be astonishing in a man of fifty. He is seen as having taken over the entire direction of British foreign policy in Eden's absence. His intimates represent him as realizing fully that one cannot go on forever saying that one is ready to meet the Russians halfway without making some move in their direction. There have already been two meetings between Molotov and Gascoigne, and there is a rumor in official circles here that a third meeting will soon take place at which the British Ambassador will discuss with the Soviet Foreign Minister the possibility of a visit by Sir Winston to Moscow. Churchill's plan is said to be conceived in two stages: first, personal contacts between the heads of governments; second, a series of conferences that would deal one by one with the major problems dividing East and West. With the NATO meeting over, interest here has accordingly shifted to London, where diplomatic efforts in the next few weeks may produce a further step toward negotiation.

HOW TO SAY NO

To the Demagogues . . *by Philip Wittenberg*

A CLEAR and present danger threatens the continuance of our constitutional democracy as a government of limited powers. Invasion of one of its branches by either of the others could produce a tyrannical executive, an overbearing judiciary, or an irresponsible legislature. Only by maintaining the purity of the constitutional system of checks and balances can the citizenry be assured against the rise of a monolithic government.

The investigatory committees of Congress have been increasingly trespassing upon the judicial and executive branches. One of these committees recently entered into the field of foreign relations, which is the exclusive jurisdiction of the Chief Executive, and precipitated a conflict of constitutional jurisdiction. There was a time when a President who felt that the judiciary was going beyond its constitutional limitations could say as President Jackson did: "Well, John Marshall has made his decision. Now let him enforce it." But today when Congress oversteps, neither the executive nor the judicial department seems to have the strength or vision to compel it to observe constitutional manners.

For several years Congressional investigatory committees have been invading the citizen's right to privacy in his political opinions. They have compelled him to take refuge in the protection of the Bill of Rights and the constitutional amendments to such an extent that they have brought that very protection into disrepute. They have created a situation in which a citizen who invokes the Fifth Amendment is thereby deemed guilty of disloyalty, if not by deed, then by association. They have done this by demanding replies to questions which constitutionally they had no power to ask.

The right to inquire into individual political beliefs is a judicial function, if any. Under our form of government such questions should never have been asked by any official of the government. The constitutional limitations should have been self-imposed, so that the prerogatives of the citizens might not be infringed. Justice Frankfurter has said: "A constitutional democracy like ours is perhaps the most difficult of man's social arrangements to manage successfully. Our scheme of government is more dependent than any form of government on knowledge and wisdom and self-discipline for the achievement of its aims." He added that there was a need for limitations "on the power of governors over the governed. . . . The accretion of dangerous power does not come in a day. It does come, however slowly, from the generative force of unchecked disregard of the restrictions that fence in even the most disinterested assertions of authority" (*Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company* v. *Sawyer*).

When President Truman in the Korean emergency attempted to seize the facilities of certain steel companies. Congress criticized him severely for having exceeded his authority, and the matter reached the Supreme Court for a decision. The court, as late as 1951, reaffirmed the historic necessity for the limitations and separation of the powers of government. At least two of the judges quoted the impressive words of Justice Brandeis: "The doctrine of the separation of powers was adopted by the Convention of 1787 not to promote efficiency but to preclude the exercise of arbitrary power" (*Myers* v. *United States*).

There can be no doubt of the right of Congress to investigate, through committees, matters which may be the basis for legislation. There is the gravest doubt whether such investigation may reach into the private lives, the political opinions, and the religious beliefs of American citizens. Yet so brash have these Congressional committees become that the chairman of one of them ventured to suggest an inquiry into the political beliefs of ministers of religion, as if religion should not be as free from the state as the state is separate from religion.

In at least two cases the Supreme Court has considered the question of how far investigatory committees may go in their inquiry into private affairs. In *Kilbourn* v. *Thompson* the court said that neither the Senate nor the House of Representatives "possesses the general power of making inquiry into the private affairs of the citizens." In *McGrain* v. *Daugherty* it reaffirmed this doctrine. Its decision agreed with a remark attributed to John Quincy Adams: "Non-official conduct of a citizen is immune from Congressional scrutiny."

Among the private affairs of the citizen, nothing is more private, if he wishes it to be so, than his political belief. The secret ballot is one of our most sacred privileges. To compel a citizen to confess his personal political beliefs is to violate a cherished American principle; and the wrong is all the greater if his beliefs might tend to degrade or incriminate him. Certainly nothing in the history of American institutions warrants the notion that any official has the right to summon a citizen

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PHILIP WITTENBERG, a distinguished New York lawyer, is the author of "Dangerous Words" and other books. He is now lecturing at Columbia University.

before him and to inquire into matters which the citizen has a personal right to reveal or withhold.

This right to privacy, this right to be free from compulsion, has been scrutinized many times by the Supreme Court. It is good to know, even though Congress seems to have forgotten, that the court has always spoken against such compulsion and has noted that it is a source of despotic power. The court has said, "And any compulsory discovery by extorting the party's oath . . . to convict him of crime or to forfeit his property is contrary to the principles of a free government" (*Boyd* v. *United States*). And again: "The exemption from testimonial compulsion, that is, from disclosure as a witness of evidence against oneself forced by any form of legal process, is universal in American law, though there may be differences as to its exact scope and limits. At the time of the formation of the Union the principle that no person could be compelled to be a witness against himself had become embodied in the common law and distinguished it from all other systems of jurisprudence. It was generally regarded then, as now, as a privilege of great value, a protection to the innocent though a shelter to the guilty, and a safeguard against heedless, unfounded, or tyrannical prosecutions" (*Twining* v. *New Jersey*).

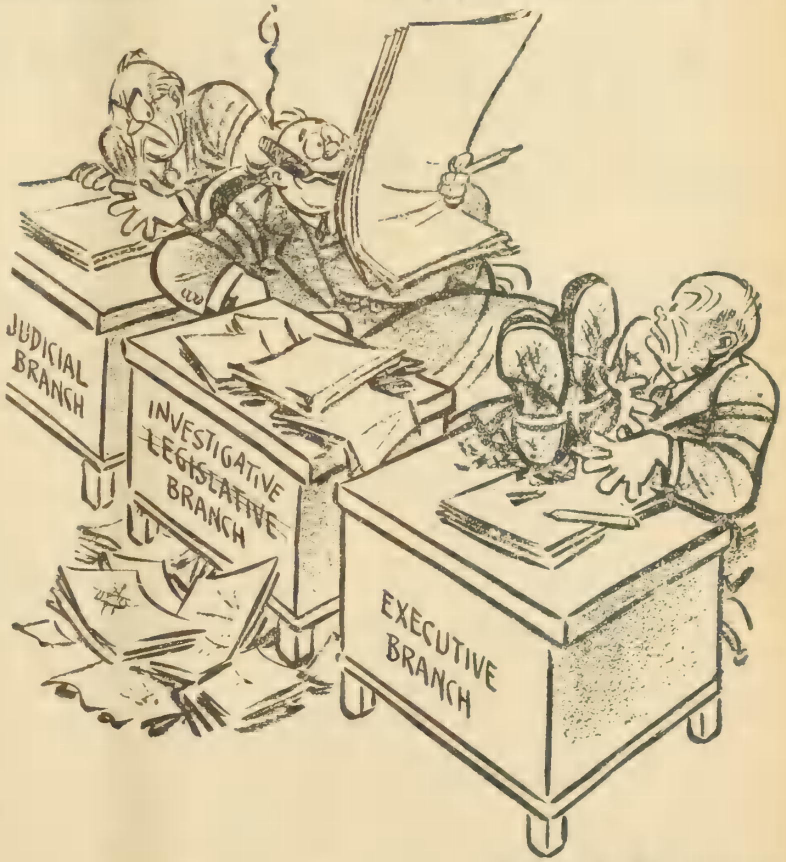
OUR CURRENT Congressional investigating committees have not observed these limitations of their power. They have forced people to express their views; they have forced people to confess their adherence to political beliefs; they have disregarded the American concept that freedom of speech includes freedom not to speak. Many citizens, whether to protect themselves or to protect others, have taken refuge in the Bill of Rights, particularly in the provisions of the First and the Fifth Amendment. Witnesses who refused to answer without invoking their constitutional privilege have been subjected to contempt proceedings. Under the guise of investigating communism, they have investigated personalities and have intruded upon the right to privacy to the point where a witness who seeks the assistance of the Constitution thereby incurs legal disabilities. He is stigmatized as un-American because he has relied upon the protection afforded by the Constitution.

Individual aberration, individual criminality have been reserved to the courts for investigation. In the process the courts have developed many safeguards to protect the innocent. There is no presumption in our law so strong as the presumption of innocence. If in the course of investigation a person is brought before a grand jury, he is automatically given immunity from prosecution. He does not have to state publicly his refusal to incriminate or degrade himself. The proceedings before the grand jury are secret; members of the jury and others are admonished not to make public any testimony given before it. These precautions are taken so that no citizen may incur unjust or unprovable disability.

The Supreme Court indicated the line of demarcation between the legislative and judicial powers when in both the Kilbourn and Daugherty cases it said: "The House of Representatives not only exceeded the limits of its own authority but assumed power which could only be properly exercised by another branch of the government because it was in its nature clearly judicial."

Congressional committees know no such safeguards as does the judiciary. On the contrary, with an exhibitionism aided by radio and television they have made a public show of their forensic ability to demolish the personalities of the witnesses summoned before them. There can be no end to this condition so long as the witness is obliged to take refuge in the Bill of Rights. If these committees are to be stopped in their trespass upon the domain of the judiciary, it can only be done by the witnesses challenging the authority of the inquisitorial body. The Supreme Court has spoken in the Jones case: "The citizen when interrogated about his private affairs has a right before answering to know why the inquiry is made; and if the purpose disclosed is not a legitimate one, he may not be compelled to answer" (*Jones* v. *Securities and Exchange Commission*). To the same effect is the statement in the Daugherty case that "a witness rightfully may refuse to answer where the bounds of the power are exceeded."

In so speaking the court has laid down a rule of conduct for the citizen. He must yield to the committee's right to subpoena him. He must answer until



Herblock in the Washington *Post*

"Let's See—What'll I Look into Next?"

it appears that the investigation involves examination into his personal political belief. At that point he has the right, indeed the duty, to refuse to answer, giving as his reason that the committee has exceeded its constitutional authority and is invading his rights as a citizen. This would raise the clear issue of the committee's offensive conduct and make invocation of the Fifth Amendment unnecessary. Indeed, the committee's invasion of a citizen's rights ought not to be the occasion for pleading the amendment.

IN THE STRUGGLE for law it is the duty of the citizen to refuse to be curbed by any display of overweening authority. But it has been said by the lower courts that in the present emergency—that is, the conflict between democracy and communism—one must weigh the public necessity against the private interest and conclude that public necessity requires the surrender of this constitutional right. Here we have another instance of the type of logic which throws out the baby with the bath water. It is always crisis or emergency that gives rise to the test of power.

In the seizure of steel, when the Korean emergency was involved, Justice Douglas said: "But the emergency did not create power; it merely marked an occasion when power should be exercised. And the fact that it was necessary that measures be taken to keep steel in production does not mean that the President, rather than the Congress, had the constitutional authority to act." Similarly, in the constitutional question here raised, the emergency, if any, does not create power in Congress. If power must be exercised, then the true question is where. Under our form of government the power of inquiry into personal political belief can only be exercised by the courts. This does not make the country powerless. On the contrary, it makes it the more powerful because it keeps alive the strength of its institutions instead of permitting an emergency to sap them.

For instance, in the current inquiry into communism in the schools and colleges the Association of American Universities declared that professors should cooperate with the committee and conceded that invoking the Fifth Amendment was "an indication of probable guilt." No one in this country need or should cooperate with any official in violating the Constitution.

We are not concerned with a single witness or with any number of witnesses. Our concern is the preservation of our democratic institutions. The fight against communism must not be at the expense of Americanism. The right not to have a despotic or autocratic government is a dear one. If we are to fight tyrants and autocrats by suffering tyrants and autocrats to govern us, then we have fought in vain. The great American right of freedom of belief was achieved by the struggle for law which characterizes democracy. If we are to remain democratic, we must now remind the Congress that it is a constitutional body, that it enjoys only legislative power, and that this legislative power is a limited power which does not include the right to indict or prosecute individuals for their political beliefs.

EDGE OF VIOLENCE

Malan's Dangerous Victory . . *by John Hatch*

THE eight and a half million African inhabitants of the Union of South Africa took no part in the recent elections. Only the 1,500,000 Europeans and the 48,000 colored people were entitled to vote. Yet the fate of the Africans was at stake.

Five years ago the National Party fought its way to office with the slogan of *Apartheid* (segregation). Since then the government has concentrated its efforts on carrying out this pledge, enforcing rigid segregation in post offices, in public vehicles, stations, and waiting rooms, in places of entertainment and sport, in restaurants and hotels. Segregation has always been the rule in the schools, and the Nationalists have tried hard to force the two universities, which still admit both races, to change their policy. They have also obtained the passage of laws defining the racial status of every inhabitant of the country, making marriage or sexual intercourse between European and non-European illegal, permitting the division of all areas into racial zones, and requiring municipalities to expel Africans from their precincts so far as is possible. The government's attempt to remove the last of the non-Europeans—the colored—from the electoral rolls was blocked by the courts.

Through its Suppression of Communism Act and two more recent measures, the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the Nationalist government has arrogated to itself power to suppress all dangerous opponents, declare a state of emergency, and greatly increase the penalties for opposition to its policies. It appealed to the electorate last month on the basis of these achievements and promised to pursue the same policies until all danger to the privileged position of the white community had been removed.

The opposition—a combination of the United Party, the Labor Party, and the ex-servicemen's Torch Commando—offered no clear alternative. Recognizing the paramountcy of the white voters' fears and prejudices, it was forced to approve the purposes of the government and could urge only that they be carried out with greater regard for the constitution and humanity. The Torch Commando, which had come into existence

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JOHN HATCH, lecturer at the University of Glasgow, has traveled widely in Africa. He is the author of "The Dilemma of South Africa" and broadcasts for the B. B. C. on African affairs.

solely to oust the Nationalists, took no part in the election campaign so as to remove any tinge of extremism from the opposition forces. The liberal members of the United Party, knowing that their supporters would vote anti-Nationalist anyway, allowed the party to favor the maintenance of white supremacy in the hope of competing with the Nationalists. The contest, therefore, was between the unrepentant and unconditional *Apartheid* policy of the Nationalists and a vague anti-nationalism. The issue was made crystal clear in Dr. Malan's final broadcast: "The election is South Africa's last chance to remain a white man's country. The government's *Apartheid* policy may point the way to the salvation of white communities from the Cape to Kenya."

IN THE 1948 election 53 per cent of the votes were cast for the United and Labor parties and only 40 per cent for the Nationalists and their allies. A shift of 744 votes in an electorate of a million and a half would have given the opposition a majority of seats in the Assembly. This year the government increased its proportion of votes cast to 45 per cent and more than doubled its majority in the Assembly. A minority of the electorate is enabled to control the Assembly by the fact that the rural constituencies, where the Nationalists are strongest, have smaller electorates than the urban, where the opposition has its main strength,

The white community of South Africa consists of Afrikaners and British—the antagonists of the Boer War. Most of the Afrikaners are farmers, and nationalism is their traditional creed, though it has never been embraced by all of them. The British live usually in the towns and support the United Party. Many of them take little interest in politics; of about 20,000 British immigrants eligible to register for this election, only 5 registered, partly, no doubt, because the Nationalists had made it so difficult and expensive to do so. The election results show that this pattern of life is changing. Many of the younger Afrikaners, unable to make a living on the land, have moved into the towns. They are usually unskilled or semi-skilled and thus open to the *Apartheid* argument, which promises them protection against the competition of non-European labor. Undoubtedly the votes of this group account for Nationalist gains in the towns.

The people of South Africa and of the rest of the world must face the fact that nationalism has established itself firmly and probably permanently in power. In the words of a Johannesburg evening paper, "Liberal critics in the Union and overseas bogies like Mr. Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister; the United Nations; and the Reverend Michael Scott have been told that the Afrikaner *Volk,* 1,750,000 strong, propose to run their country of 12,500,000 people their own way." These are unrelenting, defiant words, reminiscent of another *Volk* with similar racial ideas. What "way" is it likely to be?

In the first place, of course, rigid segregation will be enforced in every area of national, local, and personal life. Tremendous pressure will be brought to bear on the two universities to make them practice it and on municipalities which have not got rid of as many non-Europeans as the Nationalists would like. The Group Areas Act will be implemented, with the best areas reserved for the whites. During the election the Nationalists made great play of a court decision that segregation on the railways was unconstitutional unless equal amenities were provided for non-Europeans: legislation will certainly be introduced to alter the situation. No doubt, too, the almost unlimited powers of the government will be used to outlaw and destroy any incipient movements which threaten Nationalist supremacy. It can even be expected that the government will go so far as to slow up economic development if it tends to break down the barriers between the races. The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, has stated that if industrialization brings an influx of Africans to the towns, as it has been doing for the past half-century, the pace will have to be slackened.

Secondly, the Nationalists will try to devise some means of overcoming the opposition of the courts to their desire to remove the colored voters from the electoral rolls. According to the South Africa Act, this can only be done by a two-thirds' majority of both houses of Parliament. All attempts to circumvent this constitutional provision have so far been blocked by the judges. During the election campaign the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Donges, stated that, if necessary, judges would be chosen who agreed with Nationalist policy; but it may be that Dr. Malan, with his increased majority, will decide to pack the Senate with his supporters.

Finally, the constitutional status of the Union may be changed. The Nationalists would like to establish a republic either within or outside the Commonwealth. Their increased majority has weakened those moderate elements who still respect some degree of constitutionalism and strengthened the fanatical group led by Messrs Strydom, Swart, Louw, and Verwoerd. Mr. Strydom will almost certainly eventually succeed Dr. Malan as Premier and insist on creating a republic in which the Afrikaners will be a privileged *Volk.* Such a republic would be likely to follow the example of Eire rather than of India. Even if it does not, the strains upon Commonwealth unity caused by this new dose of South African racialism will make the rest of the Commonwealth nations doubt whether they want South Africa as a member.

Prime Minister Malan

IT IS AMONG the opposition groups, however, that the election may produce its most significant reactions. The appeasement policy of the United Party is now discredited, and that loose collection of forces, all hoping to get back into power, is near disintegration. The leader of the most cautious group, Colin Steyn from the Free State, has lost his seat, and some of his followers may join the Nationalists, with whom they have few differences. The liberals will probably form a new party, which must expect to remain in the wilderness for many years but may finally do something to bridge the widening gulf between whites and non-whites. A third group, led by Harry Oppenheimer and his business friends, is in a quandary. For economic development they need a relaxation of the color bar in industry, but all their efforts to accomplish this through the United Party have failed. It will be interesting to see whether they will support, even secretly, a new liberal party.

The effect of the Nationalist victory on the Africans, and also on the Indians and colored, will be to convince them that only by a united effort can they release themselves from bondage. The passive-resistance campaign can be expected to start up again—already more than 8,000 resisters have gone to jail. The struggle will be watched with sympathy by Africans throughout the continent, and it will not be long before the sympathy takes a practical form. Violent methods will be used by the government to crush all opposition, but such methods tend to strengthen resistance. Everywhere in Africa it is believed that the South African whites have declared war on the natives from the Cape to Cairo. The outcome may shake not only Africa but the whole world.

RUSSIA'S GERMAN CARD

Unity Plus Rearmament . . *by Mark Gayn*

CHANCELLOR ADENAUER'S American tour had all that he could have desired of pomp, good-will, and oratory. In Washington he was given renewed promises of help in equipping a German army. And on his triumphal return home his foes conceded that the trip had reinforced his bid in the coming federal elections.

It was at San Francisco, commenting on the possibility of new Soviet overtures to Germany, that the Chancellor made the most significant remark of his tour. "Germany," he said, "will not give up its role in the European Defense Community in the event of reunification of our country." This probably reflected the Chancellor's own faith more truly than the mood of his country. For if there is any fact on which all observers in Germany are agreed, it is that to the German people, east or west, national unity is far more important than rearmament; every other issue is emotionally and politically subordinated to that of unity.

Since his return to Bonn the Chancellor has repeated his declaration a number of times. But as every politician in Europe knows, the new Soviet "peace offensive" may make it meaningless. In fact, if vigorously and successfully pressed, the "offensive" could make hash of all established European policies, as well as of Adenauer's own program and coalition. And the reason lies in the mood of the German people, which a high official in the German Federation of Trade Unions (D. G. B.) described to me recently as "a mess of fears, hopes, and uncertainties."

The slogan *ohne mich* (without me), coined in reply to the remilitarization campaign, was the ultimate in propaganda magic. But it has been misinterpreted in the West as a sign of universal German opposition to rearmament. Actually even the Social Democrats are not opposed to rearmament in principle. A representative of Herr Blank, who presides over the inner kernel of the German War Ministry, tells me Blank's office received more than fifty thousand applications from men who aspired to be soldiers before it issued a plea that no more write in until the hour was ready. Even the trade unions, which have more than once shouted down their own leaders when they were backing rearmament, are uncertain. One officer has said, "If we in the D. G. B. said no to rearmament, 70 to 80 per cent of our membership would object. If we said yes, 60 to 70 per cent would walk out on us." What the West Germans fear is not a new army; most of them would probably welcome it. They fear that the creation of another Wehrmacht will forever divide the land into hostile halves, hasten the rearmament of East Germany, and eventually bring dreadful Soviet retaliation. The way things are going now, a new world war would be a civil war for Germany.

It is within Moscow's power to meet most German hopes and soothe most German fears. Moscow can allow German unity, a national army, and free national elections. It can sign with this new united Germany a pact of non-aggression that would seemingly make all West European entanglements unnecessary and even dangerous. And it can dangle before the Ruhr industrialists the promise of orders that would make the Hitler rearmament boom look picayune. Just as East Germany today provides chemicals and machinery for all the Soviet satellites, so a united Germany may be given the irresistible prospect of the entire Communist market, from Albania to China. Washington would do well not to underestimate the attraction of such an offer to both the industrialists and the workers of West Germany.

If and when it comes, the triple-barreled Soviet offer of unity, rearmament, and markets is bound to have an explosive effect on German politics. If it is well timed, it might throw the federal elections in September to the Social Democrats, who have long made national unity their main plank. In any elections held throughout the whole country the Social Democrats would be almost certain to win a majority, since the Protestant east has always been a Socialist stronghold. A good deal of

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MARK GAYN is a well-known foreign correspondent who has spent many years in Germany.

truth is mixed with the malice in the Socialist charge that Adenauer would rather preside over a truncated Catholic West Germany than over a united Germany in which the Protestants of Prussia would disturb the present political balance.

MOSCOW has not yet gone beyond generalities. But if a genuine unity offer is made, it will almost certainly destroy the unstable West European defense structure. If the Social Democrats are brought to power, they will emasculate the European defense treaties beyond all recognition. If Adenauer, by some process of political black magic, manages to retain power in a reunited Germany, even he may hesitate to create a Wehrmacht hostile to the Soviet Union when the Red Army is just across a narrow river.

Nor would the Chancellor find it easy to resist the neutralist tendencies among his wealthy backers. Two years ago a Ruhr industrialist told me that he and his kind saw no sense in taking sides: "For us, taking sides can mean only a Soviet invasion, and we all know what that means." One of the notable books published in West Germany last year, "Deutschland am Rande Zweier Welten," by Wilhelm Wolfgang Schutz, argued that only armed neutrality would save Germany from becoming a battlefield. The author was at the time an adviser to the Minister for All-German Affairs.

Neutralism is not confined to a few individuals. I found its champions among the miners of the Ruhr and the shopkeepers of Bavaria. And I got perhaps the most lucid expression of it from a member of the D. G. B.'s eleven-man council. "You ask me what will be the policy of a united Germany," he said. "I don't imagine that this policy will be 100 per cent like the policy you expect from West Germany. A united Germany will be tied to the West, but we happen to have a common border with Russia and we can't always keep our finger on the trigger. Every party, including the Social Democratic, is pro-Western, but we can't antagonize Russia. Moscow's first objective is to avert the immediate military danger of a re-armed West. After that it will depend on lucrative trade offers to bind the new united Germany to the East. There are elements of danger for us in it, but not if the West maintains normal relations with us."

What this all means is that if the Russian-American conflict ever develops into a shooting war, most Germans want to sit it out. In other words, *ohne mich.*

The price Moscow would have to pay for neutralizing Germany is high, but it is not prohibitive. The West is inclined to think that Moscow would hesitate to hold free elections in Germany, or to throw overboard the present East German regime, or to allow the creation of a national Germany army. All these assumptions are wrong. There is every reason to believe that Moscow would not hesitate to abandon the East German government. There is also good reason to believe that the Communist Party, so thoroughly organized in the Soviet zone, would get 10 to 15 per cent of the national vote. This would give it enough of a foothold in the national parliament to be able to advertise its philosophy and grievances. (It is noteworthy that in the elections to works councils in the Ruhr coal mines a few weeks ago the Communists, in the face of powerful Social Democratic pressure, retained roughly 17 per cent of the places.)

The Soviet Union, it is true, would risk the revival of the traditional fears of Germany's eastern neighbors, especially Poland and Czechoslovakia. When Moscow first aired its proposals on German unity early last year, the satellite press and radio launched a campaign of unusual intensity to persuade the people in these countries that they had nothing to fear. The argument was that Germany had reformed, that the Red Army would always safeguard peace, and that anyway one should have faith in Stalin's wisdom. Now there are some signs that public opinion in Poland and Czechoslovakia is being prepared for new shocks. When the Bundestag ratified the European Defense Community treaty in March, both Russian and Polish comment was unusually mild. While sharply attacking Chancellor Adenauer himself, Warsaw, for instance, insisted that "every honest German" was opposed to the treaty. If a decade ago the only good German was a dead German, today nearly all Germans are good because they are opposed to the "Adenauer rearmament."

Part of the price asked would be the restoration of large chunks of lost German territory. The lands beyond the Oder-Neisse, now belonging to Russia or Poland, are historically German. In fact, there are few worse post-war monstrosities than a Polish Silesia, or a Königsberg known as Kaliningrad. Feeling in Germany on the subject is fairly high. But one factor cannot be ignored. While there is German soil beyond the Oder-Neisse, the Russians saw to it that there are no Germans. "It is not a situation," a Düsseldorf editor told me, "that calls for a German Panmunjom." And Russia could always persuade Poland to give up, say, the port of Stettin to a reunited Germany.

THUS, CONSIDERING the international disruption their offer could cause, the Russians would not have to pay too much. It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the effects of such a move on our own European policy, especially on the concepts of "containment" and "liberation." But it should be noted that if a united, armed, and neutral Germany ever comes into being, it will inevitably seek to expand. This it cannot do eastward, for the Red Army bars its way. It can only expand in the direction of the vacuum of power—toward France. And we should be naive to imagine that Moscow and Paris do not realize it. That is what makes French ratification of the European defense treaties so doubtful. The Soviet "peace offensive" has already given a tremendous boost to French neutralism, and if Moscow follows through with a specific and generous offer on German unity, France, like the United States, will have to cast about for a new foreign policy.

There are solid reasons for the expectation that Moscow will make new peace overtures on Germany and that they will follow the lines outlined above. The first signs have appeared in *Pravda* and in the East German press. General Chuikov has had some relevant things to say on the subject. The East German radio has initiated some intriguing broadcasts beamed at England. What is more significant, the general contours of the Soviet proposals were displayed in the clumsily handled series of Soviet notes early last spring. Moscow at that time proposed in effect a united, rearmed, and neutral Germany, with a war industry of its own and with former Nazis reinstated in public life.

Such proposals have good precedents in Soviet diplomacy. Entries in the Soviet "Diplomatic Dictionary," edited by no less a personage than Andrei Vishinsky, indicate that the Soviet government from its earliest days has sought a neutral or friendly Germany, regardless of that country's political coloration. This purpose appeared in the Rapallo treaty, which broke the World War I model of "containment," as it did in the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. The policy changed briefly after the last war, when Russia appeared determined to have Germany disarmed and de-Nazified, but it did not take the Kremlin long to realize that a power vacuum in Germany was even worse than a rearmed Germany with which a deal could be arranged. A dramatic reversion to the traditional policy came with the first Soviet note on German unity on March 10, 1952.

Memories of Rapallo weigh heavily on German minds. Chancellor Adenauer himself referred to it in a speech before the National Press Club in Washington: "The era of the Treaty of Rapallo has not come again. At that time Russia was weak. It sought and found as a partner a still powerful Germany. Should we attempt such a partnership, we should soon find ourselves reduced to a satellite of Soviet Russia. I know no one in Germany who would want this." However persuasive this argument, it can hardly counterbalance the appeal of unity to most Germans.

If still more proof of Moscow's intentions is needed it is spelled out in eleborate detail in two Soviet documents—Stalin's thesis of last fall and Malenkov's speech before the Nineteenth Party Congress last October. Both forecast new dissension in the Western camp, with a seeming accent on a revived Germany and Japan. What then—as seen from the Kremlin battlements—could procure a prettier capitalist wrangle than a united and rearmed Germany thirsting to get back the Saar and push into the great military nothingness beyond it?

NEW DAY DAWNING

The Negro and Medicine . . *by Alfred Maund*

Livingston, Ala.

> I believe in strekt segregation. It is better for bothe races. The average negroe is incapable of competing, mentally, with the average white person. Neither is the average white person capable of competing, physically, with the average negroe. Each will do better when associated with his own race. A few extry smart negros and a few low minded whites would like to amalgamate the two races and that is really what non-segregation means.

When a white doctor in Oklahoma sends you this comment, with its quaint spelling, it is hard not to think he is kidding. But serious or not, his views appear charmingly naive in comparison with the following statement from an internal-medicine specialist in the District of Columbia:

> How about the health needs of our racial germ plasm? Do we know enough in this direction to be leaping into the dark, literally as well as figuratively? Non-segregation on the social level . . . will provoke miscegenation and hasten the fusion of two widely distinguished races. Does anyone know just what this might mean? No one does. I shudder before the possibilities.

The letters of both physicians were comments on a questionnaire mailed to the 42,500 white doctors listed in the A. M. A. Directory for seventeen Southern and border states and the District of Columbia by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an anti-discrimination organization with headquarters in New Orleans. These were the questions:

1. Which of the following plans do you think best serves the health needs of the entire community? (A) Admit patients to hospitals without segregation. (B) Admit Negro and white patients to the same hospital with segregation. (C) Maintain separate hospitals for Negro and white patients.

2. Would you favor the admission of Negro physicians to your county medical society?

3. Would you favor granting hospital privileges to Negro physicians in hospitals in which you practice?

Replies were received from 5,750 physicians, of which 3,928 were signed. Racial segregation of patients was strongly supported. Plan B was favored by 64 per cent of the voters, Plan C by 11 per cent, Plan A by 17 per cent. The other 8 per cent either did not answer the question or suggested other arrangements. A Delaware doctor summed up the sentiments of a sizable number of his colleagues when he wrote: "In theory I favor Plan A. However, in actual practice admission without segregation in this locality would meet with

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ALFRED MAUND is on the faculty of State Teachers College at Livingston, Alabama.

overwhelming lay criticism at the present time."

The vote on the admission of Negro doctors to county medical societies and hospital staffs was overwhelmingly affirmative—71 per cent in favor, with another 3 per cent giving qualified approval.

THIS FIGURE indicates a grass-roots sentiment directly counter to the general practice of the medical societies in the states surveyed. Too often, even where Negro doctors are admitted to membership, they enjoy only the privilege of attending scientific meetings and are not eligible for appointment as hospital staff members. It should be noted, however, that Florida has had full integration for more than two years; the District of Columbia society opened its rolls last July; and in the past few months county societies in Charleston (S. C.), Macon (Ga.), and Little Rock (Ark.) have accepted Negroes as full members.

What motivated this group of Southern doctors, with their strong concern for regional *mores*, to vote so consistently for liberalization of their organizations? The counsel of a district medical society in Arkansas wrote: "As a medical society is a scientific organization and not a social organization, I see no reason to limit its membership on either race, color, or creed; it should be limited only by character, moral standing, educational background, etc." (One of his colleagues in the state queried: "If you admit colored people, what about the auxiliary? When the auxiliary has a party, would you want your wife to dance with a colored doctor?")

A Texas surgeon declared: "A Negro physician is usually a well-qualified gentleman; regardless of the color . . . I had rather have a fine Negro doctor than the jealous jackass that we so often contact." (A Mississippian countered: "In so far as I know, none of the Negro physicians practicing here are eligible for membership . . . because of their inadequate training. I have a number of good colored patients. All tell me the colored doctors are 'plain no-count.'")

"Although I am of the opinion that the admission of Negro physicians will be bitterly opposed," said an Alabama doctor, "unless we admit them voluntarily they can go to court and force us to admit them, since they will *have* to gain admission for qualification as members of various specialty boards, societies, etc." Another Alabamian added, "I do believe that in order to raise the standards of practice of Negro physicians and encourage migration of competent Negro physicians and surgeons to a given community, some sort of hospital affiliation is in order."

These doctors are working in states which have the worst public-health records in the United States. The national average of rejections in Selective Service examinations is around 30 per cent; in only three of the states polled is the rate less than 40 per cent, and all are above the average. Local Selective Service officials will admit, privately, that the great majority of those rejected are Negro. Conditions in Atlanta were described succinctly by one doctor: "There are twenty Negro physicians to help serve a Negro population of 100,000. Mortality rates are unreasonably high in our local Negro hospitals. The medical background of many of these Negro physicians is shallow." In Baltimore, said another, "there is a great shortage of all types of hospital beds for Negro patients, but particularly obstetrical beds. Yet there are 'white' beds empty which could be used for them."

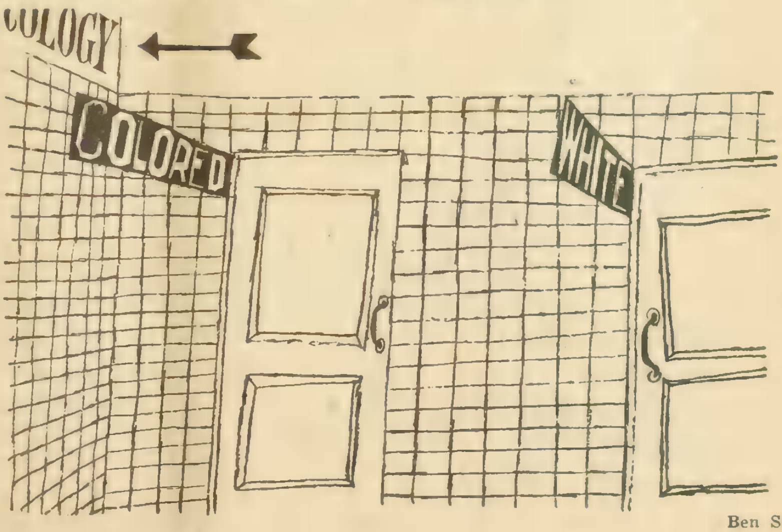
Southern laymen who believe that medical facilities ought to be shared according to need regardless of race should be aroused by these returns to take direct action. They should encourage the liberal minority in the medical profession and bring pressure to bear on its conservative leadership. Some Southerners have already taken up the gauntlet.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund has begun a series of projects designed to alert the public to the inequities of segregated medical care. Aubrey Williams, Alabama publisher and writer, is president of this organization, and six college presidents and deans are on its board. Its funds are supplied by some 3,000 individual contributors over the country. Besides taking the poll described above, it has investigated other aspects of the subject.

The Interracial Hospital Movement of Kentucky has presented to the governor a petition with 10,000 signatures demanding that equal hospital facilities be made available to all citizens. As a result, the last session of the Kentucky Senate passed unanimously a bill to rescind the operating license of any institution denying treatment to a patient because of race or creed. Although the House later modified the measure to read "denying *emergency* treatment," the law is a big step forward.

BUT AS IN THE CASE of the public schools, the ultimate solution may lie with the courts. If integration of tax-supported hospital wards were enforced by judicial edict, the various religious denominations would be shamed into adopting similar policies in their hospitals—just as they are now opening the doors of their seminaries. The Veterans' Administration would be emboldened to adopt a consistently democratic attitude toward its patients. Congress might even put teeth in the Hill-Burton act, which gives federal funds for the construction of hospitals and allows the states to set up the rule of Jim Crow.

Then, perhaps, a Fourteenth Amendment would be appended to the Oath of Hippocrates.



Ben Shahn

TWO POEMS FOR SPRING

There Is a Dark River

There is a dark river flows under a bridge
Making an elbowed turn where the swallows skim
Indescribably dark in rain.
You think of the Floss, drifting down
To the boyhood of the implacable maelstrom
And a boathouse rotting in shadow.
The grapes of Concord are thick with hawthorn
And the old manse is ripe with the sprung rain.

There is a dark river under the bridge
Though beyond, grasses stand up—
Most English lone at the wide bend.
The aged spirits of when they wrote
Memorable words on the window pane—
What but the diamond's firmness gives them fame?
And yet because they did it
The field is thick with spirit.

Across from this rich running a crop
Under the pines of black-toothed stones.
Happy the lilac; happy each stem
By the troughs of the green sunk down.
Something other than animal dread
Made us pray when we stood on them
That this same love with the full of thought
Go down and touch at the base of the root
The unutterable, which is unmortal.

There is a dark river flows under a bridge
Where the reeds stand in the come and go
Of a boathouse black in the shadow.
Here swallows fly over its swirl.
A wild gyre of midges below.
Specters sweet-fleshed in the water
Specters whom we might know
Stand chanting of that which we no longer
May read the text for, in the shadow.

And yet the color of their tears is over the water
And the air is plunged into echo
Of their long eyes in the mirror.
Do we not see this, do we not know—
Ah! in the gliding below
Is not the sight slanted with thought
Of this same willow from which they drank—
Rich-running water, indescribably much
Emblackened by redolent wild-running years
As at nightfall when clamor thickens
All the night over with sleeping things,
Invisible footfalls and murmurings—

Here where the swallows drink from the bend
Shadows our shadows stir—
Ah! to feel is to understand
Under the dark down-reaching rain
What glides over and what looks in,
Deep in its depths contained—

And we are heavy with history,
Under the boughs to play
In the consubstantial come and go
Of games, at eternity,
Your light voices here wedding here, over all.

JEAN GARRIGUE

Pastorale

The bank swallows veer and dip,
Diving down at my windows,
Then flying almost straight upward,
Like bats in daytime,
And their shadows, bigger,
Race over the thick grass;
And the finches pitch through the air, twittering;
And the small mad siskins flit by,
Flying upward in little skips and erratic leaps;
Or they sit sideways on limber dandelion stems,
Bending them down to the ground;
Or they perch and peck at larger flower-crowns,
Springing, one to another,
The last-abandoned stalk always quivering
Back into straightness;
Or they fling themselves against tree trunks,
Scuttling down and around like young squirrels,
Birds furious as bees.

Now they move all together!—
These airy hippety-hop skippers,
Light as seed blowing off thistles!
And I seem to lean forward,
As my eyes follow after
Their sunlit leaping.

THEODORE ROETHKE

BOOKS

Understanding India

THE UNITED STATES AND INDIA AND PAKISTAN. By W. Norman Brown. Harvard University Press. $4.50.

MISSION WITH MOUNTBATTEN. By Alan Campbell-Johnson. E. P. Dutton and Company. $5.

By Keith Hutchison

MANY Indians and Pakistanis, writes Professor Brown, suspect the United States of "playing its own game, and any other nation making an alliance with it, they often say, should walk carefully . . . and look out for sudden unilateral action that could be embarrassing to an unprepared companion. Conversely, the British, who were viewed in India as ogres before the war, are now admired for political liberalism and realistic conduct in the face of adversity."

In the last chapter of his book—an admirable guide to the recent history and current problems of the Indian subcontinent—Professor Brown reviews very judicially the reasons for this suspicion of America. Alan Campbell-Johnson, in his fascinating diary of the Mountbatten mission which brought British rule to a close, provides important clues to the contrasting improvement in Anglo-Indian relations.

Implementation of the British Labor government's promise to free India was being obstructed by furious controversy between Hindus and Moslems, when in February, 1947, Prime Minister Attlee issued an ultimatum. The Indian parties, he said in effect, must agree by June, 1948, whether independence was to be on the basis of union or partition: on that date the British intended to hand over to whatever successor government, or governments, was in being. History is likely to record this bold cutting of the Gordian knot as a master-stroke of statesmanship. Its success was assured by an equally unorthodox move—the appointment of Lord Mountbatten, a young man with a great reputation as a war-time commander but no political experience, as Viceroy and liquidator of the Indian Empire.

CAMPBELL-JOHNSON, Mountbatten's press attaché, viewed the whole drama from a vantage point in the wings. His diary, he explains with an unnecessary apology, provides "a hurried, breathless narrative." But it is just because this story was slapped red-hot on to paper, instead of being written after sober reflection, that it combines vivacity with genuine historical value.

Most readers, no doubt, will detect the color tones of hero-worship in the author's portrait of his chief. But after discounting this element they will hardly fail to be convinced that Mountbatten is a man of formidable charm, great patience, and lightning intelligence—in short, a diplomat of the highest order. "His gift for friendship has triumphed over everything," said an Indian to the author on Independence Day.

Freedom won, both Indians and Pakistanis came quickly to realize that Britain, in partial compensation for past exploitation, was leaving behind a valuable inheritance, particularly in the form of political ideas, judicial standards, and administrative techniques. Most of the leaders of the two countries knew England well—many had been educated there—while a goodly number of Britons have acquired a wide knowledge of Indian problems and a sympathetic appreciation of Indian culture.

As Professor Brown points out, there is as yet no similar basis for mutual understanding between Americans and Indians. Contacts between the two peoples have been limited, and only a handful of men in this country have expert knowledge of some aspect of Indian life and history. Thus opinion about India is woefully uninformed: until independence the views of most Americans, to quote Dr. Brown, "were determined almost entirely either by an unreasoning Anglophobia or an uninquiring Anglophilia."

Both American ideas about India and Indian ideas about America tend to be stereotypes. Many Americans think of India "as a land of meditating omphalopsychites, hypnotic swamis, naked ascetics, bejeweled princes of fabulous wealth and incomparable harems, bareskinned, poverty-stricken, famine-ridden masses," and so forth. Largely from Hollywood, Indians and Pakistanis have derived a picture of America as a country of easygoing, gun-toting dollar-chasers, possessing an envious efficiency but devoid of morals or ideals.

American prestige in India rose during the last war when President Roosevelt was visibly prodding Churchill on the independence issue. After that, it tended to decline until Ambassador Bowles supplied a restorative. But Indians and Pakistanis continue to feel that Americans do not understand the nature of Asia's current revolution, and they resent suggestions that they should enlist as unquestioning allies in the cold war. Their skepticism about the great Western crusade in turn infuriates some Americans, and all too many of our journalistic black-and-white artists depict India as a Soviet stooge.

PROFESSOR BROWN, a life-long student of India, provides a useful corrective to such crudities and pleads the urgent necessity for greater understanding. The United States cannot afford the enmity of these two great new nations, comprising one-fifth of the world's population. In turn, India and Pakistan need American technical and financial assistance if they are to fulfil the promise of independence. They need, and need quickly, large amounts of capital not merely to create industries but for such basic investments as communications, schools, water supply, public health, and land improvement. With the vast majority of their peoples on a subsistence standard of living they cannot, by democratic methods, squeeze the requisite savings out of internal resources. Thus, lacking financial aid from the West, they have only two alternatives: resignation to economic stagnation varied by famine, or adoption of Communist techniques for lifting the economy by its bootstraps.

KEITH HUTCHISON, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is the author of "The Decline and Fall of British Capitalism."*

Guide to Robert Flaherty

THE WORLD OF ROBERT FLAHERTY. By Richard Griffith. Duell, Sloan and Pearce–Little, Brown. $5.

By Robert Hatch

YOU might call this book a pleasant sightseeing tour around a vivid and creative personality. Richard Griffith, curator of the Museum of Modern Art Film Library, has taken excerpts from the diaries, letters, and published books of Flaherty and his wife and from Pat Mullen's chatty history of the making of "Man of Aran." He has written passages of his own to connect these fragments into a narrative that follows the sequence of the Flaherty documentaries: from "Nanook of the North" to "Moana" and "Tabu" to "Man of Aran" to "Elephant Boy" and home at the end to "The Land" and "Louisiana Story." Flaherty's memoirs are warm with admiration and affection for the people he filmed; his wife's notes and letters home are lively comments on the circumstances of movie making on the frontiers; Mullen has almost too aware an eye for the rough excellence of his native island. These scrapbook items are attractive footnotes on Flaherty, but you learn from them surprisingly little that is central to the man or his aims or his working methods. Flaherty was apparently not given to reflecting on paper about himself and his ambitions; and the other two writers step around these subjects as if by prearrangement.

Griffith realized, I think, that his material was peripheral and tried to supply a focus in his own comment. But since he appears in the modest role of guide, he must confine himself to broad pronouncements: Flaherty was an open and generous man, he made a new kind of picture, he sought the spirit of human aspiration in primitive societies, he was not—and is not—sufficiently appreciated. All this is true but too sweeping to provide insights. Why, if he was such a whole and healthy man, did Flaherty find it necessary to seek virtue in virginal societies? It appears that he carried the Garden of Eden with him, for he was always urging his subjects back into worlds of moral beauty that no longer existed except as folk memories. It is teasing not to have the matter opened up more fully, and this is only one point among many.

Griffith gives us to understand that he knew Flaherty well—he calls him Bob even in print—and that he has a comprehensive theory about his work and relationship to the broad field of the movies. A reader must wonder if he intends some day to incorporate the elusive glimpses of this volume in a biography solid enough to be called "The World of Robert Flaherty."

ROBERT HATCH is on the staff of the *Scientific American.*

New Books in Brief

Art of Dead Actors

SHAKESPEARIAN PLAYERS AND PERFORMANCES. By Arthur Colby Sprague. Harvard. $4.50. In his previous "Shakespeare and the Actors," Professor Sprague showed how research can discount the familiar opinion that the art of a dead actor is something we can know nothing about. By the eighteenth century newspaper and other first-hand reports become available, and so do prompt books and other forms of evidence on the basis of which it is possible to know not only the general effect created but a good deal about stage business, the emphasis put upon words and phrases, and so on. By patiently collecting such bits of information and putting them together Professor Sprague tells us a great deal about how Betterton played Hamlet; Siddons, Lady Macbeth; and Kean, Othello. Eight such accounts are included in the present volume, and the general conclusion is that though styles have certainly changed drastically we would still find such performances intelligible and impressive.

High Cost of Welfare

TAXATION AND INCENTIVE. By Lady Rhys-Williams. Oxford. $3.50. Like many other sociologists, Lady Rhys-Williams is concerned about the effect upon the incentives to work and to invest of the crushing burden of taxation the financing of English welfare benefits has made necessary. Unlike many other critics, she desires to continue social security at its present level. What to do? Her solution is in two parts. In the first place she suggests a merger of social-welfare contributions and ordinary income-tax payments into one tax schedule. The second part of this program includes payment of cash payments to *all* Englishmen, employed or not, according to family size. In this way she hopes to restore incentives, since the difference between the income of the employed and the unemployed would be the full amount of wages received. A choice is offered of five rather complicated tax schemes. Like most other devices which purport to solve intricate social questions, this one fails to carry conviction.

The Ante Bellum South

THE COTTON KINGDOM. By Frederick Law Olmsted. Edited, with an Introduction, by Arthur M. Schlesinger. Knopf. $6.75. If Frederick Law Olmsted is remembered generally at all nowadays, it is as the landscape architect who laid out New York's Central Park and many other fine public pleasure grounds. Social historians, however, think of him as perhaps the ablest reporter of social and economic conditions in the ante bellum South, through which he made two extended journeys in 1853 and 1854. His observations first appeared as letters to the New York *Times* which formed the basis for three separate books. The present work is a revised and abridged version of these earlier volumes which Olmsted prepared in 1861 at the suggestion of a London publishing house. Its reissue in the Borzoi Editions of Books on America's Past is a boon to all students of the Civil War period.

Olmsted was no emotional Abolitionist. He approached the problem of slavery objectively, and although he did not neglect its moral aspects, he stressed its economic consequences. With a wealth of telling facts he demonstrated that the dependence of the South on slave-grown cotton, so far from giving the region a strangle-hold on the world's commerce as Southern politicians claimed, was a prime cause of "lazy poverty" and an insuperable barrier to any kind of broad economic development. Time has proved the accuracy of this diagnosis.

Florence Kelley

IMPATIENT CRUSADER. By Josephine Goldmark. Illinois. $3.50. In his foreword to this biography of Florence Kelley, Felix Frankfurter says: "The pages that follow give an account of the life of a woman who had probably the largest single share in shaping the social history of the United States during the first thirty years of this century." He goes on to characterize the book as "the exciting story of her undaunted efforts to eliminate what she helped to reveal as the ugly concomitants of our stupendous industrial development—child labor, unconscionable hours of work, particularly for women, exploitingly low wages, a shockingly high rate of infant and maternal mortality, neglect of safeguards against occupational diseases." Florence Kelley was the most militant of that remarkable group of dedicated social reformers which included Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop, and Lillian Wald. This fine record of her indefatigable work and extraordinary accomplishments is a revelation of the fierceness of the fight that had to be waged for measures now taken for granted.

Escape Story

9:15 TO FREEDOM. By Martin Fiala. British Book Center. $2. This little volume deals with the unforgettable escape, back in September, 1951, of an oddly assorted group of twelve Czechs who appropriated a local train and dashed across the border to Germany at sixty miles an hour. They were later joined by twenty-seven passengers, delighted to find themselves caught in this unexpected venture. In preparing this book Mr. Fiala—a pseudonym—interviewed the original twelve plotters, and the stories of what made them flee their native land make for instructive reading on life under communism. Though marred by melodramatic—and at times plain foolish—writing, this turns out to be a chilling and exciting tale.

From the Lawrence Legend

LORENZO IN SEARCH OF THE SUN. D. H. Lawrence in Italy, Mexico, and the American Southwest. By Eliot Fay. Bookman Associates. $2.75. A synoptic version of the Lawrence legend compiled chiefly from the gospels according to Mabel Dodge, Dorothy Brett, Witter Bynner, Frieda Lawrence, and the rest. Taking his subject's greatness for granted, Mr. Fay remains otherwise neutral, attempting with considerable success to chronicle the events and recreate the atmosphere of Lawrence's restless wanderings as well as of his relations with a group of possessive women. Readable and interesting but just because it is concerned exclusively with the hours when Lawrence was not being a writer, probably doing less than justice to a man whose inconsistency, irritability, and vague yearnings after he knew not what are displayed at full length. Lawrence may have been a genius, but he had his full share of littleness as

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With a Foreword by ALEXANDRA ADLER, M.D.
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well. One who knew him and his friends only through this account might well exclaim with Matthew Arnold, "What a set!" and let it go at that. Since Mr. Fay's book will probably be read chiefly by those who are already committed to hero-worship, this does not matter too much.

Theater

Harold Clurman

OF THE two readings from Dickens that Emlyn Williams gives (Bijou Theater) I prefer the more varied one, "Mixed Bill." The other—"Bleak House"—is expert, entertaining, and slightly strenuous. The novel itself, even that digest of it Mr. Williams is able to pack into two hours and some minutes, has descriptions, characterizations, and commentary of genius—and a crazy plot in which all is fascinating, mysterious, picturesque without always being relevant; so that finally we are left with an ending which is not a clarification.

While Mr. Williams is an admirable actor, his readings, though they reveal certain facets of his histrionic ability, do not really constitute acting but forms of public address, imitation, and showmanship. What the difference is, is a subject I shall probably have occasion to discuss at another time.

What I propose today is to revert to a question which has come up in regard to certain criticisms of "Camino Real," a recurrent question apropos of plays every season or so. It concerns the issue of "pessimism" in drama.

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The word is a vague one, and the author of "Camino Real" might easily argue, if he cared to, that his play is not pessimistic. As I inferred in my own review of the play, the nature of its "philosophy" is somewhat beside the point. No matter what its stated or implied ideology, it is immature art and, in my opinion, inferior to the author's other plays. What is in dispute now is the implication that a play is bad when it is pessimistic—a hypothesis I believe to be pernicious as well as false.

Some of the world's greatest dramatic literature (to go no farther)—"King Lear" and "Oedipus the King"—might reasonably be set down as pessimistic. It is well known, as a French poet once said, that some of the most beautiful poems are pure sobs. And there are others, plays and poems, which amount to curses and imprecations. There have also been plays which might properly be described as "sick"—many of Strindberg's, for example—but which certainly claim our attention and deserve our respect.

Why, then, do we tend in our American theater to feel that designating a play as "pessimistic" is almost tantamount to complete condemnation? The usual explanation is that Americans are reared in a tradition of optimism. The historically happy circumstances of American life make us shy away from the tragic view of life as from something unhealthy as well as distasteful. This is truer of the theater than elsewhere. Hawthorne, Melville, Faulkner, even Hemingway are certainly not sanguine figures. But in our theater of recent years, despite the example of Eugene O'Neill, whose work is tormented by his effort to reconcile himself to the anguish and disorder he has felt and witnessed, there is rarely anything but a grudging or resistant attitude to the play that suggests deep-lying tragedy. Shaw wrote plays pleasant and unpleasant; Anouilh writes "black" plays and "rosy" plays. We insist on sunshine in all our plays just as we recoil from "unsympathetic" characters.

As I am not myself of a gloomy turn of mind and do not accept the rationale of philosophic pessimism, I must hasten to make clear that I believe a certain (unconscious) part of the theater public's objection to the "unhappy" play is justified on aesthetic, intellectual, and moral grounds. For the state of being a man and the state of negation—what might be called the affirmation of nothingness—are incompatible. But there is in our present aversion to the "pessimistic," our insistence that we always look on "the bright side," a profoundly dangerous element.

We want to protect ourselves from a somber or disturbed view of life not because we cherish life so much but because we fear it. A large part of our program of optimism is dread in disguise. Our faith in life too often depends on our blinding ourselves to misfortune and making ourselves deaf to complaint. The present social atmosphere induces us to seek safety above all by cutting ourselves off from everything contradictory, difficult, untoward. The result is culturally stultifying, morally debilitating, aesthetically annihilating.

There can be joy in life only through contact with it. There can be hope only through the recognition of what may be hoped for in the real world. There can be strength only by the confrontation through intelligence, spirit, and love of everything that life is; no one but an imbecile thinks it is supposed to be nothing but beer and skittles.

There are only two valid objections to "pessimism" in a play: that it is a trivial pessimism—many of our "pessimistic" plays give off the sound of a baby crying because its candy has been taken away—or that it includes too little of the stuff of life. The heroic pessimism which, so to speak, scoops up vast chunks of human experience makes great drama because the acceptance of experience, the painful as well as the pleasant, is the ultimate and real "good" of life. Our unwitting censorship of the "pessimistic" play is a reflection of our reluctance publicly to acknowledge—we may do it privately with a novel—that life is real and life is earnest and that comfort and a streamlined "good time" are not its goals.

Just as the fulness of experience is the true source of happiness in living, so a fulness of life is the basic criterion of excellence in drama. There is more vigor in Hamlet's doubts, more solace in Cordelia's tears, more nobility in Othello's crimes, more dignity in Mephistopheles' denials, more tenderness in Uncle Vanya's frustrations, more relish in the monsters of Webster's "White Devil" than there is gaiety or uplift in a host of our "optimistic" comedies. The man who cries out, "Take him away, he's breaking my heart," ninety-nine times out of a hundred is neither a cheerful nor a kind person.

Records

B. H. Haggin

TWO of Mozart's Violin Concertos—the fine K.218, and the less frequently played K.216 with its delightfully high-spirited first movement and wonderful slow movement—are played with engaging warmth and purity by thirteen-year-old Gerard Poulet with the Austrian Symphony under Gaston Poulet (Remington). Instead of the two concertos on one record we are given K.216 with an ineffective performance of the Handel-Harty Water Music by the same orchestra under Gustav Koslik, and K.218 with their acceptable performances of Mozart's Overtures to "Don Giovanni," "Die Entführung," and "Titus." K.216 has noisy surfaces.

Von Karajan's performance of Schubert's Symphony No. 9 with the Vienna Philharmonic is poor and badly reproduced (Columbia).

What is offered as the "complete orchestral score" of Berlioz's "Romeo and Juliet" (Columbia) is actually only an assemblage of all the purely instrumental movements. They comprise the three that are usually played—Romeo Alone, Sadness, Festivities at the Capulets'; Love Scene; Queen Mab—preceded by the Introduction and followed by one of the most remarkable and impressive parts of the work, Romeo in the Vault of the Capulets. The performance in which Mitropoulos conducts the New York Philharmonic-Symphony is violent, insensitive, poorly fitted together, and coarsely executed.

Of the four Bach arias sung by Kathleen Ferrier with the London Philharmonic under Boult (London) I find only "All Is Fulfilled" from the St. John Passion moving; and of the four Handel arias I like the two from "Samson" and "Judas Maccabeus" better than the two from "Messiah." Ferrier's voice is sumptuous but the performances are dull.

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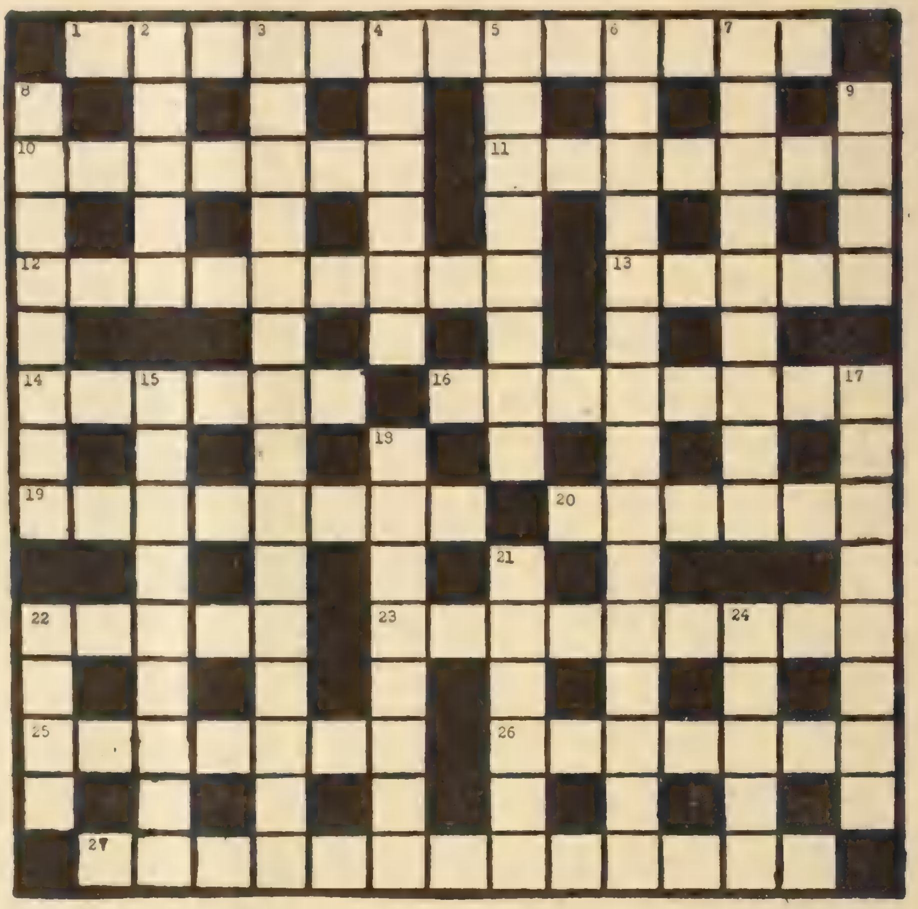
performance of Smetana's richly melodious and in all ways delightful "The Bartered Bride" a year ago, has now issued an excellent performance in Czech by soloists, chorus, and orchestra of the Prague National Theater under Jan Vogel's direction. The tenor voice of Ivo Zidek (Jenik) is a little dry but otherwise good; the soprano of Milada Musilova (Marenka) is fresh and lovely; the light tenor of Oldrich Kovar (Vasek) and the rich bass of Karel Kalas (Kecal) are exactly right for their parts; and the other voices are good except for the perhaps suitable tremolos of the two mothers. The overture is taken a little too fast for clarity, but otherwise the work is paced effectively; and the well-balanced recorded sound allows the orchestra to be heard clearly with the voices. The Czech text and an English translation are provided; but again there are confusing discrepancies with what is on the records.

WRITING ABOUT the Fairchild cartridge last fall after a first hearing, I spoke of the refinement of its sound as against the coarseness of the Pickering's; but further experience has revealed other remarkable characteristics. One listens to the new G. E. and hears what seems to be as good sound as anyone could want; one listens then to the Fairchild and is amazed not only by the new purity of the sound, its clarity and cleanness of definition, but by what is like an additional bloom on it, and by the greater distinctness of the inner strands of the orchestral texture—all of which add up to something fabulously beautiful. I should, however, also report a friend's experience. Having acquired a Fairchild cartridge on my recommendation he found its sound to be superb except for a sharpness whose cause he eventually discovered with the aid of a meter: the cartridge had a rising characteristic—5 db. up at 9,000 cycles, if I remember correctly. Or rather, it had this characteristic with the Fairchild transformer my friend was using (the cartridge requires a transformer); I hadn't had this trouble because the Brociner transformer I had used flattens out the cartridge's response.

I can also report on my experience with a Brociner equalizer, which I acquired primarily for its series of de-emphasizing treble roll-offs by steps of

Crossword Puzzle No. 514

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Plumber's executive committee, as you might say "bored"? (8, 5)
10 One could have thought it a deed which needs revision. (7)
11 Is in the way, as a proposition. (2,5)
12 Slight intention to speak so. (9)
13 Somewhat less than a friend of the devil. (5)
14 Starts out in wrath, but is altogether peaceful. (6)
16 Given up to practice. (8)
19 Referring to a reward, it takes a dime call to reach it. (8)
20 The spirits of blindness? (6)
22 Apparel of a very specific hue. (5)
23 Look in sundry surrounds for what pertains to smallpox. (9)
25 Firm and fresh in the make-up of one who guides the shoemaker. (7)
26 Is steam radical in the treatment of light? (7)
27 Turner's bank account? (9, 4)

DOWN

2 Prophetic, when men are extremely bony? (5)
3 Natty-appearing character, less formally Hawkeye. (9, 6)
4 Early D. P. (6)
5 A girdle's necessary for such a model of meekness and patience. (8)
6 and 9. Blind and dumb? (3, 2, 5, 3, 2, 4)
7 If your office is new, you can't have been. (9)
8 Doctrine of the 4, perhaps. (8)
9 See 6.
15 Done nicer on the inside! (9)
17 Quit. (8)
18 50 before it, and half-a-dozen after, with a short 30 days for the diplomat. (8)
21 Drink in the effect of the sun—he was 7 when he ran. (6)
22 You left this in the army, perhaps. (Some like to save it.) (4)
24 Leon's alter ego? (5)

• ✤ •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 513

ACROSS:—1 and 13 down CONTINENTAL SHELF; 9 HANDBALL; 10 RELAYS; 12 WITNESS; 14 PATOIS; 15 HIGH JUMP; 17 FULL WELL; 20 CALLOW; 22 ISOTOPE; 24 and 11 BURY THE HATCHET; 26 REVIEW; 27 IDAHOANS; 28 STERN SHEETS.

DOWN:—2 and 25 OLD SCHOOL TIES; 3 TRACERS; 4 NELL; 5 NURSING; 6 ALL IN; 7 MANANA; 8 GYPSUM; 16 JOLLY BOAT; 18 UNSEEN; 19 EMPOWER; 20 COURAGE; 21 ON HAND; 23 TWIST.

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4 db, and in addition for its 300-cycle basis turn-over to reduce the heavy bass of old European 78s. The treble roll-offs proved even more valuable than I had anticipated, revealing the need of additional smaller steps between positions 3, 4, and 5 of my Brook amplifier. On the other hand the old European 78s remained heavy even with the 300-cycle turn-over; and I found again that the usefulness of the equalizer was not that it provided the right reproducing characteristics to match the companies' different recording characteristics. The companies haven't adhered to their alleged recording characteristics; further variations in each company's recordings have resulted from changes in microphone placement and differences in acoustic conditions; one therefore uses for a particular recording whatever treble roll-off or bass turn-over makes it sound right—more often a "wrong" than a "right" one, and most often the 500-cycle bass turn-over, the single compromise turn-over of my Brook. The usefulness of the equalizer, then, is that of a special type of tone control; and the Brociner, with separate controls for treble roll-offs and bass turn-overs, is more useful than those—like the new Brook—with a single control providing a number of combined treble-and-bass characteristics.

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OTHER FEATURES

Few magazines would dare print this article! But you will be able to read it in *The Nation* soon. It is one of many dramatic features we are planning for the coming months. Others include Aneurin Bevan's own story of his recent trip to the Far East; a three-part series on Automation—the story of today's "thinking machine"—by John Diebold; vignettes on Big Business by T. K. Quinn, who turned down a chance to become president of General Electric; a series on the atomic age by Leland Olds, former federal power commissioner and one of the country's best-known authorities on public power.

• * •

TOP COVERAGE

Besides these special features, The Nation *will continue to give its unsurpassed regular coverage of politics and the arts.* Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo will be writing a weekly page from Europe during the summer; Bruce Catton, W. Macmahon Ball, Alexander Werth, and our other contributing editors will continue to cover current national and international events; B. H. Haggin on music, S. Lane Faison, Jr., on art, Harold Clurman on the theater, Manny Farber on films, together with a distinguished list of book critics, will maintain *The Nation's* traditional eminence in the field of culture.

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MY 18'53

JOURNEY TO INDIA BY ANEURIN BEVAN

THE Nation

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May 16, 1953
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Indo-China: The Black Market War

By Claude Bourdet

Teacher as Rebel	*Howard K. Beale*
Give It Away!	*Michael Straus*
Kingsley Martin's "Laski"	*Robert Lynd*

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

Letters

Some Pros and Cons on Alan Barth's Article

Dear Sirs: I have greatly admired Alan Barth and fully appreciate his castigation of Congress on the Campus in the April 18 issue, an unusually good number. However, as one who early this month had to invoke the Fifth Amendment before the irresponsible Committee on Un-American Activities, using other and loftier grounds, in order to escape the very penalties Barth has so well described, I bitterly resent the sentence: "For my part, I think that teachers who plead the privilege against self-incrimination are neither admirable nor astute."

Will he kindly tell those who do not need to use the amendment how they may be "admirable and astute" without doing so? The alternative, it seems to me, is to strike a pose and go to jail or else to crawl and cooperate in the public rape of the Bill of Rights. If only Communists use the amendment, it will soon be gone; if those who assert their rights are destroyed, will the rights survive? Barth subtly stands aside as if the appetite of the agents of American reaction could be satisfied, with his approval, on a diet of 25,000 American Communists.

Barth . . . must see that the undermining of the "self-incrimination" part of the Fifth Amendment weakens the more important "due process" part, which the un-Americans are already bypassing by *legislative* trials that mock judicial procedure. He must know that one federal court has said that it is one's duty before a legislative inquisition to stand on the Fifth Amendment.

I am finishing an analysis of this matter and a report of my experience with the anti-democratic committee which friends are bringing out in pamphlet form under the title "I Decline." Inquiries should be addressed to me at 3518 Union Street, San Diego 1.

HARRY C. STEINMETZ
San Diego, Cal.

Dear Sirs: Mr. Barth's piece in the April 18 issue on the investigation of universities by Congressional committees is as complete and wise a statement on the universities' responsibilities as any I have seen.
JACOB FINE
Boston, Mass.

Dear Sirs: I believe that *The Nation* has performed an unusually timely public service in publishing Alan Barth's article, Congress on the Campus, in the April 18 issue.
E. EVERETT AUER
East Orange, N. J.

Dear Sirs: I have read Alan Barth's article, Congress on the Campus, with much interest. Although his objective of attacking the Congressional assault on liberal college professors is highly laudable, there is in my judgment a fundamental weakness in his basic approach. . . .

I see only one effective solution—enactment of a law, or a Constitutional amendment if necessary, which will specifically define and regulate [the Congressional] power of inquiry and restrict this right to the sole purpose of ascertaining facts to be utilized in the preparation of valid legislation. As it is, the Constitution is silent on the subject, and the power of Congress to inquire, for limited purposes, has been asserted by the judiciary to exist by implication. . . . I understand that Senator Kefauver has introduced a bill which attempts to regulate, inadequately, the Congressional investigation. I have written to him about it, suggesting a much broader bill.

HENRY MULLER
Oakland, Cal.

Un-American Spectacle

Dear Sirs: A few days ago I dropped in on the Un-American Activities Committee's public hearings. What I saw was a revolting display of intolerance and cruelty. It isn't pleasant to see a young man bullied, humiliated, and insulted because he is idealistic, and indignant that tomorrow morning in our city of Los Angeles he will be a pariah among his fellows, denied his right as an American to earn a living for himself and his family. . . .

It was no less painful to hear a successful composer . . . state that on the morrow he would be at a loss to pay his rent and feed his family. It is difficult to believe that I or anyone else was seriously endangered by this elderly, frightened little man who had come to this country for "freedom" and whose family had died in German gas chambers. Or by the middle-aged barber who was hesitant about giving his address aloud for fear his home might be stoned, as has happened in similar cases in Los Angeles.

"Unfriendly" witnesses were booed by the audience, but when my friend next to me applauded such a witness, he was immediately admonished by a deputy marshal. . . .

Mr. Doyle of the committee seems basically to be an honest and sincere man. . . . It must be stated that the committee counsel presented the questions in a courteous and gentlemanly manner. But the acting chairman, Mr. Jackson, was boorish and insulting, banging his gavel in such frenzy as to leave no doubt of the persecutory nature of these inquiries. I agree with the young witness's reply to the Jacksons of the world: "You'll never pound the truth into dust with that gavel."

ARTHUR E. ROBSON, JR.
Los Angeles, Cal.

Book Contest for Poets

Dear Sirs: I have just announced the annual Swallow Poetry Book Award for the best book of poems, of any length and without restriction upon form or subject. The award will be book publication, at usual royalty terms, and a prize of $250, of which $200 will be outright award and the other $50 an advance against royalties.

Closing date for the competition will be September 15 of each year, the first contest closing September 15, 1953. The committee of judges for the award consists of John Nerber, Alan A. Stephens, Robert Greenwood (secretary), and Alan Swallow, *ex officio*. Manuscripts submitted to the contest must be addressed to me at 2679 South York Street, Denver 10.
ALAN SWALLOW
Denver, Colo.

Correction

Dear Sirs: In my article, The Mess in Indo-China, which appeared in your issue of April 25, my statement on Franco-American expenses in Indo-China should have read: "Since 1946 the French have spent about $5,700,000,000 on the war in Indo-China. For the past few years the United States has supplied up to a third of French expenditures."
New York
HELEN MEARS

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EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Retreat at Hell's Canyon

Nobody who followed Republican campaign oratory has much reason to be surprised that Secretary of the Interior McKay is backing away from the Hell's Canyon project. General Eisenhower had made the position his Administration would take quite clear. His complaints against the power-hungry bureaucracy, his demand for more local control of the big power projects, his petulant remark that the federal government has been trying to do everything but come into the home and tell the housewife how to wash her dishes—all this was the power-lobby line.

Nevertheless, Secretary McKay's action is profoundly dismaying. The issue in the Hell's Canyon case is extremely simple: should the federal government proceed with a great multi-purpose project that will aid flood control, navigation, and irrigation and add more than a million kilowatts to the nation's power supply, or should it be kept from doing so in order that a private company may make a profit by generating half as much power without any supplementary benefits whatever? If the nation's rivers should be used primarily for the advantage of the people who own them, there can be only one answer to that question. The Eisenhower Administration has given a wholly different answer.

Neither Hell's Canyon nor any similar project will ever be built unless the national government makes a really determined fight for it. This Administration has chosen not to fight. That the decision was only to be expected does not make it any less shocking.

Man Without a Party

General de Gaulle's R. P. F. has reverted to the form and purpose with which it began; no longer a party, it becomes a "rally" or movement aimed at arousing sentiment for a drastic reform of the government of France. But when the General founded his *Rassemblement* in 1947 he had behind him almost 40 per cent of the voters; then he had reason to believe that the people, sick of factional politics, might put him in office as a national leader, above parties and endowed with strong executive powers. What he seemed to be aiming at was a corporative state ruled by a one-party government constitutionally elected.

The idea was not potent enough to defeat the parties or the old French fear of the man on horseback. De Gaulle's organization became a party like the rest, but cursed with ultra-nationalist policies and a disproportionate number of Vichy left-overs. Today his following, measured by the vote in the recent local elections, has dwindled to about 10 per cent. So the reconstitution of the R. P. F. as a non-party movement occurs under auspices of defeat, with the General's war-time prestige unable to provide any of the necessary glamour or élan. Its practical effect may be little beyond augmenting the power of the "traditional" right, already strengthened by heavy defections from the R. P. F.

Fourth Down and Three to Go

Judge Luther Youngdahl's opinion dismissing four counts in the perjury indictment against Owen Lattimore, including the outrageous first count, which based a charge of perjury on Lattimore's denial that he had ever sympathized with or promoted Communist interests (see Perjury or Heresy? in *The Nation* of February 28), makes good reading in this season of heresy hunts. Only the claque of professional witch-hunters which has enlisted in McCarthy's drive for the Presidency in 1956 will question Judge Youngdahl's good faith or the cogency of his reasoning. "Communism's fallacy and viciousness can be demonstrated," he pointed out, "without striking down the protection of the First Amendment of discourse, discussion, and debate." Already, however, the snipers are at work: David Lawrence, writing in the New York *Herald Tribune,* which gave editorial indorsement to the ruling, questions the Judge's "fitness" to preside at the trial, darkly intimating that he may be one of those heretics who believe in free speech. Celebration of the decision, moreover, should be tempered by the realization that Judge Youngdahl is the rare case among District of Columbia judges of a man who was not trained by the F. B. I., schooled in the Department of Justice, and given judicial appointment as a reward for services rendered the Administration in power.

Now, of course, is Mr. Brownell's opportunity to

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demonstrate that he is not to be intimidated by McCarthy and McCarran. Acting on Judge Youngdahl's remark that the materiality of the remaining counts is very questionable, he should restore public confidence in the independence and integrity of the Department of Justice by moving their dismissal. But given the timidity of the Eisenhower Administration, it is more likely that he will order the department to appeal the decision. Even so, Lattimore's ultimate vindication has been advanced several yards; it is now fourth down and three to go.

Wagner and His Work

Regret over the death last week of Senator Robert F. Wagner gains poignancy from the fact that in his four years of illness and retirement so many of the political gains he helped to win were swept into the discard. A calm man and a philosopher for all his reforming zeal, he surely knew that this era, too, would pass; but he must also have realized with sorrow how long it would take to restore what was being recklessly destroyed—safeguards laboriously built to protect the nation's resources, the welfare of its people, and their civic freedoms.

Tributes published since the Senator's death have taken pains to point out that the famous Wagner act formed the basis of the Taft-Hartley law that succeeded it; and technically this was true. But the profound distortion of the meaning of the National Labor Relations Act that was embodied in the new law might serve as a symbol of the fate that has overtaken many of the reforms for which Senator Wagner fought. It is sad to have him go, but far worse to see how few there are left to carry on his work.

Danger of Retaliation

A spokesman for one branch of the chemical industry told the Ways and Means Committee on April 28 that implementation of the "trade—not aid" theory could prove "ruinous to many branches of industry." But a Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act weighed down with clauses designed to raise trade barriers instead of lowering them would not only handicap American exports but could easily "prove ruinous" to American foreign policy. Already the hardening of tariff sentiment in Congress since the last election, together with such Administration actions as the rejection of a British manufacturer's low bid for the supply of electrical machinery at Chief Joseph Dam, has aroused the indignation of our allies.

Talk of retaliation is growing. The Canadian Parliament on April 28 loudly applauded a member who proposed that, if the United States raised lead and zinc duties excessively, Canada should impose export taxes on nickel and asbestos—two strategic materials for which this country is absolutely dependent on Canada. Venezuela, which buys half a billion dollars' worth of goods here each year, also threatens to hit back if its shipments of oil are restricted.

Again, we should remember that we have recently put pressure on our allies to reduce their sales to the Eastern bloc to a minimum. What response do we deserve if we place new obstacles in the way of their goods? Can we say to Britain: We won't buy your generators because they are too competitively priced, but don't you dare try to sell them to Russia or China? It is not surprising that Western European countries are actively seeking trade outlets behind the Iron Curtain, or that, as Michael Hoffman reports in the New York *Times,* "the Russians and their allies are playing a shrewd game designed to capitalize on the growing frustration . . . over United States trade policy."

Knowledge for What?

In his recent address to the Association of National Advertisers meeting at Hot Springs, Virginia, Dr. Ernest Dichter, president of the Institute for Research in Mass Motivations, failed to clarify the issues raised in Ralph Goodman's provocative and widely read piece Freud and the Hucksters (*The Nation,* February 14). Social scientists, he said, should stop "sneering" at the hucksters —Mr. Goodman implied that they were flirting, not sneering—and the hucksters should cease regarding social scientists as "long-haired idealists" with no real understanding of human nature. In short, Dr. Dichter, one of the social scientists mentioned in Mr. Goodman's article, feels that the growing collaboration between social scientists and hucksters should be encouraged.

It is doubtless true, as he suggests, that social scientists should show more interest in soap operas, comic strips, and popular magazines. Nor will it be denied that the hucksters' technique can be used to "sell" better race relations and induce a higher percentage of voters to turn out at the polls. What disturbs us about this budding collaboration between the heirs of Veblen and the heirs of Barnum is the assumption that the goals toward which their efforts point are always worthy and desirable. Who determines what is to be sold? Is the product to be Eisenhower or Stevenson? inflation or deflation? war or peace? the United Nations or a star-spangled American empire?

We are immediately suspicious and not a little irate when we are told that the social scientist should concentrate on understanding "the forms of resistance . . . which interfere with the smooth and intelligent functioning of human behavior." Do we need smoother functioning automatons or more citizens who do their own thinking? Why should social scientists concentrate on drilling the masses so that they will march smoothly and efficiently toward goals about which they have not been consulted? Everyone will agree with Dr. Dichter that the study of motivations is important; but Robert S. Lynd's haunting query—knowledge for what?—deserves an answer from the hucksters and the growing number of social scientists who are collaborating with them.

Now The Students

Until recently college students felt only at second-hand the effect of the witch hunts on the campus. But on April 8 the readers of *Spectator,* the Columbia undergraduate daily, learned that Dean Nicholas D. McKnight's office not only furnished prospective employers with a student's grades but with a "loyalty report" as well. Just a week before that the Senate Internal Security subcommittee had subpoenaed its first two student witnesses, Jonathan W. and David L. Lubell, both enrolled at the Harvard Law School. When the brothers refused to testify on the ground that they might incriminate themselves, Samuel P. Stears, president of the Massachusetts Bar Association, branded them "unfit for admission to the bar in any of our states" and demanded their expulsion. Although Dean Erwin N. Griswold announced that no disciplinary action would be taken against the Lubells, they were dropped from the editorial board of the Harvard *Record* after the Alumni Association of the Law School threatened to withdraw its financial aid from the weekly.

The Lubell brothers are not the only students who will find it hard to get a job when they graduate. At a recent meeting of the New York Board of Higher Education four students who had protested against the dismissal of six municipal-college teachers for refusing to testify bemore the Senate subcommittee were warned by a member of the board, Gustave G. Rosenberg: "Your names are being taken down. Some day you may want to apply for admission to the bar or to some other place. . . . Why don't you watch what you say?"

Tidelands Oil and the Political Tides

THE valiant fight in the United States Senate against the offshore oil grab went down to defeat, as everybody knew it would. The vote was 56 to 35. As sad as the result was the manner in which it was achieved. Nearly half the Democrats—all but two of them Dixiecrats—voted for the grab. Not unexpectedly, the gentlemen who were bribed not to walk out of the Democratic Party in Chicago have made good on their first opportunity—since Eisenhower became President—to walk into the Republican fold in Washington.

Yet on the basic issues involved it was a battle that was lost, and not the war. The victory forced through by the forces of privilege and states' rights may yet turn out to be one of the most expensive in many years.

The fight was an eye-opener—for members of the Senate, and for the public at large. It compelled the Eisenhower Administration to show its hand. Here was the first consequential piece of legislation put through by a new Administration which has been extraordinarily dilatory about setting the legislative machinery to work. The fight showed this legislation up for what it really was—a naked give-away to the oil barons, the all-important first step in an unadorned program to plunder the people of their infinitely valuable basic resources (see the article by Michael Straus on page 416).

More important, the fight broke the newspaper blockade and let in a bit of light on the program itself and on the forces and the motives that lie behind it. From the beginning, the insuperable problem facing the opponents of this unblushing give-away was the simple fact that it was all but impossible to get anybody very excited about it. The very name adopted by proponents of the give-away—"tidelands oil"—worked in their favor. No citizen of New England, the Middle West, the Far West or anywhere else was due to take very much interest in what might happen to the tidelands of Louisiana, Florida, Texas, or California. A publisher whose paper follows the line that this noble Administration is simply trying to "clean up the mess in Washington"—and what publisher's paper doesn't?—had the best of excuses for failing to enlighten his readers about the oil steal. They just did not care about it.

As a result the overwhelming majority of newspaper readers had no reason to suppose that this immense swindle was anything more than what its proponents called it—a simple business of returning to the states certain properties which a wrong-headed federal government had unjustly taken away from them.

THIS MEANT that the Senate opponents of the steal were all but helpless. All the pressure came from the oil interests. A Senator could make important enemies by opposing the grab, but as far as anyone could tell he could make no enemies of any consequence by going along with it. So the skids were greased and the give-away was foreordained.

But the fight broke the blockade: that is, it compelled the newspapers to present the people's side of the case. It did that simply by its intensity and its semi-filibuster qualities. Senator Morse's twenty-two-hour speech, for instance, was news. Something had to be printed about it. No matter how stout an effort might be made to portray Morse, and the other Senators who were opposing the grab, as a publicity-mad species of flagpole sitter, in the end something of what the Senators were actually saying had to be printed.

It took a long-drawn-out fight to accomplish this. A debate of three or four days would never have done it. A debate that ran through a month did it by sheer weight. The opponents of the oil grab said quite correctly that they were not conducting a filibuster. They were trying to educate the public: which is to say, they were trying to break through the barrier erected by a one-party press and give the public the facts about a matter of vital public concern. In that effort they succeeded. For the one time since the Eisenhower Administration took office, the daily press found itself obliged to give a certain amount of space to arguments in opposition to something which the Eisenhower Administration was trying to do. That was a tremendous achievement.

NOR WAS it an achievement that simply hangs in a vacuum, as something to be admired in the abstract. People have been alerted, and succeeding give-aways will come much harder than this one. Senator Morse, for instance, received some 2,500 letters shortly after he made his long speech—letters, be it remarked, that did not come from Oregon, but were written by people living all across the country. Not more than a dozen of these letters took him to task for his speech. All the rest praised the speech and its objective.

For another illustration, consider the case of a certain Eastern Senator who was opposed to the oil grab but who had not planned to speak on it at all, figuring that nobody in his state cared about it. He found himself on the floor, one afternoon, with the speaking program coming to a sudden pause, so that more or less against his will he got on his feet and spoke against the give-away. To his utter amazement his office was flooded during the following week with letters from back home—letters indorsing his stand and urging him to keep up the good fight. "My God!" he said. "I've struck a political bonanza!"

A number of the Senators who voted for the give-away are beginning to be tormented by doubts. The business does not look quite as innocent now as it looked a month ago. The simple fact is that the people of the United States are quite as firmly attached to their national property as they ever were. All they need is to be told when someone is trying to lay hands on it. In this instance they were at last told something of the truth about what is going on in Washington.

The next fight will be a little different. There will be a "next fight," of course, and several more after that: the success of the oil grab has only whetted the big interests' appetite. But it won't be quite so easy from here on in. There does exist in the Senate a solid core of men who will stand up and battle about things like this. They have learned how to compel the newspapers to present both sides of the story. They have shown that when that happens the people react vigorously. It may not be going too far to say that in its victory on the offshore oil case, the Eisenhower Administration took the first long step toward its ultimate downfall.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

The French Workers Wake Up

Paris

AFTER many months of calm an epidemic of strikes has broken out. The most talked-about has been the strike in the Renault plants, where the workers, traditionally militant, have always been a cause of concern to the Ministry of the Interior. But the special importance of this walk-out is that it followed close upon other like demonstrations in certain public services of the Paris area and that it is evidently not to be the last. Only a few days ago, on the eve of the great May 1 celebration, a strike of the French Line's ships' officers prevented the sailing of all the line's ships. Twenty-four hours later the majority of bank employees, including some 60 to 80 per cent of the organized workers in the biggest banks, walked out during the morning hours, simply as a warning. Similar partial strikes, limited to a few hours each, have been called on several of the railroad lines, while various industrial concerns and business offices report a growing "strike atmosphere."

All this is a clear indication that the workers of France are becoming restive and angry. There has not been any substantial increase in wages since 1951; in the meantime prices have been going up. If it were not for the "family compensations"—state subsidies for each child—the workers would be actually hungry. But even with the allowances nobody knows how the majority of Frenchmen manage to survive. Almost every earned franc must go for food. To buy a shirt or a pair of shoes is a serious matter.

The workers are angry, but of course few tourists, and even fewer correspondents, have occasion to talk to them. The strikes we are witnessing are not only an answer to the hardships of today but an anticipation of the great economic crisis now in the making, which the workers correctly feel will hit them hardest. Yet it would narrow the problem unduly to relate it exclusively to economics. At the bottom there is a political element—the bitterness of the workingman who sees reaction everywhere again in control, who watches the war in Indo-China move from disaster to disaster, who regards with dread the prospect of a new German army.

SINCE THIS awakening has both a political and an economic character, its significance should not be minimized. It has created a climate favorable to unity of action on the left—at present the main objective of Communist strategy. We are still very far from a return to the People's Front. The wounds inflicted during the long Communist-Socialist feud will be slower to heal than the Communists imagine. The Communists offered the Socialists a deal whereby in the run-off either party would withdraw its own candidate in favor of the other, depending on which had the best chance to win. The offer was rejected. The Socialists said that the tone of the proposal "confirmed that for you [the Communists] to promote the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is still more important than to secure genuine unity of action." (None the less, in a number of instances Communists did combine at local level with the Socialists to put a Socialist in office.) A Socialist leader to whom I talked said, "What can one expect? Personally, I am inclined to examine their proposals, but most of my comrades do not wish to be embraced today and then called 'traitors,' 'Social Fascists,' or 'Social Democrats' in a contemptuous way the very moment our party fails to identify itself 100 per cent with each Communist initiative. They must change a good deal before we can march together again." But he admitted that if the situation continues to deteriorate, the demand by the Socialist workers for unity of action "might become almost irresistible."

If inter-party cooperation is still impossible, in the unions the tendency is developing more rapidly. In many factories unity of action among Communist, Socialist, and Catholic workers is already a fact. The Communists are persistently trying to bring about a degree of collaboration among the leaders of the three great organizations—the C. G. T., predominantly Communist; the Force Ouvrière, non-Communist, headed by Léon Jouhaux; and the C. F. T. C., the Christian workers' federation. Several actions in the Renault factories were jointly fought, with responsible elements of both the C. G. T. and the C. F. T. C. displaying impressive unanimity. But high-level agreement is not yet in view.

REAL UNITY of action will require more elasticity on the part of the Communists. Gradually the most "sectarian" leaders have been put on the shelf: some have been sent to East Germany or shifted to subaltern positions where they cannot endanger the policy of rapprochement. The Communists hope to break the isolation in which they have existed since their departure from the government by devoting their main effort to political work rather than to immediate goals. They want to regain their wartime credit as defenders of the true interests of France. I have heard them, these days, praise not only a man of the moderate and consistent insight of Pierre Mendès-France but Edouard Daladier, whom they attacked bitterly when he reappeared in the Assembly after the war. Daladier is now against German rearmament and the Indo-China war, and that is enough to rehabilitate him!

It would be silly, however, to devote too much irony to these changes of front. Behind all the party maneuvers is something much more important—the reappearance of the workers in the political arena. This could have a profound effect on future political developments in Europe. We are only at the beginning of a new trend, and I shall be much surprised if the time-tested tactics of stressing the danger of a Russian invasion, in which fewer Frenchmen believe with each day that passes, will succeed in sending the workers back to sleep again.

INDO-CHINA

Black-Market War . . *by Claude Bourdet*

Paris

IN *THE NATION* of April 25 Helen Mears called the war in Indo-China "a mess." For France and Indo-China it is worse than a mess. "Cancer" or "ulcer" is the word used by writers of all shades of opinion in the French press. Not only has the war cost France more than twice the total amount of American aid for all purposes, civilian and military—as the President of the French Republic stressed in a famous speech last year—but the loss of life has been appalling. It is generally admitted that at least as many officers as are graduated yearly from Saint-Cyr, the French West Point, have been killed or disabled every year. If France cannot produce an army worth speaking about in Europe, it is because of the war in Indo-China.

The moral effect is even worse. The difference between the official and the actual value of the Indo-Chinese currency—until a few days ago the piastre was equal officially to seventeen francs but brought only nine on the free market—has given rise to financial speculation on a huge scale by both commercial firms and political parties, taking advantage of their official connections. Last year the director of the powerful bank of Indo-China, M. Laurent, told me a few months before he died that black-market deals in the piastre certainly amounted to more than ten billion francs a year. The whole of French political life is infected. Last week M. Jean-Jacques Servan Schreiber, a French journalist who achieved some notoriety in America when he broke with *Le Monde* because he considered it not sufficiently pro-American but has recently returned to that paper, wrote an article which caused a sensation in Paris. On the basis of the report of the parliamentary committee which has just come back from Indo-China, he said that the truth about the Indo-Chinese war was worse than anybody suspected, that the main reason why it continued was that it brought such huge profits to powerful interests. He even hinted that certain groups have assiduously sabotaged, year after year, all attempts at a peaceful settlement. M. Servan Schreiber's evidence doubtless helped influence the government to put through a long over-due downward revision of the piastre from seventeen francs to ten.

It should be emphasized that after Ho Chi-minh had been recognized by France as head of the Vietnam Republic in 1946, he made a real effort to reach an understanding with France. He sat down with the French at a round-table conference in Fontainebleau, but the negotiations were wrecked by the French High Commissioner in Indo-China, Admiral d'Argenlieu, who, in the absence of Ho Chi-minh, tried to organize Vietnam in three separate states. Later the French gave up this idea and put Bao Dai back as emperor.

PEACE might still have been preserved if in November, 1946, after a dispute between French and Vietnamese customs officials in Haiphong over one of the numerous financial questions left unsolved at Fontainebleau, the French army and navy had not opened fire on the town of Haiphong, killing, according to the admiral commanding the fleet, 6,000 Vietnamese civilians—men, women, and children. These facts were not disclosed to the French people till years afterward, when Professor Paul Mus, then head of the French Colonial School and later professor at Yale, and Philippe Devillers published exhaustive surveys of the Indo-Chinese situation. Neither of these men have the faintest leaning toward communism.

The Haiphong incident was very meagerly reported, but when a month later a Vietnam attack in Hanoi killed forty Frenchmen, the Paris press ran huge headlines on the scandalous and unprovoked "aggression." And the war began. Even then Ho Chi-minh tried for an agreement, appealing to the French Socialist Minister of Colonial Affairs for a truce and a treaty and being told that there could be "no talks with the aggressors."

In 1947 he made a second appeal. The government's answer, transmitted by Professor Mus, was utterly unrealistic in the light of subsequent events. It asked for the disarmament and concentration of Vietnamese troops, which were yet unbeaten, and for the delivery to the French authorities of all non-Vietnamese in the republican army—a condition whose only precedent in recent history is found in Hitler's demands on the Vichy government. Ho Chi-minh replied, says Professor Mus, that he had accepted the principle of the French Union (a less liberal equivalent of the British Commonwealth) and that "he understood there was no room in the French Union for cowards, and he would be a coward if he accepted the French terms."

The war went on. But it turned into something very different from what the military optimists in Paris and Indo-China foresaw in 1946. The republican army—generally known in France and Western countries as the Vietminh army, Vietminh being one of the former names of Ho Chi-minh's National Front—developed into a powerful and extremely mobile instrument, well trained, well disciplined, well equipped. Its arms are either obtained by lend-lease or purchase from the U. S. S. R., Communist China, and the People's Republics or are bought from Western armament firms in one of the neutral markets of the Far East. M. Laurent, whom I mentioned above, told me he believed Ho Chi-minh's government was able to buy most of its war material with the funds brought in by its very efficient taxation system; taxes are paid promptly even by French firms, which

CLAUDE BOURDET is a distinguished French journalist who began his career as editor of the Resistance paper Combat. *He is now editor of* l'Observateur.

fear bombs or other reprisals if they are not "nice" about it. Incidentally, the huge sale of piastres against dollars by Ho Chi-minh in Hongkong and elsewhere explains the two currency rates.

Against the Vietminh army the French have used every possible weapon, every possible species of mercenary or voluntary soldier except French recruits, which the government could not possibly send to Indo-China, the war being so unpopular in France. But although these troops—French volunteers in quest of adventure, German Nazis making a new start, African mercenaries, and a growing number of Vietnamese soldiers possibly attracted by high pay and other advantages—fight well, and although the continuous flow of American material gives the French army ever-increasing power of destruction, the situation is developing every year and every month to the advantage of Ho Chi-minh.

Now the Vietminh army has come down from the north and invaded the Indo-Chinese state of Laos with the help of native partisans. The extreme complexity of the political situation is indicated by the fact that the Laotian allies of Ho Chi-minh are commanded by the brother of the king's Prime Minister.

THE EVIDENCE shows that the military successes of the Vietminh would be impossible if it were not supported by the major part of the population. Since 1947 this truth has been slowly dawning on the reactionary minds of French colonialists. When the ex-emperor Bao Dai was called back by the French and made the head of an "independent" Vietnam state, the French granted him, at least theoretically, a larger degree of independence than Ho Chi-minh had asked for in vain in 1946. But they granted it grudgingly, and the Vietnamese and other Indo-Chinese always had the impression that the French tried to take back with one hand what they gave with the other and, moreover, that what they did give was due to Ho Chi-minh's military successes. Many French journalists have been asked in Vietnam, "If you really managed to beat Ho Chi-minh, wouldn't you immediately try to set up the old colonial system again?" This feeling is not of course very helpful to the moral consolidation of the Bao Dai regime. Moreover, Bao Dai's ministers are generally considered corrupt and inefficient, while there is nearly universal respect for the ability and moral integrity of the men around Ho Chi-minh, whether Communist or non-Communist.

Bao Dai's failure, however, may have other causes than the small-mindedness of French colonialists and the lack of decent leaders in his camp. Vietnam is largely an agricultural country and most of the people behind Bao Dai are those who own big (100 acres) or medium-sized (10 acres) farms; in the north these men own 40 per cent, in the center 25 per cent, and in the south 80 per cent of the land. This means that there is a huge proportion of almost landless families; 98 per cent of the landowners in the north, 99 per cent in the center, and 72 per cent in the south own on the average but one acre. As in China, the strength of the Ho Chi-minh regime derives from its lowering of rents, distribution of large estates, and protection of the small peasant.

If it is asked why the Bao Dai regime does not follow the same policy, the answer is, of course, that never in modern or ancient history has a landed aristocracy or bourgeoisie voluntarily sacrificed its wealth for some higher purpose. If we are going to wait for this miracle, the war may well go on forever—or until France is totally exhausted or has suffered a major defeat.

Is there, then, some other solution? Many people even in the French business world have begun to realize that the Asian Communists seem to be, at least in China and Indo-China, the only political group able to solve the crucial agrarian problem, which is the source of the tragic poverty of these lands. They feel that it would be better to find some basis of agreement with these regimes than to bind them together by trying forcibly to eradicate them, thus pushing China into Russia's arms and the Vietnam Republic into China's. The Vietnam Republic, or Vietminh, is not as yet a one-party state, like Mao's China, but contains a large proportion of democratic nationalists, and even the Communists are afraid of too much Chinese influence. It may be assumed, therefore, that if a truce could be negotiated, if peace could be secured, some sort of understanding could be reached between the West and Indo-China. It might even be that under Communist or semi-Communist leadership Indo-China would be far more amenable to cooperation with the West than is China or Russia, even the new post-Stalin Russia.

These views have representatives, open or secret, on the most anti-Communist benches in the French Parliament. But every French government has come to think of the Indo-China war as the major source of American dollars and good-will. No government yet has had the courage to tell America that this war is a liability for the whole Western world. Moreover, the "Indo-China lobby" in Paris is at least as powerful as the China lobby in Washington. Its present aim is to internationalize the war while keeping the "piastres" profits for itself. Its latest trick is to try to coax the French government into asking the U. N. to intervene because of the Vietminh invasion of Laos. But some French Ministers have pointed out that this might be exceedingly risky. The Vietnam Republic is at war with France; the Laotian authorities have little real existence and anyhow no power to maintain their independence; the French army has the free use of the Laotian territory, and it would be very difficult to explain in the U. N. that the Vietminh was committing "aggression" when pursuing French troops through Laos. Moreover, the position of the Laotian "king" and government is not at all clear, and in any case it is pretty certain that the whole of the Arab-Asian bloc would denounce French colonial policies in Asia and elsewhere.

Ho Chi-minh

TEACHER AS REBEL

His War for Freedom . . *by Howard K. Beale*

"FREEDOM" in our schools and universities is often attacked, frequently defended, rarely defined. Many who have insisted upon it for themselves have not believed in it for persons in other fields. There has always been a struggle between those who sought security for their possessions and beliefs and those who wanted the progress and growth that come through the activity of the free and inquiring mind.

Educational freedom today means (1) that no religious, political, social, racial, or other non-educational factor shall influence the appointment of teachers; (2) that teachers shall be protected against dismissal for religious, political, racial, or social views or for membership in any religious, political, racial or national-origin group, while remaining liable to dismissal for incompetence, neglect of duty, moral turpitude, violation of the freedom of others, or conviction of crime under the laws of the land; (3) that teachers have the right to a fair hearing when accused; (4) that their freedom of conduct, both public and private, shall be no more restricted than that of other citizens; (5) that students shall be allowed to hear all points of view on controversial subjects fairly presented, and to formulate their own opinions. Those who have fought for this concept of freedom have believed that the best, indeed the only sure, way to inculcate and support sound views is by persuasion and discussion. They have been convinced that in a free forum the truth will prevail.

The case for freedom was perhaps never better stated than when Charles Evans Hughes, Chief Justice of the United States, condemned loyalty tests in New York schools at another time of public alarm in these words:

> Freedom of learning is the vital breath of democracy and progress. I trust that . . . our public schools—for the mass of our young people can know no other—. . . may enjoy the priceless advantages of courses . . . designed to promote the acquisition of all knowledge and may not be placed under restrictions to prevent it, and that our teachers and professors may be encouraged, not to regard themselves as the pliant tools of power, but to dedicate their lives to the highest of all purposes, to know and to teach the truth, the whole truth. . . . This is the path of salvation of men and democracy.

CURRENT ATTACKS upon the freedom of American schools and universities can best be understood against the background of earlier struggles. In colonial days we had neither religious nor academic freedom. Schools were originally set up to promote the religious views of the dominant element in the community. Religious soundness was the chief criterion of fitness to teach. The first president of Harvard College, for instance, was driven from his post and from the colony when he accepted the Baptist view of infant baptism. As late as the end of the colonial period President Clapp of Yale made the interesting ruling: "Though every man has a right to examine and judge for himself according to truth; yet no man has a right to judge wrong." Teachers, however, were scarce; suppression of heresy proved difficult. In communities that needed more people economic prosperity was promoted by tolerating men of unorthodox, even dangerous views.

The men who founded our nation included freedom of religion among the fundamental freedoms. An established church was abandoned. Gradually, the idea of separation of church and state was accepted. In our early national period advocates of freedom won removal of legal penalties for wrong views and practices even in the field where error was considered most dangerous, provided always that the offender was a Trinitarian Protestant Christian. Legal discrimination against Jews, Catholics, Unitarians, and atheists was also finally abolished. Public schools were protected against control by religious pressure groups.

For a time during the Revolution political as well as religious conformity was required of teachers. All states established test oaths for civil officials; New Jersey had one that applied specifically to teachers. Since a large proportion of the educated people were loyal to England, a good many teachers were affected. President Cooper of King's College, now Columbia University, not only lost his job but fled half-clad over a fence to a British sloop to escape indignant "patriots."

Then came the French Revolution and the struggle in this country between the Hamiltonian men of property and the Jeffersonians who acclaimed the "French" ideas of liberty and equality. A sedition act passed by the Hamiltonians imposed severe restrictions upon criticism of the government. While the fear of dangerous French ideas was at its height, Harvard dropped its courses in the French language and literature. But in the end those who sought to restrict free speech were overwhelmingly repudiated by the voters. The Jeffersonians repealed the sedition act and reestablished our freedoms. Harvard, after eight years, restored French to the curriculum.

IN THE mid-nineteenth century slavery became the most bitterly contested issue before the American people. Southern slaveholders were the greatest propertied interest in the country. Northern manufacturers and other men of wealth sympathized with the slaveholders' desire to protect their property. The antislavery agitation threatened not only the property and labor system, but the very social stability of the South. Abolition

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HOWARD K. BEALE, professor of history at the University of Wisconsin, is the author of "Are American Teachers Free?" and "A History of Freedom in American Schools," both written for the American Historical Association's Commission on Social Studies in the Schools.

was as frightening to Southern whites as communism is today to Americans in all parts of the country. Southern states made it a crime to teach Negroes. Throughout the South teachers were dismissed and often driven from the community for asserting that to hold men in bondage was wrong. Among them were President Partridge of Mississippi College, Professor Birney of Centre College, and the whole faculty of Berea. At the University of North Carolina Professor Hedrick was dismissed for supporting a subversive organization—the Republican Party.

Since Abolitionists were Northerners, the principle of guilt by association made all Northern teachers and books suspect in Southern schools. At one time even Northern schools and colleges suppressed criticism of slavery. Connecticut and New Hampshire mobs attacked schools that accepted Negroes. Miami University, Kenyon College, and Lane Theological Seminary banned student anti-slavery societies as subversive. Anti-slavery professors were dismissed at Lane and Harvard, and Harvard students threw rotten eggs at the college's distinguished alumnus, Ralph Waldo Emerson, when he gave an anti-slavery lecture. On the other hand, the President of Franklin College was forced out because of his pro-slavery views. Harvard dismissed Judge Loring from a law lectureship because he had enforced the law and returned a fugitive Negro to the South.

After war broke out, the presidents of Bowdoin and Dartmouth and teachers in many places were dismissed for defending slavery and secession. Then, for fifty years after the war ended, its issues were refought. The United Daughters of the Confederacy in the South, the Grand Army of the Republic in the North attacked teachers and textbooks and tried to replace sound history with the version they preferred. Publishing houses and textbook writers had to put out one kind of history for the South and another for the North.

MEANWHILE SCIENTISTS were making new discoveries and presenting the hypothesis of evolution to the world. In many places teachers who introduced the new knowledge in their classrooms and professors of theology who applied it to their religious teaching were fired: for example, at the Baptist Seminary in Louisville, the Presbyterian Seminary in South Carolina, and at Vanderbilt in Tennessee. The appointment of Harvard's great president, Eliot, was opposed on the ground that a scientist could not maintain sound education; powerful members of the Board of Overseers tried unsuccessfully to prevent Eliot's having John Fiske lecture at Harvard on evolution. At Yale, President Porter conducted a course discrediting Herbert Spencer's evolutionary teachings.

Andrew White, president of Cornell, on the other hand, defended the right of scientists to teach the truth as they saw it. Efforts of religious pressure groups to suppress academic freedom, he warned, did far more harm to religion than to science, "for thereby suspicions are widely spread, especially among open-minded young men, that the accepted Christian system demands a concealment of truth, with the persecution of honest investigators, and must therefore be false." The Women's Christian Temperance Union was powerful enough, however, to force schools all over the country to adopt physiology textbooks containing "scientific" information that medical men denounced as untrue but that these devoted and determined ladies wished inculcated.

IN THE NINETIES, with the growth of industrialization, social and economic questions began to cause the most trouble. President Harper at the new University of Chicago stood ready to defend freedom of science and religious teaching but was caught off guard by the demand that he dismiss an economist for criticizing the practices of the Pullman Company, whose founder was one of Chicago's leading citizens. From then until our own day schools and colleges have been under attack for their teachings on race relations, slum clearance, labor problems, security legislation, public ownership or even control of utilities, regulation of industry, and any other social or economic question the community feels strongly about.

In the 1920's religious groups again attacked the teaching of evolution, this time in the lower schools too. Books were banned, or mutilated by having the pages on evolution cut out. Teachers were cowed into avoiding any mention of the doctrine. State laws in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee forbade its discussion.

An extreme brand of patriotism also took possession of us in those years. The schools were attacked by the American Legion and the D. A. R. Teachers were dismissed for not distorting history "patriotically" to show that Britain had been solely to blame for the American Revolution and our other disagreements with it. Eminent historians, faced with the blacklisting of their books, changed them to please the politicians. In the thirties books were condemned because Catholics or Jews did not like their contents, and the excellent history of an eminent Catholic historian was barred from the New York schools by a Presbyterian superintendent on complaint of an obscure Episcopal clergyman until the author changed certain statements about the Reformation that non-Episcopal Protestant historians regarded as entirely sound.

AFTER WORLD WAR I a "red scare" developed. Loyalty tests were imposed. Powerful forces sought to brand as "radical" and hence as "disloyal" all unorthodox opinions. In New York, Governor Alfred E. Smith protested that the Lusk laws permitted "one man to place upon any teacher the stigma of disloyalty." "No man," he said, "is so omniscient or wise as to have intrusted to him power not only to condemn any individual teacher but to decree what belief or opinion is opposed to the institutions of the country. . . . Within the limits of the penal law every citizen may speak and teach what he believes." Three years later, when the hysteria had died out, the people of New York repealed the laws setting up the loyalty tests. Sheets like the Hearst papers and the Chicago *Tribune* continued to attack democratic freedoms in the schools and colleges, but as the twenties passed into the thirties fewer and fewer people supported their campaign.

Though the desire of politicians for votes and of newspapers for subscribers has sometimes motivated attacks upon the schools, more often the attackers, like the opponents of abolition and evolution, have sincerely believed they were combating a dangerous development. Their sincerity, however, has not made their threat to freedom any less menacing.

IN MANY RESPECTS the present attacks are the same old story set in another period of tension. But this time the danger is greater, for several reasons:

1. The panic is more acute than usual; one is reminded of the hysteria in Salem in the 1690's.

2. The problem of political dissent at home has got mixed up with the threat to powerful churches abroad and to the spiritual values of religious people generally.

3. One group of the politically unorthodox is closely allied to a hostile foreign nation; in consequence we confuse military danger from without with the small group at home who, in so far as they are foreign agents, can be handled under existing laws and, in so far as they are propagandists, are failing miserably.

4. Loyalty checks, purges, and accusations by the national government are something new to the American way; government attacks on free education are more dangerous to our freedom than the attacks of local and unofficial pressure groups in other crises have ever been.

5. The abandonment of traditional Anglo-American and democratic safeguards of freedom makes its defense more difficult than ever before. Judicial proceedings—the right to a fair hearing, to defense counsel, to confront accusers, to cross-examine witnesses—are too often denied teachers. Men forget the definition of treason placed in the Constitution to protect our freedom: in place of overt acts with two witnesses, ideas now constitute treason. The "clear and present danger" test of thirty years ago has been reworded as a "clear and imminent" danger. The age-old doctrine that a man is innocent until proved guilty seems no longer to hold.

6. The effect of attacks and penalties has been to cow teachers and students alike until they are afraid to express opinions, to teach the truth, or to join organizations of their choosing, even soundly democratic ones. One is reminded frighteningly of German schools under Hitler or of the once free and great University of Prague under Communist rule.

7. Liberalism, to which democracy and freedom of the mind have been tied, has become negative; it has lost the drive and force that led to progress in the nineteenth century.

8. Many Americans have lost their faith in democracy and in the power of truth to overcome error. Without faith in democracy, they turn easily to the suppressions used by totalitarianism. We need leaders who can defend freedom and win others to defend it—men like Roger Williams, William Penn, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Louis Brandeis.

Because teachers are afraid to explore new ideas and to teach students the unrestricted truth, the schools are losing their capacity to turn out citizens capable of considering all ideas and sifting the false from the true. When students meet communism and other dangerous ideas later in life, they will not have been fitted, as only free universities could fit them, to detect and combat false ideas. They need to hear communism debated and learn its fallacies. The effort to control thought is making students indifferent, fearful, cynical. At home and abroad there is a growing suspicion that democratic principles cannot be sound or they would not have to be imposed on youth by force in the land where democracy has flourished most gloriously.

The whole world is watching America to see how democracy works. Millions of people will choose between democracy and communism not only as our foreign policy affects them favorably or unfavorably but also as democratic freedom in America seems to them genuine or phony. Students in India, where the fate of the world's freedom may be decided, are watching the struggle to keep our universities free. Monsignor O'Grady said recently that maintaining the McCarran restrictions is the surest way to turn Italy Communist in the next election.

We need, then, to nourish our freedom at its roots. We need to recall the dictum of Justice Holmes uttered in an earlier period of hysteria: "We should be eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death unless they so imminently threaten immediate interference with the lawful and pressing purposes of the law that immediate check is required to save the country." We need to remember that this freedom of teacher and student from fear or compulsion is particularly important to our society in time of crisis if wise policies are to be formulated. We need above all to realize that schools and universities whose teachers are still free are superbly meeting the challenge of communism in the only way it can be effectively met—through free discussion.

THE TEACHER

Teacher, Teacher, burning bright,
Lighting up the dismal night,
What immortal hand and eye
Depict thy fearful fate—or try?

What wide halls, what campus skies
Framed stark terror in thine eyes?
Came you here by whose desire?
Whose hands dared to light this fire?

What investigator's art
Rent the sinews of thy heart?
When fierce flames about you beat,
Fell thy hands at whose dread feet?

What the bludgeon? What the chain?
Forged to shackle fast thy brain?
What the questions? What dread grasp
Inquisition's terrors clasp?

When they threw their Red charge spears,
And made you water earth with tears,
Did they smile their work to see?
Did they who make the laws make thee?

Teacher, Teacher, burning bright,
You are wrong, if wrong or right;
What immortal pen and eye
Depict thine end—or even try?

MARCUS B. CHRISTIAN

JOURNEY TO INDIA

Revitalizing the Land . . *by Aneurin Bevan*

London

I WAS walking in the early dawn in the garden of my hostess, the Indian Minister of Health, when another Minister with whom I had been anxious to have a long talk joined me. I had met him a few nights earlier at the Prime Minister's home, and even before I knew what his work was, the vigor and eagerness of his personality had made a marked impression. He was the Minister in charge of Community Projects; that is, it was his job to ignite, direct, and assist the village communities in the work of building New India.

These community projects are the most exciting feature of the New India. The democratic stability and future progress of the country will depend on the measure of success they achieve. They start with a recognition of two facts that are central in Indian life. The first is the supreme importance of the Indian village community. The second is that a considerable time must elapse before the programs undertaken by the central government can make much impact on the life of the rural worker.

The theory is the reverse of the centralism which has distinguished the Soviet approach to rural life. It is an attempt to make democracy work where it can be expected to be most vigorous and self-reliant, at the bottom of the social scale. It sets out four guiding principles: first, self-help and mutual service; second, mobilization and development of local community resources; third, organized and cooperative action; and, fourth, minimum state assistance.

A project area comprises roughly about 300 villages with a total area of about 130,000 acres and a population of 200,000. Technical advisers and a certain amount of equipment are provided by the state and central governments, and pilot schemes of sanitation and simple health practices are initiated to show the villagers what can be done at once to improve their condition. Seed selection, better methods of cultivation, communal development, and utilization of local water supplies are especially emphasized, as is also the making of roads by voluntary labor.

It is not my intention to exaggerate what is being done or to underestimate the almost heart-breaking distance that has yet to be covered before the verdict "success" can be written for these community projects. During my stay it was made clear to me that the Indian government has been too timorous in dealing with the absentee landlord and the problem of agricultural credits; it has failed to rid rural India of the age-old curse of the money-lender. That Nehru is conscious of this there can be no doubt. If the spirit of practical service and self-help that is typified by the community projects is carried through the whole Administration, the time may come when the Taj Mahal and the mud huts of those who built it will not continue to gaze at each other in mutual reproach.

I HAD SET my heart on seeing the Himalayas. It is a natural desire in a Welshman, brought up in the mountains, and conscious of an irresistible longing to return if he is away from them too long. But I could not satisfy my wish unless something more immediately useful than sightseeing could be included. Fortunately my hosts wished me to see a state farm won from the jungle, and as this lay to the north of New Delhi, within distant sight of the Himalayas on a clear day, our mutual wishes could be gratified.

It must be understood that the state farm is not an example of how the Indian government envisages the future of Indian agriculture. It is an illustration of what can be done, intended mainly to show farmers the results of applying modern agricultural techniques to Indian conditions. It is not a collective in the Soviet sense, nor is it a cooperative. The workers are employees working for the state, although under more favorable conditions than generally prevail.

Terai in the United Provinces was selected deliberately for the site on account of its ill-favored character. The area was malarial swamp, infested by leopards and tigers, foraged by herds of wild elephants, and notorious for the high incidence of deaths from malaria. Those who survived the disease suffered from the low production and physical lethargy which are the secondary consequences of malaria.

The area included comes to approximately 16,500 acres. The decision was taken in 1949. To date 14,500 acres have been brought under cultivation, and an additional 500 will be taken up this year. The remaining 1,500 acres are not suitable for cultivation. The farm will provide pedigree buffaloes and cows, pedigree seeds, and pedigree poultry for sale to farmers in the state in order to raise progressively the standard of farm stock and increase the quality and yield of crops.

An interesting feature of the scheme is the conversion of low-lying land into fish ponds for commercial fishing. These ponds are also used by the buffaloes to wallow in. This, I learned, is essential for their good health. A vast variety of fruit trees have been planted, and 500 bee hives will be kept for pollination.

Sixty-nine villages, housing 2,613 families, have already been established. We were shown over the modern hospital and a well-planned primary school. The assignment of the villages to different categories of people throws a revealing light on contemporary Indian conditions: political sufferers, that is, refugees, 16 villages; ex-servicemen, 5 villages; settlers, 16 villages; landless laborers, 3 villages; displaced persons, 29 villages.

Production from the Terai state farm

ANEURIN BEVAN, leader of the left wing of the British Labor Party, has just returned from an extended trip to India and adjoining countries.

has already begun to repay the original capital expenditure, quite apart from the indirect benefit to the farming population, which has already caught the contagion and is increasing its own yield from the soil and from the animal stock to an extent undreamed of in the past. It was impossible to travel the miles of new roads through this freshly created farm without feeling a certain exaltation of the spirit. The age-long tyranny of the jungle is being beaten. As against what needs to be done accomplishment is pitifully small. But I saw it as an example of the unconquerable spirit of man in his struggle against recalcitrant nature and the adversity of circumstance, reinforced by the weight of a tradition of docile acceptance.

Here in the Terai were dedication and a fierce, practical energy. The manager of the enterprise, a tall, bearded Sikh, saw all the difficulties, for he had grappled with them from the early beginnings. "We must make a start," he cried. "We must aim at better crops, better animals, better birds, better trees, better health, better education, better food, and better homes." Well, he had made the start, as the sleek animals, fruiting trees, and rich harvests bore witness.

From the Terai we made our way north to realize my more selfish ambition. Our destination was a small town named Ranikhet, 7,500 feet up, where we were told we would see one of the best views of the Himalayan peaks. The news of our journey had gone ahead of us, and when we reached Ranikhet we were welcomed by a large gathering of all the notabilities. I was festooned by so many garlands that I blush to think what I looked like. This custom of hanging garlands round the necks of visitors has its drawbacks, especially when the flowers are saturated in water. It is not easy to maintain one's dignity with trickles of cold water running down one's back.

The sight of the Himalayas from the verandah of a mountain lodge above Ranikhet was all I could wish for and more. All the high peaks unfolded their chaste whiteness before us with the exception of Mt. Everest, which was too far to the east. The mountains worked their old magic with me. They smoothed the fretfulness from my spirit like wrinkles from a worn garment. I went to my most refreshing sleep in India.

GIVE IT AWAY!

Ike's Great Crusade . . *by Michael W. Straus*

Washington

IN A give-away program that dwarfs all others the sixty-four (billion)-dollar question will be answered when President Eisenhower signs legislation "returning" the scarcely appraised underwater oil to states which the Supreme Court says never owned it. With that precedent clearly established, the "Big Deal" can go ahead with the regular double-or-nothing procedure, and a goodly portion of the remaining public resources—grazing lands, mineral rights, power sites, forests, fishing privileges, the real wealth of our national heritage—will be headed for the political auction block.

So far, in this process of taking apart a country laboriously put together and defended and preserved for more than 150 years, it has not been necessary to practice any sleight of hand or tricks with mirrors. Everything has been done right out in public by those who put both ears to the ground at the last election and heard a "mandate" to give away the ground itself. Their hearing was helped of course by the well-heeled, determined lobbies in the Capitol which knew just what they wanted before they made their campaign contributions.

Senator Hugh Butler, the Taft enthusiast from Nebraska, indicated what we must expect when the preliminary incantations were performed in the committee over which he presided. "I would like to say," he remarked, "that when the tidelands oil is settled—and I hope that will be rather definitely before too far in this session—there are plans for the introduction of a bill that will make the same thing applicable to public lands now held by the federal government." Senators Barrett and Hunt of Wyoming were delighted. Bills were flipped into the hopper forthwith. From the opposite pole of political philosophy came the confirmation. Adlai Stevenson paused in California, en route to the Orient, to say: "There are powerful interests who interpret the election as heralding an open season for retail and wholesale transfer to the states of our great national assets—the forests, the grazing lands, the water, and the minerals."

When Stevenson returns he will have seen "have-not" Asians who gave away their public resources decades ago and are now on the brink of communism, violently striving to repossess their heritage. In most countries he will have noted minor or major efforts at land reform. In Japan he has already seen that under American direction feudal corporate agriculture has been broken up by redistribution of the land into family-sized farms on the United States pattern; this was done while Congress was debating abandoning the anti-monopoly requirement in our Reclamation law. In many countries he will find that food production has priority over "defense" activities. Everywhere he will see resource developments going full blast, in contrast to our cutbacks for "economy." In no foreign country will he encounter the equivalent of our public-vs-private-power fight; public power won years ago. Indeed, when he completes his global circuit, he will have collected many

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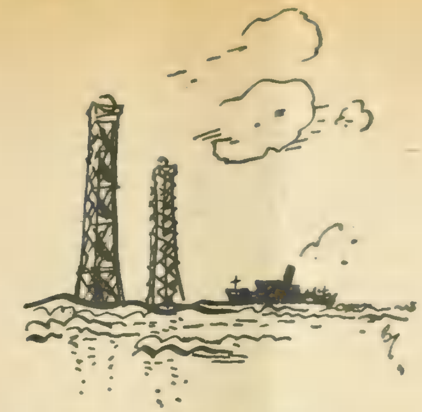
MICHAEL W. STRAUS was appointed First Assistant Secretary of the Interior for resource development by Franklin Roosevelt, and ended his twenty years in federal office as Commissioner of Reclamation by appointment of Truman.

dramatic illustrations of what he meant by his departing warning that "our descendants will pay the price if we do not preserve their heritage for them."

WE ARE again starting down the primrose path. Even if the offshore oil of all the people is given away—at a time when the United States, the world's greediest consumer of petroleum products, has just begun to be a natural oil importer instead of exporter—America will still be a land of comparative milk and honey. In our national larder there still remains sufficient of most basic resources to support a larger population a long, long time in a superior standard of living. But a political symptom like the tidelands-oil donation telegraphs the news that the lid is loose on the honey pot, and the flies are buzzing around. Whether they get their fill now and our descendants get only the leavings remains to be seen. It will not happen all at once. It took millions of years for nature to fill that pot. Nobody wants to empty it merely for pleasure. The urge comes because we live in a fiercely competitive economy and the honey is getting scarcer and going up in price.

The fight to preserve our national wealth will be confused by distracting byplay. But if citizens keep their eyes on the prize money and see where that goes, they will be able to understand the game and pretty well know the score. One of the favorite, time-tested gambits of confusion is to raise the issue of states' rights. Those who engineered the tidelands transfer never advocated anything like a steal. They were simply defending a sacred, and ego-satisfying, principle of state sovereignty and proving their sturdy independence of an all-powerful and enveloping federal government. The fact that forty-five states lose and only three states win in this deal is simply an awkward phenomenon that must be overlooked.

The oil lobby and its statehouse colleagues make much of the fact that probably the same drillers would exploit the submerged oil regardless of whether it was for the account of three state governments or for all the people of the United States. That is true, but the question of who gets those multiple millions of dollars is a large one. In the matter of the submerged oil fields the faithfulness of the federal government as a trustee cannot be directly compared with the faithfulness of Louisiana, Texas, and California. Presumably federal administration would be under policies and procedures specified in some law yet to be passed. But comparisons are possible with respect to water development, grazing lands, and forests. Here Uncle Sam, despite some shortcomings, has done a superior job in the public interest. Also the federal government is required actually to conserve oil for defense and has done so. The states acknowledge no such responsibility.



There exists, moreover, some "expert opinion" on the subject that nobody can challenge. It comes from the big oil companies which would do the exploiting under leases they would negotiate with either the states or the federal government. These parties-of-interest prefer to do business with the states—they know how to get what they want.

THE STATES'-RIGHTS device is being used and will be used in the contest for power as well as for land and minerals. The machinery is already in gear and has plenty of grease. It is operated by assorted governors' associations. Regardless of the fact that no federal law prevents the states from developing their own water power, no state has done so. Nevertheless, all gatherings of the governors' associations are replete with resolutions that the federal government should stay off the few remaining God-given hydroelectric power sites on this continent. As an alternative Uncle Sam could turn over title to the money-making power dams he has already built. Good politicians do not like to mention words like expropriation; they refuse to be crass enough even to discuss price. But obviously a write-off of, say, 99 cents on the dollar would go far to indemnify the states for the injury already done to their sovereign rights by the federal government's provision of low-cost power to their citizens. And guess who would turn up with a stranglehold on those kilowatts—the publicly owned or the privately owned utilities?

Some voters who are also consumers have drawn their own conclusions. As a result the utility corporations' fight against low-cost public power did not seem to be making much headway a few years ago. The people seemed to like cheap electricity. The organized utilities then decided it would be more fruitful to campaign against something people did not like. So they hired a professional public-opinion survey to tell them that what people don't like is socialism. And promptly the dailies, the slicks, and the pulps began to blossom out with full-page advertising, suitably echoed over bought radio time, contrasting the creeping, crawling, or galloping socialistic, tax-spending, cool, weak kilowatt with the tax-paying, business-managed, ruggedly individual white-hot, strong, private-enterprise kilowatt. There wasn't a dry eye in the house—certainly not among the utility spokesmen in the House of Representatives. A lot more tears will be shed on this subject before the Eighty-third Congress adjourns.

The world's record give-away program is off to a fast start under the new management in Washington. Tidelands oil was the first bill up. One fascinating thing about the program is that nobody knows just how much is being given away. Some conservative government estimates make it around forty billion dollars, but a guess by a respectable group of technicians hired by Texans is eighty billion. To say tidelands legislation is the answer to the sixty-four (billion)-dollar question may be a conservative statement.

Now stand by for the big DOUBLE-OR-NOTHING feature on this favorite program:

Item—456,000,000 acres of public land.

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Item—160,000,000 acres of federal grazing lands.

Item—52,000,000,000 kilowatt hours a year of federal power that produce real cash.

As is said in the Congressional barbershop, "Next!"

BOOKS

Glory and Heartbreak

HAROLD LASKI (1893-1950): A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR. By Kingsley Martin. The Viking Press. $4.

By Robert S. Lynd

THIS has been a rich year for biographies—and they were badly needed. For deception, intimidation, and human wastage at present shred down man's spirit, and one craves contact with bigness in purpose, with courage and serenity. Particularly does one need a renewed sense of authenticity. These we have been getting from Joseph Barnes's "Willkie"; "Two Lives," devoted to Wesley Clair Mitchell and his wife, by the latter; Norbert Wiener's autobiographical account of his first thirty years in "Ex-Prodigy"; the "Holmes-Laski Letters"; and now Kingsley Martin's biography, so candid and deeply understanding, of Harold Laski.

When the strong die, lesser men may maneuver their own or others' shadows to lie across the dead. A case in point is the featured front-page column headed Laski Under a Cloud in the April, 1953, issue of *Economic Intelligence,* organ of the United States Chamber of Commerce. "For nearly a generation," it says, "the late Harold J. Laski . . . was the mentor . . . of the 'advanced thinkers.' . . . Now all this is changing, and many individuals are wondering just why they were taken in. Publication of the 'Holmes-Laski Letters' is a deep shock to many of his former admirers." Then follow four highly selective denigrating comments of a sentence or two each—comment on some personal foible that a man's friends come to recognize in the course of years of affectionate relations but damaging when repeated out of context. The column concludes: "Wide readership of the 'Letters' should make us all a bit more cautious in following the easy and facile solutions to tough problems advanced by our current crop of forward-lookers."

These are bad times for men not content with defending the status quo. But it is because Laski pitched his life so inveterately at the future that this record of his complex personality as scholar, as teacher, and as man of action has deep meaning for us. For within these 270 pages one perceives the glory and the heartbreak of the courageous intellectual in our time. A. J. P. Taylor opens his review of the book in a leading British journal with the statement: "There are few men of whom one can truthfully say that the world would have been a different place without them. Harold Laski was one of those few."

As World War II progressed, Laski and Winston Churchill came to confront each other as polar types representing the new and the old potentials in Britain. Churchill's ideas and loyalties are conventional, and as A. G. Gardiner early noted, he is temperamentally "not so much concerned about who the enemy may be or about the merits of the quarrel as about being in the thick of the fight and having a good time." To such a lusty buccaneer war was an occasion for ringing affirmation of old values and for splendor in action. Laski, on the other hand, while loyally accepting the dreadful realities and duties of the war once it could no longer be prevented, saw it as an opportunity for British labor to learn through the experiences of wartime planning, discipline, and solidarity the necessary conditions for collective action in a socialized post-war Britain. He recognized Churchill as a "very great war leader." But once it became clear that Churchill wanted "to preserve traditional Britain" after the war, "using our people as a necessary lever for morale, but . . . not surrendering a single position of privilege," Laski unhesitatingly declared, "I shall try to make the Labor Party break with him on this issue." And in the effort to make labor grasp the magnitude of its opportunities and responsibilities, "he spent his physical strength, which was never large, and his nervous vitality, which was immense, in traveling night after night, after a day's teaching or a day of committee work, to address local Labor parties, factory meetings, miners' lodges, discussion groups of soldiers, sailors, and airmen; thereby he emphasized, with eloquent conviction, that the first essential task was victory, but that victory must mean a victory not for the old order but for the workaday people. . . ."

LASKI was not "born" a radical. He became a Socialist in his mature years, as he was forced to grapple with what has been called "the problem which confronts every reasoning man [today]—how to be both a liberal and a Marxist." His socialism came not through absorbing doctrine but through the fact that, as Kingsley Martin states it, his own life was a long search for the meaning of what Mr. Justice Holmes called "the inarticulate major premises" in a capitalist society. He saw more clearly than most the moral issues created by class privilege in a democratic society. And events of the late summer and fall of 1931 did much to clarify his stand: the Labor government collapsed ignominiously—to the rank and file it felt like treachery—under backstairs pressure from the bankers that reduction in the workers' standard of living must be the first step in overcoming financial crisis. This underscored for a considerable element in the Labor Party the fundamental correctness of Marxian materialism; and Laski even saw it as the first sharp break since 1689 in the British tradition of compromise. "I have no sort of doubt where I stand," he wrote. "I stay with the Left of Labor and, if necessary, I go to the extreme Left." Two years later his notable and uncompromising "Democracy in Crisis" appeared.

Then the sequel: Kingsley Martin, in retrospect, says the trouble was not that Laski "was wholly wrong but that he was far too dogmatic. He phrased his warnings with as little hesitation as Cassandra, and though he was not wrong in crying Woe! he was not always right in choosing the subject of lamentation. That did not prevent him from having his thoat cut in 1945." How many of us will groan in compassion over this dilemma! Standing amid the double-talk and slippery power tactics of this era, it is all right for one to see that something is wrong, and perhaps even to see what it is that is wrong; but to say so

ROBERT S. LYND is professor of sociology at Columbia University.

out loud, and boldly, is somehow always "too dogmatic."

Here one encounters one of the most fascinating aspects of the Laski story, documented over and over again in these pages. Laski clung to the belief that persuasion could somehow prevail. Endowed with great intellectual capacities and deep readiness to give and to cherish friendship, he had all his life "unconsciously assumed that those who abused him and differed from him nevertheless respected him." "He had the great art of making the faith he held a road to friendship." But, his biographer remarks, "his desire to give and to receive love made him an unsatisfactory rebel," for, while he could hate injustice, he found it hard to match his institutional condemnations with hatred of the concrete human agents of injustice. So his ardent faith in the possibility of creating a better future, when combined with the warmth of his personal ties, betrayed him into courses of action quite incompatible with his Marxism. He kept on—long beyond the point of realism—trying to influence by letter and in conference men caught up into large affairs of power. His faith in Franklin D. Roosevelt was little short of extravagant; as late as the fall of 1939 he thought the New Deal could be kept going "full steam ahead"; and later on he still believed that "liberal America" could make "England speak the right words and *do the right acts*." At home it was a bitter disappointment to him to find that, as the issues became drawn, he was not wanted by the political powers that be: he was unready for the bluntness with which Churchill, as politician, could fob him off, preferring "a personal enemy who is political ally" to "a friend who is not a follower"; and likewise for Prime Minister Attlee's tart request in the summer of 1945, when Laski was still chairman of the Labor Party, that he stop embarrassing the government by his "irresponsible statements."

LASKI'S PROBLEMS were but intensified versions—owing to his great capacities—of those every responsible left intellectual faces in some degree today. Essentially, they involved at point after point the effort to form a bridge between different worlds; he sought to be both a distinguished scholar and an active influence in the routine affairs of Labor politics, and as a result his scholarship suffered. He worked loyally and generously with a labor movement which because of its structure and leaders found it difficult to face major change, and in the end the bureaucracy shunted him aside, though he remained the living symbol of British socialism to the constituency parties and to Continental Socialists. He was irritating to middle-class straddlers and no less so to the Communists, whom he criticized sharply but was unwilling to condemn without reserve. He refused to despair in an era of deepening cynicism, and in the last article he ever wrote he argued against Bertrand Russell's division of the world into two irreconcilable power blocs: "Lord Russell builds his policy upon despair. I build my policy upon hope." But all these things are the measure of Laski's strength. For the reorganization of falsely separated parts of life—on every level—into the wholeness in which they belong will continue to be an endeavor of men of intelligence and courage.

Space limitations force upon every reviewer selection and omission. In the present case this has meant the slighting of many things: the moving account of Laski's Jewish background; his related break with his family over his marriage, and his subsequent late awareness of anti-Semitism, at first only as applied against other Jews and then belatedly as leveled against himself by Ernest Bevin and others; the record of his years in the United States, his other home, years of great friendships and of battle, commencing with his involvement as a young Harvard instructor in the Boston police strike; his prodigal generosity as teacher and colleague of the young, admirably set forth in Norman MacKenzie's chapter on Cambridge in Wartime; the details of his years of loyal work with the Labor Party; and Kingsley Martin's very effective defense of the spirit, though not the minutiae, of the famous Laski tall stories. "Most of the stories," Mr. Martin concludes, "I learned by analyzing them through a period of years, were well founded in truth."

Harold Laski was a distinguished and very human being, and fortunately he has in Kingsley Martin a biographer who spares no relevant criticism but measures the full complexity of the man against the background of his time.

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New Books in Brief

"New" Criticism at Its Best

THE FORLORN DEMON. Didactic and Critical Essays. By Allan Tate. Regnery. $3.

These are essays, miscellaneous but arranged about a common center, by one of the most persistently interesting of the critics who cut loose a generation ago from both academic and journalistic traditions to become "new critics" in some sense of that term. Like several of the others, Mr. Tate adopted premises and discussed subjects so different from those current that to many readers he seemed to be exploring a private world in a private language, though both were often less private than simply currently neglected.

The central theme here is the distinction between communication," which is so much discussed today, and "communion," which Mr. Tate takes to be the real business of literature. Perhaps the sentences which will best indicate his thesis are these: "It is a tragedy of contemporary society that so much of democratic social theory reaches us in the language of *drive, stimulus,* and *response.* This is not the language of freemen; it is the language of slaves. The language of freemen substitutes for these words, respectively, *end, choice,* and *discrimination.*" A good many readers will probably find themselves sometimes establishing and sometimes losing contact with Mr. Tate's meaning, but it is very often well worth getting. Among other valid points clearly made is one concerning the "responsibility of the poet." Mr. Tate's definition of this makes more sense than is usually shown either by those who declare that the poet has none or by those who would make him responsible for the general health of society in specifically social and political ways.

Close-up of Russian Life

A WINDOW ON RED SQUARE. By Frank Rounds, Jr. Houghton, Mifflin Company. $3.

A lively account of some eighteen months in Russia by a former newspaperman who joined the United States embassy in Moscow in January, 1951, as an attaché. A curious, enterprising, and well-read young man, Rounds insisted on seeing as much of the country and meeting as many Russians as he could. He presents a Russian neighbor at the opera with Puccini's biography and thus gains an opportunity to discuss with him "American war-mongering." (He finds that many Russians take the party charges with a grain of salt.) He visits the ancient city of Ryazan, where hotels are barred to him and he spends the chilly night cruising about in a taxi. He goes to the great Lenin Library, where an American is permitted to consult only a small part of the card catalogue. Like Hertzen, he watches the sunrise from Moscow's Sparrow Hill, and finds himself watched by a carload of plainclothesmen. He attends a piano recital by Shostakovich, where the music is preceded by a speech spanking the composer; he attends every play he can and recounts the blood-curdling plots of some of the anti-American masterpieces; he observes a session of a People's Court and a remarkably noisy chess tournament.

Rounds's book does not deal with Communist politics or politicians, and it preserves an admirable note of a search for the truth. That is perhaps one reason why this chatty, unpretentious, and often light-hearted story casts a more terrifying light on Russian life than most flag-waving anti-Soviet works.

Democracy and Faith

AMERICA'S WAY IN CHURCH, STATE AND SOCIETY. By Joseph Martin Dawson. Macmillan. $2.50.

To the already long list of Baptist "witnesses" to the traditional Jeffersonian separation of church and state, Dr. Dawson's name is a welcome addition. His testimony is presented forthrightly; while vigorously attacking the current Roman Catholic misinterpretation of the First Amendment, he has no hesitation about questioning the principles of many Protestant leaders.

It is particularly interesting to find this stalwart adherence to strict organizational separation combined with a viewpoint that is both Southern and Fundamentalist. The "unreconstructed" Southerner peeps through briefly when Dawson asserts that the "misguided fervor" of the Abolitionists "may have added to the difficulty of solving the Negro problem." In fairness it must be said that this is a passing comment; in general this section of Dawson's book holds out a promise of better interracial relations when Southern Christians become more Christian.

The key to Dawson's thought about democracy is that it "is founded on a faith in God which produces faith in man." To many this statement is acceptable. Others may feel that a better statement would be: Democracy is a faith in man which may be founded on faith in God or may itself be regarded as fundamental.

Is Europe Recovering?

EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD ECONOMY. By Robert Marjolin. Duke University Press. $2.

How successful has the Marshall Plan been? How well have such new approaches to European federation as the Schuman Plan, the European Payments Union, and the Organization for European Economic Cooperation worked? What are the prospects for freer world trade and generally rising living standards? In the temperate and clearly presented series of lectures that he delivered at Duke University in the fall of 1951, the secretary general of the O. E. E. C. answers these questions on the whole optimistically. Before the outbreak of the Korean war, Europe's dollar deficit had declined to $1,500,000,000 annually from a high in 1947 of $8,500,000,000. The European Payments Union has restored convertibility to European currencies. The O. E. E. C. has persuaded its members to reduce barriers to international trade. Major problems remain—overpopulation and raw-material scarcity in Italy, unstable currency, antiquated methods, and an unfair tax system in France, instability in the American economy, low living standards almost everywhere outside the United States. Perhaps M. Marjolin is somewhat too bland in his assessment of these difficulties, but he does not evade them. His lectures are a compact and valuable summary of Europe's post-war achievements and needs.

Desert Saint

THE WARRIOR SAINT. By R. V. C. Bodley. Little, Brown. $4.

The story of Charles de Foucauld, viscount of France, playboy, Trappist monk, hermit in Palestine, and missionary in the Sahara, killed by Senussi tribesmen in 1916 at the age of fifty-eight. The following note, found among his papers when his body was recovered by a detachment of French soldiers, gives the flavor of the man. "Consider you must die a martyr, shorn of everything, stretched on the ground, naked and unrecognizable, covered with blood and wounds, violently and painfully killed and, furthermore, hope that this may take place today. . . . Reflect often on this death so that you will be ready for it and be able to judge everything at its true value." A Frenchman as well as a desert saint, he was enormously useful to his country by his explorations, his knowledge of the Saharan tribes, and his friendships with the natives. A fascinating study of an extraordinary man.

Theater

Harold Clurman

TRUMAN CAPOTE'S "The Grass Harp" benefits from the bare production that the young people of the Circle in the Square give it. The Broadway production last spring was too ornate, too pretty-pretty, and largely miscast.

It is a slight and simple play of pleasant sentiment with glints of genuine talent. Occasionally it seems derivative of Carson McCullers. The writing is less spontaneous—tending now and again to a certain stiff and decorative archness. But the play's theme and feeling are valuable. With diffident humor it invites us to consider the plight of the odd folks of the world, the "special" people, the minorities, the misfits. A maladjusted orphan boy, a Negro maid, two spinsters—one crabbed and wilful, the other eccentrically delicate—a wistful and widowed country judge, are willy-nilly the non-conformists of a humdrum Sunday town. They hardly understand one another or themselves, and they are regarded with suspicion, not to say hostility, by their neighbors. They are usually in trouble because their difference makes them troublesome. Their natural impulse is to seek refuge away from the world. But if they have any wisdom at all they learn that they must live with themselves and others. The world may never quite reconcile itself to them, but it may come to realize that "courtesy is so necessary."

It is fitting that this "message" be whispered in the nook which is an unconventional Greenwich Village arena rather than shouted in a large theatrical emporium uptown. In our cosmopolitan civilization, where everything suffers from elephantiasis—and only the spirit is small—the quiet voice, the hinted word, and the modest suggestion acquire poignancy. In a world of big lies we should treasure the tiny truths.

Often in writing of plays I will deliberately emphasize and perhaps even overstress the theme or feeling inherent in a play's material rather than dwell on its plot. In the American theater we are obsessed by plot. True, the plot of a play should contain its meaning, but we frequently do not see the meaning for the plot. We do not realize sufficiently that a play's meaning may have a very different aspect from what its surface story indicates. Clifford Odets's "Golden Boy" is presumably about a boy who becomes a prize-fighter: it is actually about the artist who sells out.

In the art of painting the alert observer will recognize that a flower piece may connote many things besides a horticultural interest. The painting of a sacred subject may convey an emotion which by no stretch of the imagination could be conceived of as religious. But in the theater we are prone to look and run! We are eager to experience the impact of the story, and when that has registered, we rarely stop to consider what exactly has registered—in other words, what has been created by that impact.

Earlier in the season "The Emperor's Clothes" was generally reviewed with indifference or annoyance. It was a play about a professor who, having lost his job because of a few politically indiscreet manifestations, becomes a confused and shabby person till, impelled by his son's idealization of him, he renews his courage and dignity by defying the authorities who would demean and bru-

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talize him. But the play was not merely a parable for liberals on the subject of civil liberties. Its real theme was the recovery of "nobility" in a time when everything has become drab and shrunken. It was a play in which man's estate was seen through the romantic vision of nineteenth-century humanitarianism, wherein being a "hero" meant being a Man. The child in the play dreams of a nobility his old-fashioned father has pictured to him; the professor's wife and mother-in-law dream of a past nobility which they half know —but won't admit—has long ago become threadbare and shadowy. The professor is moved to enact a nobility which he had aspired to and boasted of but which had existed up to then only as an impulse of youth and a fantasy of age.

It may be argued that if this theme was not apparent to the audience, or the reviewers, it must have been the playwright's fault. This is altogether possible in many instances, but the argument as a generalization is based on a false hypothesis—namely, that we all understand the themes of the really fine plays. Traditionally "King Lear" is a play about filial ingratitude, in which case the play is practically over by the second act and is rather absurd to begin with. But as I see it, "King Lear" is about the folly of believing in any power but that of love. And who really knows what "Hamlet" means? Certainly, it is not a play about a man whom thought renders incapable of action: Hamlet is violently active throughout the play!

In our haste to enjoy the external excitements of the theater we often miss the essence of plays, like people who do not truly *see* a painting when they satisfy themselves only with the pleasure of recognizing what is represented. It is not so much the defective plays that we can't "get"; more frequently it is the best. "Camino Real," I have previously said, is thematically clearer than "A Streetcar Named Desire," which is artistically superior. And there is something "more" to "The Seven Year Itch" than meets the gladdened eye—although in this case, I agree, it is not necessary or wise to question what that is. By trying to appreciate what plays are really about —and here the critic may be of help— the pleasure of the theater or, if you will, its entertainment value is enhanced.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

AFTER the uncertain glory of many April days, spring and sculpture came to New York. They make a good combination, and the newly dedicated sculpture garden of the Museum of Modern Art is the best proof thereof I have ever seen. To set a proper historical perspective, I first visited the Metropolitan to see the new Aphrodite.

Despite much advance publicity, I was not altogether prepared for what must be called the Aphrodite Oenslager. The talents of this outstanding scene designer have been given full scope, and the results are certainly remarkable. Mirrors at the base of the figure reflect spotlights from above, and as the mirrors are cleverly disguised by botanical props and a russet curtain hangs beyond, the image of divinity rising cream-colored from water is effectively suggested. But at a price. The lighting is so strong that the slightly translucent marble looks rather too much like plexiglass. And afterward the other classical statues look dead and gray, like concrete. So much staging should not be necessary for beautiful sculpture, or even for a beautiful woman. Of the two, I think the Aphrodite gives us more of the latter than of the former. It is a copy made about 100 B. C. of a lost original of about 300 B. C., which in turn is strongly reminiscent of the Aphrodites of Praxiteles. Under such circumstances it is hard to find contact with the mind of a particular sculptor, and other Aphrodites, like the very similar one in the Uffizi, reinforce the ambiguity of the impact.

HERBERT FERBER, whose exhibition at the Betty Parsons Gallery closed May 2, provides no Aphrodites whatever. His divinities resemble Zeus's thunderbolts more than Zeus, and some of them are dark and spectral. One has as little doubt that this art is personal as that it is communicated specifically and directly through sculptural forms. Last year the thunderbolts shaped themselves into a twelve-foot image of the Bush That Was Not Consumed, an image that dominated the show called Fifteen Americans at the Museum of Modern Art, just as a photomural of its present appearance on the façade of the synagogue at Milburn dominated the show which has just closed. The first study, in metal at a scale under ten inches, was also included, but not the intermediate study at about half the size of the final work. A somewhat similar composition, titled Number 3, appeared in both the small original and the six-foot version, and one can only hope that some enlightened architect will discover how magnificently it would enhance a very large blank wall, preferably outdoors.

In a previous column I made a plea for opportunities for big mural commisions for painters like Adolph Gottlieb who have a bold sense of scale, and the same reasons argue in favor of Herbert Ferber. In his case, texture and color offer further inducements: the solder roughly laid over copper sheathing with a blow torch, catching the light as forcefully as a Pollock and as sensitively as a Rouault, and weathering after a few months to a dark silver-gray. In the sculpture garden of the Museum of Modern Art an open sphere composed of forms of the same character as Number 3 holds firm against a stand of large evergreens. In the best Ferbers the elements are violent, but the total effect is one of great restraint. Among our current Fauves, Ferber is movingly classic.

Not many years ago it was fashionable to decry Rodin, particularly among those who considered a block of stone more interesting than its transformation. The recent work of Lipchitz, not to mention the work of younger sculptors like Roszak, points up the expressive force that Rodin achieved and the force of influence that his art once again exerts. The retrospective exhibition of sculpture which now occupies all the ground-floor galleries of the Museum of Modern Art, as well as its new sculpture garden, very properly begins with Rodin, and includes three magisterial creations in bronze—John the Baptist, the Call to Arms, and the Balzac.

The impulse toward geometric simplification and the rebirth of interest in pre-Parthenon Greek sculpture, notably Olympia, which Maillol gave to sculpture in the first years of the twentieth century rather quickly dried up, particularly as lesser sculptors developed direct carving into a mere cult. I think Zorach, who is also represented, is to some extent a victim of this disease. Maja, a standing nude bronze by Gerhard Marcks, is also affected by it, despite the difference of medium. Marcks can be very powerful in warped and angular forms redolent of the German Middle Ages. For its exhibition the museum has borrowed from Duisburg Lehmbruck's Seated Youth, perhaps his last work and perhaps his best, even finer than the Standing Youth and Kneeling Woman in the museum's permanent collection. These incredibly sensitive forms already suggest Giacometti, but in addition the interlace of arms and legs in Seated Youth surrounds and molds hollow forms in a way that makes Henry Moore's reclining figures seem much less of a break with preceding sculpture.

All the major sculptors are represented in this wonderful exhibition and by some of their best works. Examples of the last decade are, of course, more generous in number, and the selection becomes more arguable as historical perspective decreases. For the record, I think that Mary Callery is more decorative than profound and that David Smith's Banquet, here shown, will turn out to be one of his minor efforts.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE year has given us the Metropolitan's producion of Musorgsky's own "Boris Godunov" and HMV's recording of the Rimsky-Korsakov version. It has been possible, then, to hear what Rimsky considered to be "the fragmentary character of the musical phrases, the harshness of the harmonies and modulations, the faulty counterpoint, the poverty of the instrumentation, and the general weakness of the work from the technical point of view" that called for his corrective revision; and to discover that nothing in Musorgsky's writing called for correction, that everything sounded right, true, powerfully effective, achieved with assurance and mastery, and that Rimsky's changes to make the music conform to his taste were a falsification of Musorgsky's work. This was true even of the orchestration: Musorgsky's "sonorous image" (to borrow Aaron Copland's term) had been right, but his instrumental realization of it hadn't carried effectively in the opera house; and what this had called for was a more effective realization, such as Karol Rathaus had attempted for the Metropolitan production, not a substitution of the sonorous image of "Le Coq d'or."

It may seem extraordinary that at this late date, when the Metropolitan at last produced Musorgsky's "Boris," HMV recorded Rimsky's. But in this episode it isn't only what has happened to Musorgsky's work that is extraordinary, but the way people's minds have operated, and continue to operate, in relation to it. Thus, for years it has been the accepted belief that whatever might be said of Rimsky's changes they had enabled a work that had failed in its original form to be performed with success. That belief goes back to Rimsky's statements in justification of his revision; and it has continued, amazingly, in the face of his own testimony to the contrary: the passage in "My Musical Life" in which he says Musorgsky's "Boris" was produced in 1874 "with great success" and continued to be performed "with uninterrupted success" until 1882, and in which, discussing possible reasons for the cessation of the performances, he speaks of "rumors that the opera had displeased the imperial family . . . gossip that its subject was unpleasant to the censors," but says nothing about defects or difficulties of the work itself. With that contradicting passage plain to read in the 1942 edition of "My Musical Life" Carl Van Vechten wrote nevertheless in his introduction that Rimsky "made it possible for Musorgsky's music drama to be performed"; and even the compilers of the documentary material in "The Musorgsky Reader" quoted and accepted the statement in "My Musical Life" that the revision satisfied the "need of an edition for performances, for practical artistic purposes," but did not quote the passage which revealed there had been no need of such revision for that purpose. As a result those who listened to Musorgsky's own "Boris" this year did so with the idea that they were hearing a work whose inept crudities had caused it to fail when it was first produced, and some must have been unable to hear the work whose remarkable qualities brought it success from the start.

More important: Poems, novels, paintings have been criticized, but I don't recall anyone ever having gone so far as to rewrite or repaint what he considered to be faulty in someone else's work. Moreover, if it had ever been discovered that this had been done, there would have been no debate about whether the work was more effective with the changes or without them, and whether they should be retained or not: it would have been

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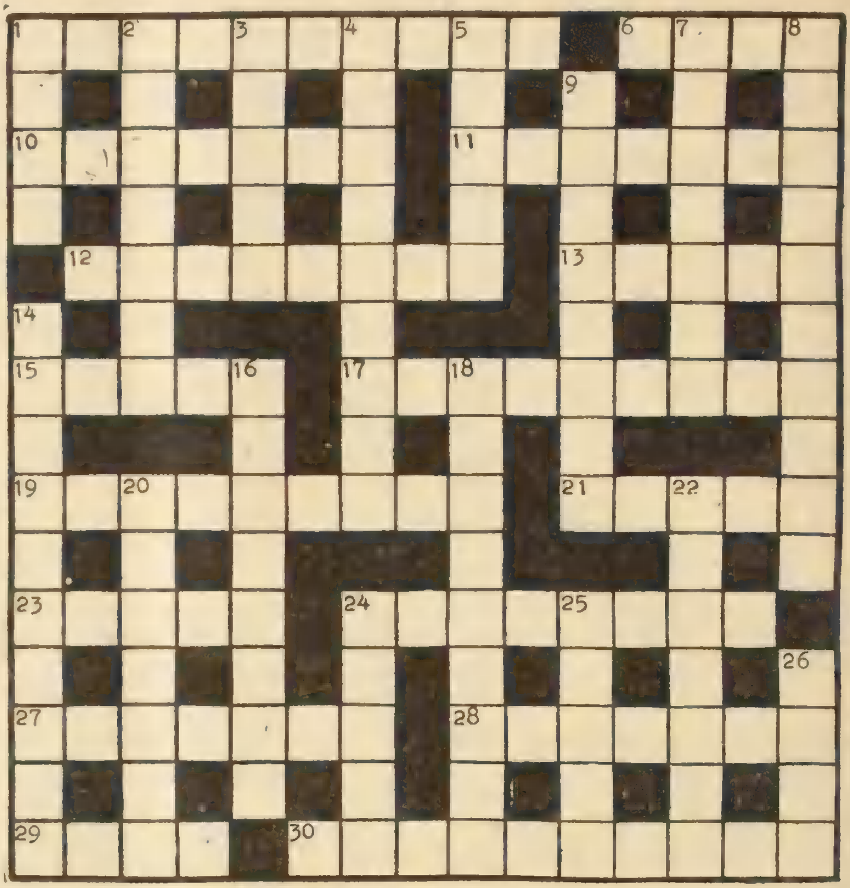
BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Argues how to form a sect? (10)
6 See 9 down.
10 Something which might be welcome about the house of the religious man. (7)
11 If silt got in your throat, it would be out of place. (7)
12 Old men of war and men-of-war were. (8)
13 Side, along with the absence of air. (5)
15 Nothing green should be so open. (5)
17 1 down is about a true yet false representation of motors. (9)
19 The Swiss might have been alive then, but the term isn't so common now. (9)
21 New Year's Eve should suggest a small brand! (5)
23 This might be found near a place of battle. (5)
24 Othello, for example, is back on a tear! (4, 4)
27 Soldiers and stoves might be. (7)
28 Damozel? (3, 4)
29 Do dicers lose their color when they do? (4)
30 See 9 down.

DOWN

1 Virgil sang of this and the man. (4)
2 More power to Holmes' shay, by the sound of it! (Quite alarming, once!) (2, 5)
3 Erstwhile Roman, not scratched up. (5)
4 An Arabian relative of 10 is about to speak of a neutralizer. (9)
5 Are some swords doubly advanced? (5)
7 Certainly not under-garments! (7)
8 Look at the record? Certainly! (10)
9, 30 across, 6 across, 18 down, 14 down, 16 down. Exercise of political expediency? (16 words—no lengths given for obvious reasons!)
14, 16 and 18. See 9 down.
20 Haul a fish up in this direction. (7)
22 Forbid a journalist to make up something out of whole cloth? (7)
24 Spoke like one of these, perhaps. (5)
25 Get set with 24 minus 1 plus 0. (5)
26 Give this a try, and you'll get the side on which Jonson placed Shakespeare. (4)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 514

ACROSS:—1 SOUNDING BOARD; 10 IDEATED; 11 IN THESI; 12 DISPARAGE; 13 FIEND; 14 IRENIC; 16 ADDICTED; 19 MEDALLIC; 20 SHADES; 22 FICHU; 23 VARIOLOUS; 25 CRISPIN; 26 MATISSE; 27 REVOLVING FUND.

DOWN:—2 OMENS; 3 NATHANIEL BUMPPO; 4 INDIAN; 5 GRISELDA; 6 and 9 OUT OF SIGHT OUT OF MIND; 7 RE-ELECTED; 8 HINDUISM; 15 ENDOCRINE; 17 DESISTED; 18 LITVINOV; 21 TRUMAN; 22 FACE; 24 OLSEN.

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taken as a matter of course that they had no validity and that the original work must be restored (though certainly if some academician had "corrected" what for him were the faults and crudities of a Van Gogh it would have been recognized that the result was not an improvement but a falsification). But in the case of "Boris" we find the celebrated Ernest Newman writing after a production of Musorgsky's first version that the problem of which "Boris" to produce is one of choosing not merely between Musorgsky's own two versions, each complete and with merits of its own, but from these two and Rimsky's, since "rail as the specialists may at Rimsky-Korsakov . . . he has given the theater a good practical proposition"; and that the ideal solution is to give all three. Even more perceptive critics like Desmond Shawe-Taylor and Edward Sackville-West also decide, "after frequent hearings and examinations of both versions, that the case against Rimsky has been overstated," and that the differences in the Farewell and Death of Boris "are comparatively small."

And even the most accurately perceptive and clearest-minded of present-day English writers, Gerald Abraham, who recognizes in the booklet of the HMV recording that by applying to "Boris" an art whose "essence . . . is brightly tinted transparency, clear-cut harmonies and part-writing realized in primary orchestral colors" Rimsky "imprinted his own personality over the entire work"—even Mr. Abraham goes on to conclude that "the result is—like Mozart's rescoring of 'Messiah' . . .—a fascinating posthumous collaboration of two very different but very fine musical minds, and we must accept it (as we do Mozart's 'Messiah') for a masterpiece in its own right, without clouding our pleasure by overmuch reference to the quite different values of the original version." Which is to say that he fails to perceive the difference between Mozart's rescoring of Handel's "Messiah" and Rimsky's recomposition of Musorgsky's "Boris," and the disparity between the mind that produced "Boris" and the mind that produced "Le Coq d'or."

After all this the simple good sense of the Metropolitan's reasoning—that if one is going to give Musorgsky's "Boris" one should give the "Boris" Musorgsky wrote—becomes something of a miracle.

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Around the U.S.A.

A Philosopher Challenges Velde

Philadelphia

WHEN BARROWS DUNHAM, chairman of Temple University's Philosophy Department and author of "Man Against Myth," defied the Velde committee by refusing to testify beyond giving his name, residence, and date and place of birth, the struggle for academic freedom here took sharper form. The committee recommended a contempt citation. Robert L. Johnson, then president of Temple and now head of the beleaguered International Information Administration, declared that since Dunham's action "created a doubt" concerning his loyalty there was no course open under state law but to suspend him.

Many educators here insist that Johnson's action was "summary . . . exceeding the authority delegated by the law." Under Section 13 of the loyalty-oath law state-aided institutions—of which Temple is one—are required to certify annually that there is "no reason to believe any subversive persons are in their employ." Each institution sets up its own method of certification. At Temple it is done by department heads in reports to the president. Unless a school complies with Section 13, it receives no funds; some point to Temple's $5,000,000 grant from the state—about 20 per cent of its operating budget—as reason enough for its suspension of Dunham.

■ Clark Byse, professor at the University of Pennsylvania Law School and a foremost authority on the loyalty law, underscores the fact that at first the law's proponents wanted to require the oath not only of employees of the Commonwealth but also of employees of "any college or school which receives state aid." It was largely owing to vigorous action by Harold Stassen, George Wharton Pepper, and others that certification without oath-taking was substituted. In effect Section 13 was designed to provide the safeguards by which private schools, compromised in part by state funds, could keep political heretic hunters at arm's length.

One head of a private college has expressed concern that Temple's action might completely negate the delicately tooled provisions of Section 13. He concurs with the American Civil Liberties Union of Philadelphia, which points out that an employee can be judged "subversive" only through "a fair preponderance of evidence." The single instance of Dr. Dunham's use of the Fifth Amendment does not of itself determine his loyalty or disloyalty, the Civil Liberties group maintains. "Nothing in the act," it says flatly, "required the President to suspend Dr. Barrows Dunham." It should be noted that the Philadelphia A. C. L. U. fairly bristles with big names: former Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts, Clair Wilcox, and Earl G. Harrison are members of its executive board.

With an eye to the Dunham case, the university senate of the University of Pennsylvania has recently taken under consideration an exhaustive report by its Committee on Academic Privilege and Tenure suggesting that the senate "record its opposition" to Congressional investigations into schools and universities. The committee also declared that under the loyalty-oath law the isolated use of the Fifth Amendment does not provide ground for discharge or suspension.

Campus sentiment at Temple is overwhelmingly in favor of Dr. Dunham. Faculty colleagues with curious unorganized unanimity have refused to take over his classes, and impressive student and alumni groups have opened a campaign for his reinstatement. The local chapter of the American Association of University Professors has taken up the case. Its chairman, Dr. C. Irwin Griggs, reflected the general attitude of the faculty when he said, "Of course there are differences among us about the Dunham issues. Some feel strongly that he chose the wrong method. Others feel equally that he was merely exercising a basic constitutional guaranty. But no one is frightened. We have a very strong tradition of academic freedom here—we intend to maintain it." It was clear that Professor Griggs needed no directives from either Washington or Harrisburg about "subversives" in education.

To say that Dr. Dunham's action ignited a powerful chain reaction against the probe into education might be too optimistic. Nevertheless, the influential American Friends Service Committee has "taken serious note of the issue of academic freedom involved," according to Lewis Hoskins, its executive secretary, and the independent Teachers' Union honored the Temple professor with its annual award for "outstanding service to education."

■ Certainly widespread disquiet was occasioned by the hearings. The ultra-conservative *Main Line Times* scathingly indicted the "witch-hunters" for their flat-footed sterility," echoing the very Republican Upper Darby *News*, the country's largest community weekly, in warning that the probers might well prove more "subversive" than those whom they pretend to uncover. Both the *Inquirer* and the *Evening Bulletin* expressed editorial misgivings about the investigations. There has been a striking absence of attacks on Dunham. While his action in Washington has been criticized privately, there has been no public hysteria about a "red" on the Temple campus.

It is possible that the unique position taken by Dunham in regard to the Fifth Amendment and the action of the Temple administration in invoking the loyalty-oath law may finally be brought into court. There is no denying the hostility of the community toward loyalty probers. A veteran columnist summed up the situation well when he remarked with typical candor, "Look, I don't know about Dunham, but I do know that Velde, Jenner, and McCarthy would have their work cut out for them up here. This is rough country. Outfits like Penn, Swarthmore, Haverford, and Bryn Mawr happen to be in a business where 'dangerous' ideas are common. Take it from me, they don't scare easily."

CHARLES ALLEN

[*Charles Allen, a free-lance Philadelphia journalist, was formerly on the staff of* The Nation.]

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New York, Saturday, May 23, 1953

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Voices of Reason

More than once British moderation and initiative have prevented extremists in this country from forcing the hand of the government. Mr. Attlee did it when President Truman's off-hand reference to his power to decide on the use of atomic weapons terrified the Western world. We believe the Prime Minister's speech and that of his Labor opponent mark another such occasion. As these lines are being written, the truce talks in Korea are in suspension, presumably to give the U. N. command time to get new instructions. Our allies clearly feel that the Chinese eight-point offer came well within negotiating distance of the position set in the Indian resolution adopted by the General Assembly—a resolution accepted by the United States and rejected by the Soviet bloc. At the same time the sentiment is growing in the West for action along the lines proposed by Sir Winston. As our foreign editor pointed out two weeks ago, in an article from Paris* predicting the Prime Minister's initiative, much of Europe is pinning its hopes on Churchill's apparent determination to take advantage of Moscow's professed desire for a settlement.

What our allies want is a truce in Korea along the lines laid down in the U. N. resolution, strongly indorsed again by Premier Nehru, and talks among the heads of states on the broad issues under dispute between Russia and the West. By speaking when they did, Sir Winston and Mr. Attlee made these the prime objectives of international policy. Until they are at least honestly assayed, no plans that might get in their way are likely to be put into effect—either in Germany or in the Far East.

McCarthy Is Not America

We hope Winston Churchill and Clement Attlee will not be dismayed or swerved from their purpose by the storm their words stirred up in Congress. We hope they will realize that the demagogues who denounced them represent no more than an ill-informed minority of the American people—and even of the Republican Party. The power of these men comes from the noise they make—even when uttered in an all but empty Senate, their words are broadcast to the world—rather than from the size of their following. President Eisenhower's press-conference statement, although it took issue with Churchill on the idea of early top-level talks with the Russians, was as much a repudiation of McCarthy and Co. as a reiteration of Administration doubts and hesitations. And the rebukes administered by Senator Wiley, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and by Senator Smith of New Jersey, mild as they were in phrasing, revealed the embarrassment to which the party has been subjected by their colleagues' reckless attacks on the Prime Minister and leader of the Opposition.

The truth is, the Administration cannot afford to toe the McCarthy line on major foreign policy, however reluctant it may be to face a showdown with the plug-ugly right. It came to power on a pledge, actually a reckless pledge, to end the war in Korea. If the voters should become convinced that the President and his lieutenants were forfeiting the opportunity to make an honorable peace, they would lose little time in turning on the people they so lately put in office. That is the way Americans act, and it is because Mr. Eisenhower knows this that he stated so firmly—allowing his words to be quoted—that he knew nobody in America who wanted war.

This statement was, to put it politely, inexact; many important citizens, from General MacArthur down through the ranks of the China lobby, have openly advocated bombing Manchuria, blockading the China coast, helping Chiang Kai-shek to overthrow the Peking government—all acts of war. But it is a favorable sign that Mr. Eisenhower felt obliged to assure our allies and the world of the essential peacefulness of the Administration's intent—despite the McCarthyites.

Brain-Washing At Valley Forge

The Pentagon's utilization of "political psychiatric therapy" in the case of the twenty-odd P. O. W.s who were "secretly" flown from Tokyo to Valley Forge Army Hospital for medical and psychiatric treatment against the danger of possible Communist indoctrination seems to have been resented in about equal measure by the soldiers themselves and by the army doctors. "I don't know where this idea started," one army physician said, "but there's one thing for sure—we're not running a damned laundromat here." Another officer, who also

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requested that his name be withheld, said: "There has been a big foul-up somewhere along the line." Of this there can be little doubt. After announcing that the flight from Tokyo was being made "under a cloak of military secrecy" (May 2), the army censors permitted the story to go out to the nation's press the following day. Secrecy was essential, the army said, in order to preserve the anonymity of the men; yet on the following day the newspapers published a complete list of their names. Secrecy was also essential, the army said, because the men were tired and disturbed and should not be interviewed; yet on May 4 the newspapers published interviews with them "two by two," complete with photographs.

To make matters worse, leading psychiatrists attending the convention of the American Psychiatric Association in Los Angeles were quoted out of context in a manner that implied approval of the new therapy. Nothing could be farther from the truth. At off-the-record sessions condemnation of the army's handling of the entire matter was strongly expressed. "It is evident to any psychiatrist," to quote from one of several letters we received from delegates, "that this set of paradoxical circumstances makes no sense at all if the real aim was psychotherapeutic. . . . It makes sense only if we recognize that the real purpose was that of using the [affair] for political propaganda, and publicity purposes." A sorry episode, this, to be associated with the great name of Valley Forge.

British Borough Elections

Our London correspondent writes: The total Labor gain of 500 seats all over the country in last week's Borough Council elections has bucked up the party considerably. It reassures members that "coronation fever" has not changed voting loyalties and that the lassitude which has recently afflicted the party machine can be overcome in a conflict. The elections also showed that Labor and the Conservatives are very evenly balanced and that the decline of independents, Liberals, and Communists continues apace. The recent improvement in the Soviet attitude has not done the British Communists any good. They lost all their remaining seats in London's East End.

The results will probably dampen the enthusiasm of most Conservatives for a "snap election" soon after the coronation; its outcome would be too uncertain. Beyond that it is unwise to speculate; drawing national conclusions from local elections is a risky business. The turnout is only half that for national elections, and the shift in seats frequently follows a change in the character of an area rather than a shift in individual loyalties. For instance, the opening of a new housing estate for workers frequently brings a Labor majority into a previously Tory district.

Shaking Up the Brass

There is no end of scuttlebutt about the new Chiefs of Staff, their personalities, connections, and biases. But the circumstances of the appointments strike us as being more significant than the choices themselves. It was unfortunate that the new men should have been named so long before the terms of the incumbents expired. But even if the selections had to be made now so that the incumbents could "ease" their successors into their jobs—and it has been suggested that General Bradley wanted them made now—the authority of the off-stage nominees will certainly overshadow that of the incumbents in the interval. But there can be little doubt that the President made the appointments at this time because Senator Taft and his cohorts were insisting that the military men who had advised President Truman could not be trusted to advise a Republican Administration. In yielding, the President has given the appearance of approval to the notion that the offices of the Chiefs of Staff are to be regarded as political patronage.

There is another interpretation, however, which can be placed on Eisenhower's action. It is generally agreed that in selecting Admiral Arthur W. Radford to succeed General Bradley the President was deferring to the judgment of Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson. Whatever his shortcomings may be, this much can be said of Mr. Wilson: he is not at all overawed by the top brass of the armed services. The Joint Chiefs dictated the policies of the Truman Administration, but Mr. Wilson is strongly inclined, by all accounts, to run his own show. "He and his assistants," reports *Business Week* (May 9), "will make the major policy decisions; the military men will carry them out." To the extent that this implies a cutting-down of the power of the military it is a good omen regardless of the merits of the new appointments. Nevertheless, many people will share our uneasiness that General Bradley, a wise and cautious man, has been succeeded by Admiral Radford, who helped father the idea of a naval blockade of China.

Mr. Samish of Samish Alley

On the same day (May 6) that Arthur H. Samish, long the master-lobbyist of the California legislature, posted $2,500 bail on a charge of income-tax evasion, the state legislature set aside a soundproof room in the handsome new capitol annex for the exclusive use and convenience of the "third estate." A public-address system will connect the room with the Assembly and Senate chambers so that the lobbyists may relax while the legislators are orating. For the record, we should like to note that it was an article in this journal (The Guy Who Gets Things Done, July 9, 1949) that first brought Mr. Samish to the attention of a national audience. Later Lester Velie induced the always affable and garrulous "Artie" to indulge in some amusing but indiscreet boasting—"I'm the governor of the legislature," he told Mr. Velie—for *Collier's*.

Those who know the legendary Mr. Samish will find it difficult to suppress a feeling of sympathy for this amusing and exuberant Californian who after two decades of wonderfully astute legal tight-rope walking has finally stubbed his toe and tripped on an indictment charging eight counts of income-tax evasion. But knowing Sacramento we doubt that Mr. Samish has lost any of his power there. At last report he had not abandoned his suite at the Hotel Senator, known as Samish Alley, to which so many legislators come for instructions.

Voices of Liberation

Local African leaders have decided to let the world know that the liberation movements there are not the exclusive handiwork of the Kremlin. Two big pan-African congresses will be held within the next few months. One is sponsored by the Inter-Territorial Conference of Central Africa; the other will meet under the auspices of Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast. The agendas will include all subjects related to "the struggle against colonial rule and the growing threats of white domination." Basil Davidson's analysis of the Central African situation in this issue makes clear why such congresses are being held.

Inching Towards Unity

A political constitution for "Little Europe" was the main subject discussed by the Foreign Ministers of the six member states of the European Coal and Steel Community at a meeting in Paris last week. They agreed on the urgent need to unify Europe on the political level, since economic unification clearly offers only a partial solution of their problems. Animated by interparliamentary deliberations at Strasbourg, they are more than ever convinced that there must be a European Assembly elected directly by the people.

This is undoubtedly a step forward. On the other hand, the French Foreign Minister, M. Bidault, insisted that the plan for a constitution worked out at Strasbourg did not commit any government. The project will be re-examined and certainly revised at an intergovernmental conference to be held in Rome from June 12 to July 1. This group will report to the Council of the six Foreign Ministers meeting at The Hague on July 10. It is plain that the governments are taking their time.

Between its working sessions the Paris conference was absorbed by Churchill's speech, which aroused more interest than the Strasbourg project. It was reliably reported that Chancellor Adenauer, alone among his five colleagues, agreed with the Washington line of no early talks with the Russians. Having just completed a series of Machiavellian maneuvers designed to win Bundesrat support for ratification of the German treaty, he does not want negotiations with Moscow until West Germany has entered the Western community and obtained from it all possible benefits.

The other five Foreign Ministers are reported to be privately supporting Churchill. Were they not so badly in need of dollars, it is a good guess that they would at once accept "British guidance" in preference to "American leadership."

The Senate Sleeps

TIME was when the Senate of the United States, proud of its great traditions, jealous of its prerogatives, was properly regarded by the people as the principal guardian of their rights and liberties under the Constitution. Traditionally it has been the Senate, not the Supreme Court, which has held out against the vehement efforts of transient majorities to suppress the rights of unpopular minorities. The names of Borah, Norris, and La Follette, in our time, remind us of the Senate's role as the champion of constitutional freedoms. But of late years the Senate seems to have lost its taste for freedom. It has become, not corrupt or cynical, but drowsy and indifferent. The immediate danger, indeed, is that the Senate is becoming a body of sleep-walkers who, in casual dreamy fashion, may one day give away the liberties of the people along with their basic resources.

On May 9, for example, the Senate came within a hair's breadth of passing Senator McCarran's S. 16 which would permit either house of Congress, by majority vote, or any committee by two-thirds' vote, to grant immunity from prosecution to witnesses summoned before Congressional committees. Should the witness claim the privilege against self-incrimination when asked a possibly incriminating question, he could be compelled to answer on pain of contempt charges. If he did answer, however, he could not be prosecuted or subjected "to any penalty or forfeiture for or on account of any transaction, matter or thing" concerning which he gave testimony, except possible perjury.

The bill would destroy the protection afforded by the Fifth Amendment, offering in exchange an essentially spurious immunity. For the witness, immunized against *federal* prosecution, might still be vulnerable to prosecution by the state. Moreover, he would have no protection at all against the social and economic penalties a hysteria-ridden society might choose to inflict on him.

Back in 1893, Congress enacted a statute of this kind which led to such serious abuses that it was finally repealed. "For the unscrupulous," as the *Wall Street Journal* pointed out in a recent editorial on the current bill, "it would be a temptation to connivance; for the vindictive it would be a temptation to bear witness as revenge." The measure represents still another attempt on the part of legislative committees to encroach on the judicial power. Law enforcement is a function of the courts, not of Congress. In short, here was a bill of major constitutional importance. How, then, did the Senate discharge its traditional role as the watch-dog of the people's liberties with regard to it?

Brought before the Senate on short notice, the bill had nevertheless been widely discussed for a year or more, and the dangers implicit in it and similar proposals were well known—they were discussed in The Fifth Amendment: Freedom's Bastion, by Leonard Boudin, in *The Nation* of September 29, 1951. Nevertheless, not only was the measure reported directly to the floor of the Senate by the Judiciary Committee without hearings, but it nearly passed without debate. Murrey Marder, writing in the Washington *Post*, notes that "no direct opposition" was voiced to the measure "despite some concern" expressed by three Senators over the haste with which Senator McCarran was attempting to slip the bill through the Senate. "Only six Senators in all," reports Mr. Marder, "spoke on the measure." Indeed the bill was "rolling to passage," with only a dozen Senators on the floor, when Senator Kefauver saved the day by calling attention to the absence of a quorum. It was then put over until the following Tuesday and has now been shelved for at least two weeks on the suggestion of Senator Taft, who is "somewhat dubious" about it.

IT IS A remarkable commentary on the alertness of the Senate liberals that the principal opposition should have been voiced by Senator Robert A. Taft and Senator Walter George. It is also remarkable that the principle editorial of the week in opposition to the measure should have appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* (May 11). Thanks to this timely conservative intervention, with an assist from Senator Kefauver, the proposal may now be thoroughly debated, but the odds favor its enactment with minor modifications. The Attorney General, it is true, has said that he cannot recommend the bill in its present form, but he would probably favor one which vested in him rather than the legislature the power to cloak a witness with immunity.

It should be fairly obvious that the enactment of such a statute at this time, when Congressional committees refuse to acknowledge any limitations on their power to investigate and have almost succeeded in convincing the public that none exists, would be extremely dangerous; but an even greater danger may be found in the strange somnambulistic manner in which the Senate disposes of matters of this sort. Today if a bill can be presented to the Senate as having some possible relation to the "fight-communism campaign" it stands a good chance of passage without study, debate, or hearings. The Senate acts as if it were hypnotized by the charlatans in its midst.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

Europe's Dark Suspicions

Paris

DOES the United States really want to negotiate? That is the question Europe's most serious observers are asking both privately and publicly. The question does not apply to Panmunjom; everybody expects a truce agreement and a cease-fire within a few weeks. It applies to a general negotiation aimed at putting an end to the cold war, and the doubt is expressed by persons and newspapers generally labeled conservative or moderate—papers like the London *Daily Mail*, *Le Monde* and *Figaro* of Paris; columnists and correspondents like Beuve-Méry, Raymond Aron, and Maurice Ferro, recently back from years of reporting in Washington.

Of course it is easy to ask the same question about Moscow. But since the Russians took the initiative in suggesting peace talks, the feeling here is that it is up to the West to test the genuineness of their overtures in the way diplomacy indicates—by sitting down with them at a conference table, not merely answering one speech with another speech and one pronouncement with another. That is why Churchill's proposal last week for such a conference—to be held at the highest possible level—aroused so warm a response on this side of the Atlantic.

In regard to the United States, answers to the key question vary widely. This is clearly a consequence of the fact that American psychological warfare is conducted in a way calculated to leave people over here continually perplexed. One day they hear President Eisenhower deliver a speech that inspires everybody with hope and even finds its way on to the front page of *Pravda*. The response is, "Of course the Americans want to negotiate." But a few days later they hear the President or his Secretary of State saying practically the opposite and the answer is "no." In between there may be an anxious "perhaps"—perhaps the Americans want to negotiate but are prisoners of everything they have been writing and saying for years, Republicans and Democrats alike; prisoners, too, of McCarthy and the other wild men and of a public opinion fed on predictions of imminent Soviet attack.

At the moment the answer is "no,"—precipitated by Washington's rejection of Churchill's proposal for East-West talks as well as by the President's earlier message to Congress treating Chiang Kai-shek as one of the pillars of American policy in Asia. To the *Daily Mail* (May 6) both the strengthening of Chiang's forces in Formosa and the big increase in aid for France in Indo-China "would seem to rule out the possibility of eventual agreement with Chinese Communists on the mainland." The Administration accepts a truce in Korea because it was an electoral promise and at present there is no possibility of achieving decisive military victory, but it does not make peace with Peking, for it awaits the day when increased air and naval power will permit a tougher attitude without involving the dispatch to Korea of large American forces.

I do not quote *Le Monde*, so frequently cited in the American press and so widely criticized for its "neutralism," but turn rather to *Figaro* and Raymond Aron, ablest among the columnists of the right and usually close to the American position. Writes Aron (May 4):

> In theory the Western powers had the choice of three replies to the Soviet advances. The first was to take advantage of the apparent crisis caused by the death of Stalin and undertake more vigorous diplomatic action. The second was to meet the peace offensive not only with propaganda speeches but with proposals that would lead into negotiations over Southeast Asia and Germany. The third was to continue the political and military organization of Europe as if nothing had changed. They decided on the third. I think it is time to consider the second.

In his series of articles on "How to Deal with the Russian Initiatives," Raymond Aron does not modify his opinion of Moscow—his distrust, his permanent dislike. But he fully recognizes the danger of holding back, until the Russians decide to propose a full-dress, four-power conference. Molotov's reference to a five-power conference is not taken here too literally. It is accepted that he must continue to press for the inclusion of Communist China in any diplomatic talks, especially in view of Washington's pro-Formosa, anti-Peking attitude. But diplomats sense that a formal, official proposal from Moscow of four-power talks on Germany may follow closely upon a truce in Korea. And the impression is that the Russians may offer terms which go a long way toward meeting the conditions laid down by the Western Allies.

If that happens, what will be the position of those who were ready to negotiate an armistice, or peace, in Korea but not willing to extend the negotiations to the central issues that concern France and Great Britain most acutely? Is the United States stalling itself into just such a situation? This is the problem that is worrying those Europeans who, while opposing Russia and communism, retain a sense of diplomacy and realism.

BUDGET VERSUS ARMS

Washington Merry-Go-Round .. *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

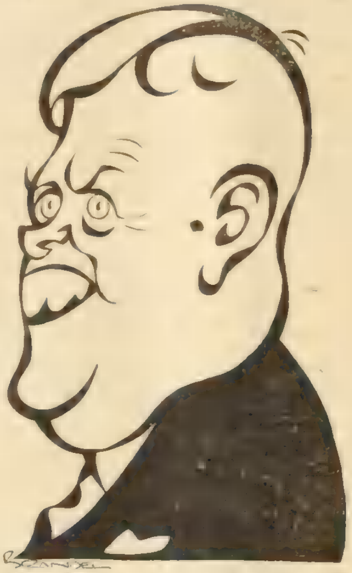
THE defense program is under pressure these days. Its source is a burning desire to balance the federal budget coupled with the belief that the country can get a reasonable degree of security even if it cuts expenditures for defense.

This has led to a little confusion. Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson has said that the budget cannot be balanced within the next two years without seriously jeopardizing national safety. Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey has replied that he thinks it can. Senator Robert A. Taft has remarked that he wished the Administration would make up its mind about things.

Mr. Wilson told a Congressional committee a few days ago that in paring down earlier defense programs the Pentagon authorities have set an "interim goal" of 120 wings for the air force, in place of the 143 wings previously sought. On the following day he told a press conference that defense planners do not now have hard-and-fast goals for airplanes or for other items. Meanwhile, the defense budget for the next fiscal year shapes up at some $5,000,000,000 under the Truman estimates, with a projected cut in actual spending of something like $2,300,000,000.

Beneath all this it is possible to detect some of the difficulties bound to be met by a big-business, economy-minded Administration which is obliged to cope with an extremely expensive and complicated rearmament program, one of whose salient features must be making due provision for an extreme emergency which may never actually arrive.

When the outbreak of the Korean war brought the defense program into being, it was decided not to embark on an all-out defense program but to build up to a level at which the country would be reasonably safe—and, that level attained, to broaden the production base so that if the worst happened production could rapidly be expanded to meet the requirements of total war. This purpose is now being modified in two ways. Though we have not yet reached the "reasonably safe" level as it was originally calculated, the program is definitely being slowed up. The Defense Department now suspects that many of its original estimates were unrealistic. It wants to restudy them and see whether it can't all be done for less money. Secretary Wilson told the House Military Appropriations subcommittee that "by a careful review and balancing of our military effort" a good deal of progress could be made toward a balanced budget at a fairly early date, say, within two or three years.



Charles E. Wilson

What is really dismaying, however, is not that a balanced budget is being put ahead of "reasonable safety" but that the broadening of the production base is receiving less emphasis. On January 1 of this year the eighth quarterly report of the Director of Defense Mobilization stressed the importance of this part of the job. Production of the infinite number of items that go into military goods may rise high enough to meet current needs and still leave us poorly prepared for a real emergency. To prepare for that possibility, the report declared, it was necessary to budget at least half a billion dollars for broadening the base. The half-billion is still in the budget, but the money will be spent, Mr. Wilson assured the Congressional committee, only after a "very careful study" of the whole defense-mobilization plan.

Furthermore, high-cost producers are to be eliminated, which means concentration of defense orders in big concerns. Underlying this approach is the theory that reliance must be placed on the giant industrial producers, which can quickly convert to all-out war production. It is amusing to recall in this connection that twelve years ago, just after Pearl Harbor, the hottest single issue confronting industrial mobilizers in Washington was whether the automobile industry should be immediately converted to war production. Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors, now Defense Secretary, maintained that the automobile factories could not really be converted. The man who insisted they could be was none other than Walter Reuther, then the big wheel in the United Automobile Workers' union. The two had a six-hour debate on the subject in Detroit. Reuther challenged the late Robert P. Patterson, Under Secretary of War, to try dropping an aircraft-engine contract into an automobile factory. Patterson did it, and from then on the industry was in war work.

It was the manufacturers' reluctance to admit that they could be converted to war production, plus the reluctance of the Office of Production Management under William S. Knudsen to insist on such conversion, which finally blew the O. P. M. out of the water in January, 1942, and brought about an entirely new defense-production set-up. That, to be sure, is water over the dam. The trouble right now is that the bold Truman program for broadening the industrial base is quietly being shelved in favor of a "let the big boys do it" policy

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BRUCE CATTON is a contributing editor of The Nation.

which may well result in immediate budgetary savings—and in nicer contracts for the industrial giants—but also in serious loss of time in getting into full war production if the need comes.

ANOTHER OBJECTION to the "new look" given to the defense program centers around the drive for economy. Government employees are being fired so that expenses can be cut. What is not realized is that most government workers never see an office in Washington: they are blue-collar workers, plying their trades for the armed services out in the field. A case in point is a $60,000,000 air base in the Middle West whose 18,000 employees were until recently mainly engaged in overhauling jet engines. The number of jet planes in service is constantly rising—but 3,000 of those workers have been laid off, and more lay-offs are in prospect. The planes will not get along without engine overhaul; the work is simply being farmed out to private firms. That shows the pattern. The work being done by civilians who work for the armed services in air bases, navy yards, or anywhere else will still have to be done. If those people are discharged, the work will have to be done on the outside. That will make it cost more, but government employment will be cut, and perhaps that is what really matters.

Somewhat similar is the drive now getting under way against the Bureau of Standards. When Secretary of Commerce Weeks made his ill-advised attempt to fire the bureau's director he was reminded that most of its work is high-powered research for the armed services. After he had pulled in his horns on the firing incident he wrote a letter to the Defense Department calling attention to the large number of research projects at the bureau and suggesting that perhaps the department would like to reexamine them with a view to reducing the number. The Defense Department replied that it would look into the matter at once. The research will go on, of course, but probably a lot of it will be done hereafter by private firms.

A third field in which the defense program begins to look a trifle odd is that of aluminum production. Output has been sharply increased under the defense program, but a further increase is necessary: the metal must be stockpiled for emergency use, and the civilian economy is crying for larger allotments. Unfortunately, the expansion program is colliding with the Administration's hard-money policy and with its refusal to continue the construction of public-power plants. Two of the smaller, newer producers in the field report they are unable to expand: the hard-money policy has raised interest rates, and they can't get the money on any acceptable terms. That seems to mean that the government must rely on the established giants in the field, which might be all right if they too did not need cheap electric power. The decision to knock out Hell's Canyon Dam may have been greeted with enthusiasm by big business in general, but it emphatically has not made the aluminum producers happy.

So the prospects for more aluminum right now are dim. This may make it somewhat easier to understand why the Defense Department is saying that its "interim goal" for the air force will stand at 120 instead of 143 wings. But it makes one wonder where the aluminum is going to come from for defense stockpiling and civilian use.

LUNG CANCER

The Case Against Smoking . . *by Alton Ochsner*

New Orleans

CASES of cancer of the lung are increasing more rapidly in men than cases of any other kind of cancer of the body. During the ten years from 1938 to 1948, deaths from cancer of the lung in the United States rose 144 per cent, from 6,732 to 16,450. Deaths from all types of cancer are increasing because cancer is primarily a disease of older people and with the greater average life expectancy more people are living to the age in which cancer is most prevalent. However, in the same ten-year period deaths from all types of cancer rose only 31 per cent, from 149,214 in 1938 to 295,594 in 1948. The number of deaths from cancer of the lung per one hundred thousand of population in the United States was 1.1 in 1920 and 11.3 in 1948. In 1920 cancer of the lung represented 1.1 per cent of all cancers; in 1930, 2.2 per cent; and in 1948, 8.3 per cent. It is believed that in 1970 cancer of the lung will represent 18 per cent of all cancers or almost 1 in 5. It affects men primarily; 90 per cent of our cases at the clinic have been men.

The tremendous and disproportionate increase in the incidence of lung cancer demands an explanation. One of the factors suspected of being responsible is the inhalation of noxious gases from exhaust fumes of automobiles and trucks, from gas works, and even from tarred roads. There is no evidence, however, of a higher incidence among people subjected to such inhalations. Doll and Hill found that cancer of the lung was no more frequent in people living near gas works than in others.

But there is a definite parallelism between the incidence of lung cancer and the size of cigarette sales in the United States. Although the population of the United States increased only 14.5 per cent from 1940 to 1950, cigarette consumption increased 107 per cent. The

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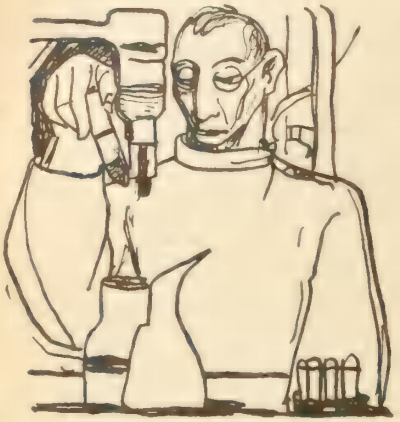
DR. ALTON OCHSNER is a member of the Tulane University School of Medicine and head of the Ochsner Clinic in New Orleans.

annual production of cigarettes per capita (including men, women, and children) increased from 46.3 in 1903 to 2,541 in 1948—the latter figure excludes those produced for foreign consumption.



MY COLLEAGUES and I are convinced that the products of cigarette smoking are responsible for lung cancers. It is well known that carcinogenic agents (cancer-producing substances) can cause cancer when applied to the surfaces of animal tissue and that the amount and duration of the application are related to the rapidity with which the cancer develops. The time relationship between cancer of the lung and cigarette smoking is approximately twenty years.

Cancer of the lung is rare in an individual who does not smoke. Wynder and Graham found that among 760 men with lung cancer only 1.4 per cent were non-smokers, as compared with 14.6 per cent among 780 controls without lung cancer. Doll and Hill found that among 1,357 men with lung cancer only 7 (0.5 per cent) were non-smokers, whereas in the control group 4.5 per cent were non-smokers; 25 per cent of the men with lung cancer had smoked twenty-five or more cigarettes a day, whereas in the control group only 13.4 per cent had smoked that many. It is frightening to speculate on the possible number of lung cancers that will develop as a result of the tremendous number of cigarettes smoked in the past two decades.

Doll and Hill found that the death rates from cancer of the lung increase with age and the amount smoked. "They pass from a negligible figure for male non-smokers aged twenty-five to forty-four to an order of 1 in 100 per year in men aged sixty-five to seventy who have smoked an average of twenty-five or more cigarettes a day for the preceding ten years." Doll and Hill also state that "at about the age of forty-five the risk of developing the disease [bronchogenic carcinoma] increases in simple proportion with the amount smoked, and it is approximately fifty times as great among those who smoke twenty-five or more cigarettes a day as among non-smokers." Schrek, Baker, Ballard, Dolgoff say: "The incidence of cigarette smoking and the incidence of cancer of the respiratory tract appear to be both statistically and biologically significant. There is strong circumstantial evidence that cigarette smoking is an etiologic factor in cancer of the respiratory tract."

Unfortunately many physicians, probably because they themselves smoke, are unwilling to admit that there is a causal relationship between smoking and cancer of the lung, in spite of the overwhelming statistical evidence. One of the arguments advanced by these doubting Thomases is that it has not been possible to produce cancer of the lung in animals subjected to cigarette smoke. But Roffo was able to produce cancer of the skin in rabbits when the skin was painted with tar obtained from tobacco. And recently, Graham—as he related in a personal communication—collected a tar-like substance from the residuum of cigarette smoking by a robot and was able to produce cancer in animals by applying this substance to epithelial surfaces over a relatively long period of time; 80 per cent of the animals so treated developed cancer. Essenberg has been able to produce cancer of the lung in mice by keeping them for long periods in an atmosphere of cigarette smoke. A control group was kept under identical conditions except for the cigarette smoke. In the animals subjected to cigarette smoke 91.3 per cent developed tumors of the lung, and in the control group only 59 per cent.

Undoubtedly, as emphasized by Doll and Hill, smoking is not the only cause of cancer of the lung, but it is in our opinion the most important cause, and it is the one cause that is readily controlled. Investigations by Levin *et al.*, Watson, Breslow, Mills, and Porter substantiate this view.

ALTHOUGH cancer of the lung occurs primarily in men, it is increasing in women. There is considerable doubt in our minds whether the increase will be as rapid in women as in men, even though women today are smoking as much as men. Men are apparently much more susceptible to the disease than are women. Recent surveys by the United States Public Health Service show the incidence of lung cancer rising sharply in many different localities. In Birmingham, for instance, between 1938 and 1948 it rose 189.4 per cent in both men and women; in women the figure was 72.4 per cent and in men 247 per cent. During the same period no other sites of cancerous involvement even approached this tremendous increase. The site of involvement with the next highest increase was cancer of the intestine—122 per cent in men, 45.5 per cent in women, and 71.9 per cent in both sexes.

We are so convinced of the causal relationship between cigarette smoking and cancer of the lung that we believe every man past forty years of age who has smoked ten years or longer should have an X-ray of his chest at least every six months and preferably every three months. Then if and when he develops a lung cancer, it may be possible to obtain a cure by removal of the affected lung.

Dangerous Tars

Washington, D. C.

Smoke from cigarettes but not from pipe tobacco or cigars yields tars which cause cancer, it was disclosed here [before a Congressional subcommittee]. "The chemicals which cause the cancer," testified Dr. Cornelius P. Rhoads, New York cancer authority, "are being extracted from the tar, and the identification is expected in the near future." When that has been done, he added, it may be possible to eliminate the "active ingredient" or devise methods "for neutralizing the cancer-producing effects."

A companion witness, Dr. Norman Topping, vice-president of the University of Pennsylvania, elaborated on the findings.—*Washington* Post.

REPUBLIC OF LEARNING

Danger from Within . . *by Scott Buchanan*

[This is the third article of a series on the current threats to academic freedom prepared for The Nation *by distinguished teachers and editors. Congress on the Campus by Alan Barth, in our issue of April 18, aroused widespread comment; Teacher as Rebel by Howard K. Beale was printed last week. Additional articles will appear in early issues.*

Scott Buchanan, formerly dean of St. John's College at Annapolis, is a vice-president of the Foundation for World Government.]

IF WE want to summon the courage of our convictions, it may be useful to recall the basic document in academic freedom, Plato's account of Socrates's defense before a jury of the Athenian Republic. Socrates was under indictment for teaching atheism and corrupting the young, both defined by law as subversive of the state. The indictment had been brought by a self-appointed committee on un-Athenian activities in a time of war and chronic revolution. Socrates defended himself without benefit of lawyer, organization, or public demonstration, first by an ironic refutation of the specific charges and, second and more important, by a clear reasoned statement of the inalienable right and duty of every human being to question and teach his fellow-men. The statement was taken as confirming evidence of deliberate guilt, and he was accordingly condemned. When he was asked to propose an alternative to the death penalty, he suggested that he be publicly supported in continuing his function as gadfly of the body politic.

In effect the "Apology" was the preamble to the charter of the Platonic Academy which existed as an institution of learning throughout a thousand years of wars, revolutions, and empires. It still is the original of our schools, colleges, and universities. During one of its longest and most influential periods it was famous for training skeptics, and many of its students held high positions in departments of the Roman government. It made heavy contributions to the subversive doctrines of Christianity. This may be the time for refounding the Academy as the perpetual gadfly of the American body politic.

IN THE LAST few years I have many times recalled the trial of Socrates when I have tried to imagine what I would do before a Congressional committee or a grand jury. Part of the difficulty of such imagining is that the intellectual enterprise which Socrates originated has had such a long and honorable establishment under many academic charters; time's dulness and many compromises with circumstance have placed these institutions between a man and his government. In times of peace and comfortable academic life the charters seem to protect the individual in his intellectual pursuits, but at the time of trouble they seem to dissolve and to rob the individual of his independent judgment and will. This is a time of trouble and it promises to be long; at its start there is a deep failure of nerve in the academy. To me this failure of nerve within the academy is much more impressive than the attacks, indictments, and slanders from without. It is to be expected that in times of peace the citizen will not notice that the underlying truth is different from the superficial appearances in institutions and customs, and that a time of trouble will shock him into a quick judgment that the truth and the methods of discovery of the truth are subversive of his way of life. But for the scholar this should be the great occasion for public education, the time above all others when the teacher has the opportunity to bring aid to his fellow-citizens by bearing witness to the truth that can make men free, even by laying down his life if that is necessary. In the past there have been philosophers who drank hemlock, slaves who defied tyrants, martyrs burned at the stake, street fights between town and gown, manifestoes nailed to the doors of monasteries.

In 1947, when the Loyalty Order was issued in Washington, I naively anticipated an immediate and unanimous chorus of protest from all the academic establishments in the country and a rally of support and defense for colleagues on leaves of absence who for the first time in our history had been invited to bring scholarship and intelligence to bear on government and politics. Instead of this, individuals were abandoned to the wolves of investigation and the Loyalty Order was made the implicit fundamental law of every educational institution where it generated a spirit that was more vicious than the letter of the law. Inside the academic walls there has been the dull triviality of a uniform denial of the ideas as well as of the peoples that are on the march all over the world. These great days of history are being celebrated in the academies by silence and fear. The lamp of learning is burning low and suffocating itself. There is the smell of mass treason against the republic of learning.

IT IS NOT EASY to explain this academic default. It is not due to the barking dogs—Dies, Rankin, Mundt, Nixon, McCarthy, and McCarran—or to the little irresponsible minds that set the Loyalty Order as a counter-fire to stop a popular conflagration. These are externals that should have been taken as signals for the rallying of the academic community. I believe the explanation lies in the consideration of subtler and more pervasive developments within the academy itself. The academic man, for all his professional traits of critical observation, is a creature of private and social habits; and the community within which he acquires his habits, for all its appearance of democratic republican polity, is actually a tyranny heavily camouflaged with benevolence, a polity that systematically degrades and corrupts the processes of government by consent.

The best that an officer of a college or university can do, whether he be president or department head, is to temper his tyranny with teaching, and the best that a student or teacher can do is to learn and teach the truth by rebellion against tyrants; the usual practice is something less than the best. Some of the tyrant-subject relation is intrinsic to the learning process and the collaboration of youth with age, but most of it is due to the frustration of modern corporate life.

It is important to recognize that the present status of institutions of learning is that of a charitable corporation which was originally established as an integral part of the great corporation, the church. The truth that was sought and transmitted was The Truth, which drew to itself a deep and constant consent from the members of the corporate body. Indeed, the consent was so deep and pervasive that the institution could allow and encourage a very wide variety of dissent in teaching and learning, as was evident in the continuous and ubiquitous practice of dialectic and disputation. As the big truth faded and left the many little truths in its place, and as the little corporations broke loose from the big corporation, business men took the places of clergymen on the board of trustees, and freedom of conscience and imagination took the place of a great common consent. Business management of free intellectual enterprise became the pattern of academic government. The contract between teachers and boards of trustees concerning salary and teaching hours is about all that holds these corporate entities together.

I am not here raising the familiar unanswered questions concerning the fateful domination of schools by the church in the past or the pressures of the big business corporations on the little corporations of learning of the present, or yet the immanent control of the schools, colleges, and universities by big government. These questions belong with other questions that try to comprehend the many social, economic, and political revolutions providing together the subject matter of greatest academic concern, the Industrial Revolution. It is for a proper treatment of these questions that a new clarification and implementation of the principles of academic freedom are now imperative. For the present occasion I should like to put these questions aside for the purpose of paying special attention to the subtler and more immediate consideration—namely, the business management of the intellectual enterprise. It is this that has made our academies benevolent tyrannies, corrupted the processes of assent and dissent, and killed the spirit of academic freedom.

THE CHARITABLE corporation of learning, because its operation involves funding and investing large amounts of capital and the spending of large incomes, invites business men to sit on its board of directors. They in turn hire presidents, deans, registrars, and public-relations experts as managers, and these hire researchers and teachers, and treat donors, students, and students' parents as customers. Although the rules of the market are almost entirely irrelevant to the charitable corporation and the purposes of learning, the management, trustees and executives alike, imitates the business organization in directing the affairs of the academy. The raising, the husbanding, and the investment of funds and the marketing of the product determine the choice of teachers, the strategy of research, and the educational policy. For the most part the delicate problems of teaching and learning are subtly reduced, even by teacher and student, to questions of salesmanship, personnel management, and interpersonal relations. It is as if the board of directors and the financiers of a shipping firm were invited to engineer and navigate their ships.

There is a ceremonial show of delegation of powers from trustees to president, to executive officers, to department heads, to teachers in laboratory and classroom, and there is a semblance of representation in faculty committees and sometimes even on boards of trustees, although this is more often representation of successful alumni; but the decisions, when they are not dodged by everybody, are made by the board or by the president, whichever has raised more money. The benevolence of the tyranny is always to be measured by the degree to which the central government consults or responds to pressure groups, lobbies, or public opinion.

There are persons to whom the practices of academic freedom are vital. The processes by which assent and dissent, deliberation and persuasion, lead to agreement on the conditions of learning and teaching are matters of life and death in the intellectual enterprise. But there are no orderly ways by which the judgment and will of the teachers and students can be made effective. Academic politics and faculty meetings are notoriously trivial or violent. As in student governments, none but trivial decisions can be arrived at; the responsibility and the power reside elsewhere.

This is bad training and discipline for the citizens of the republic of learning; they have been well called the irresponsibles in our society. Not even the American Association of University Professors, imitating the techniques of the labor unions, negotiating for wages and job tenure, and restraining itself from adopting collective bargaining and the strike, can rally the courage of the academic proletariat. Battle by black list seems to be the last crude resort. The fact is that there are deeply planted and long-standing habits of acquiescence and compromise on all sides of what might be a continuous, significant, and useful conflict. These habits, taken together, amount to a silent conspiracy of mutual stultification within what is piously called the family of scholars. Everyone knows who the patricians are and who the pater familias is, and that they have little knowledge of and less care for the essential purpose of the professional community, which has consequently come to be concerned with the bare perpetuation of an institution that assures its members of security and livelihood of sorts.

It is therefore not to be expected that a community so weak and inept at its own self-government will quickly learn to defend its existence and purpose from external threats in a time of trouble. In a group whose members have learned for so long to practice private intellectual enterprise for profit—not to say, stealthy indulgence in private interest and whim for the entertainment of student customers—common defense of learning and teaching will be an embarrassing sham. Compliance with the Loyalty Order, far beyond the call of duty, will be the easier way out. Therefore we may expect to see that faculties will approach external investigating committees with proposals that they set up their own inquisitions. They can be much sharper inquisitors, as the University of California has demonstrated.

The internal damage that benevolent tyranny has worked on our educational institutions in the last century is very great. In spite of the going concerns in science and technology that the laboratory represents, there is progressive deterioration in the practice of the intellectual arts. These could be revived if the academic government would support dialectic and deliberation and the decisions that would flow from them. But for this there must be a revival of the great tradition of dissent, the kind of dissent that no business management can tolerate.

WHOSE CONTINENT?

Central African Crisis . . *by Basil Davidson*

London

WHEN I was a boy I used to think of Africa, tropical Africa, the Africa of Livingstone and Stanley, as a green dark wilderness where naked blacks and other living creatures lay in wait for Christian gentlemen. Had not Nevinson written of the "loathsome darkness of the mangrove swamp"; did not the scattered bones of missionaries and lone adventurers prove that this was not only a dangerous continent but one that was evil and almost beyond saving? My picture of Africa was the familiar stereotype of Englishmen. Only in recent years has some notion of the reality penetrated the non-specialist mind.

Tales of that feckless and frightful scarecrow known to white settlers and administrators in Africa as the "African" may still be heard in clubs and bars up and down the continent. He has disappeared from serious conversation. Africans, we know now, are various, like their languages, capacities, looks, and degree of social organization. But with all this variety Africans have developed a common aspiration which bears a modern and forbidding name—nationalism. Holding the promise of bitter strife—in the measure that colonialism retards and frustrates the entry of African peoples into the modern world—this nationalism stands for freedom from oppression in the minds of many millions of men and women.

The knowledge that a different and a better life is possible is the essence of African nationalism. Determination to attain it varies in intensity from the boiling ferment of West Africa to the smoldering ashes beneath the paternalist autocracies of the Belgian and the French Congo. It erupts in the central and southern British territories through African congresses which are more or less embryonic nationalist parties. It is behind the disciplined and self-sacrificing campaign of non-violent resistance to racial laws in the Union of South Africa, the terrorist extremism in Kenya, the sober welding of African opinion in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, and the massive drive toward self-government and full nationhood in West Africa.

Most African societies today are living through a crucial period, preparing to make the leap—in parts of West Africa already making it—from subjection toward independence. Imperialism has met the challenge by seeking new ways of prolonging and reinforcing white control. The British government's proposals for a federation of the protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia are its solution for the problem in Central Africa. The situation here is different from that in West Africa. Climate and conditions of trade have kept white men out of West Africa. In the Central African territories—as in Kenya and Tanganyika in East Africa—whites have settled in slowly growing numbers since about 1890 and live there today as in their native country, believing that their children and their children's children will, and should, inherit their lands.

The proposed Federation of British Central Africa would contain fewer than 200,000 whites, outnumbered by Africans about thirty to one. The white settlers, mainly British and South African Dutch, have worked for it because they want full release from the control of the British government. And they want this because the British government is under certain well-defined obligations to the African peoples in the area. Neither Northern Rhodesia nor Nyasaland was conquered by arms: their chiefs accepted British protection in return for a clear pledge that African interests should remain paramount. In Southern Rhodesia the settlers provoked around the turn of

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BASIL DAVIDSON is a British journalist who has spent much time in Africa.

the century a murderous war with the two principal tribes, the Matabeles and Mashona, and crushed their tribal power. Granted self-government in 1923, they have since trod the same racialist path as the whites of South Africa.

In the protectorates, by contrast, government has traditionally stood between the Africans and the settlers. The Africans grew accustomed to two kinds of whites—the settlers, whom they recognized as their enemies, and the government in London, to which they believed they could look for protection. A third group, the representatives of the mining interests and of the old British South Africa Company organized by Cecil Rhodes, generally identified itself with the home government.

IN 1949 A BIG CHANGE occurred. The colonial powers were multiplying their efforts to find new sources of raw material in these rich territories: Northern Rhodesia supplies, for example, a quarter of the world's copper. United States capital had entered the field. The need for absolute white control was urgent. The settlers' leader in Northern Rhodesia, Roy Welensky, first got himself elected to the Legislative Council on a program of expropriation of the mines and then, shrewdly, negotiated a deal with the mining companies. In return for an agreement that a substantial proportion of copper profits would remain in the territory to the account of the Northern Rhodesian government, the settlers would abandon all thought of expropriation.

With settlers and mining interests in close alliance and shouting for self-government, the imperial authorities prepared to comply. After being rejected for years, federation—a short cut to settlers' self-government—became practical politics. Since 1950 the British government has been working on a plan for federation and trying to persuade the Africans to accept it. The scheme was completed at a conference in London last January. Meanwhile African opposition has grown steadily.

It was in 1949, the date of the alliance of all white interests, that a conscious and determined African nationalism in these territories was born. African congresses have been formed in all three and have grown in influence until they now represent most Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and probably in Southern Rhodesia as well. (Since Africans in Southern Rhodesia are virtually without political rights, it is hard to know what they think, but all the signs indicate strong latent nationalism.)

The next few months will show whether or not the British government intends to go back on its pledges to the original inhabitants of the area. If it does, as now seems probable, the world will be called upon to watch one more ruthless struggle between "civilization" and a backward people striving to move forward. African nationalism in these territories is a healthy and constructive movement. Its leaders have made it clear, that their goal is not black supremacy but multi-racial democracy attained by reasonable and gradual steps. Advocates of federation insist that white domination must be made permanent. It would be a rash man who would prophesy that African nationalism would not turn destructive if Africans saw every door to eventual equality slammed in their faces.

Americans cannot be indifferent to this situation. American mining interests today are powerful—perhaps all-powerful—in most of Central Africa, whether British, Belgian, or Portuguese. They are as much a part of the apparatus of imperialism as any of the heirs of Cecil Rhodes or the despoilers of the Congo basin. Is imperialism, too, to become part of American life?

LAND IN PERIL

Soil Program Slipping . . *by Hugh H. Bennett*

FROM the sidelines what is being done to the soil-conservation program looks disturbing. Only a few months ago it was making splendid progress. The Soil Conservation Service was furnishing the farmer-directed soil-conservation districts with technical assistance, free, and everywhere the arrangement was functioning well. Field workers helped farmers and ranchers to do the things they had not learned how to do themselves and won so much respect and cooperation from the farm operators that their transfer to another locality was often protested. Now it appears that the machine is not working smoothly and that the whole program will be slowed down.

Any let-up in soil conservation would amount to a national danger. Productive land is our basic resource, the supply is limited, and what we have is being cut into by still uncontrolled erosion and the construction of buildings, roads, and airfields. Fortunately, people are beginning to realize the danger and are demanding that our agricultural lands be protected. They see that with our rapidly increasing population, we must either safeguard what land we possess or have recourse to synthetic foods or strict birth control, neither of which promises much for the near future.

The progress we have already made in conserving soil and water convinces me that we can more than meet our domestic needs for food if we go ahead quickly and determinedly with the conservation job started nearly two decades ago. The safety of more than one-fourth of our farmland has already been secured—an achievement those of us who started the work never thought

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HUGH H. BENNETT, formerly chief of the federal Soil Conservation Service, is president of the Soil Conservation Society of America and author of "This Land We Defend."

possible in our time. Continued progress will depend on keeping the work under the direction of capable and sympathetic scientists who will recognize the need for permanent conservation, the kind that cannot be bought at so much per acre or accomplished with palliatives, short cuts, or directives. Lasting conservation calls for scientific treatment of the land, adapted to the special character and needs of each area. The water-borne products of erosion cannot be economically dredged from river beds or coastal waters and redistributed over our fields.

Modern soil-conservation methods invariably increase per-acre yields. The production of some 800 farms in many parts of the country practicing modern soil conservation and keeping production accounts was found to average 36 per cent above that of the same number of farms on similar land where little or no conservation was practiced. This study was made several years ago. If it were made today it probably would reveal an increase in production of 50 per cent or more, since conservation practice usually gives optimum benefits several years after being started.

IT IS OF THE UTMOST importance to give protection to all land that needs it before it is too late. An adequate food supply is essential to national defense and a satisfactory standard of living. Erosion and use of land for non-agricultural purposes is taking out of production probably a million acres annually—twenty thousand fifty-acre farms. The erosion can be stopped, and much construction work can be directed to less productive land. What will actually be done depends on the demand of a well-informed public and on the efforts of the capable technicians serving the more than 2,400 soil-conservation districts in the country.

The Soil Conservation Service has proved its usefulness. Many conservation measures applied to the land twenty years ago are still holding satisfactorily. The districts have demonstrated their capacity to handle the job at the local level. The reported deterioration of morale among S. C. S. personnel must not be allowed to continue. It must be overcome at all levels of work wherever found, and replaced with the old spirit and push that accomplished so much under the original program. A directive issued by the Secretary of Agriculture in February, 1951, was supposed to streamline the department's complicated soil-conservation activities, but the situation still calls for improvement. Two big soil-conservation organizations in one department—the Agricultural Conservation Programs Branch and the Soil Conservation Service—are not needed and hinder understanding and cooperation.

One change which seems likely to prove harmful was the disruption of the S. C. S. research program, which for nearly two decades had helped find quick answers to problems encountered in the field work. This program was taken apart and portions of it turned over to an outside agency. My experience has been that an action agency like the Soil Conservation Service should conduct its own research. If it is handled by another office, particularly one primarily concerned with long-time research, the action agency may not get what it needs but what the other agency thinks it should have.

Another change started toward the end of the preceding Administration and carried over into the present one shouldered the S. C. S. with the work of the soil survey. I pointed out at the time that the addition of this unneeded responsibility could easily lead to overloading and confusion, and my fear seems to be borne out. The old soil survey was established fifty years ago for the primary purpose of classifying soils. This, of course, has a certain scientific value, but it has no great usefulness in soil conservation. The Soil Conservation Service has developed its own land-capability survey for the strictly utilitarian purpose of guiding the development of conservation plans for individual farms. Land is divided into eight broad categories according to its productivity potential. It is a quick and simple system of land evaluation that takes into consideration the general nature of the soil in the locality, the slope of the land, drainage conditions, present use, and adaptability for safe agricultural use. There is no more necessity for combining these distinctly different types of surveys than for combining both with the topographic survey of the United States Geological Survey, which also deals with the land but employs basically different methods and gathers facts for quite different purposes.

THE ANNUAL REPORT of the Soil Conservation Service for the fiscal year 1952 shows that something has slowed the application of soil-conservation measures to the land, if I have properly interpreted the figures given. The 1952 accomplishment figures covering "conservation practices newly applied in soil-conservations districts with Soil Conservation Service assistance" add up to more than a million acres less than the total for the fiscal year 1950 (counting fifteen acres benefited per mile of terracing and diversions), although the appropriation for the regular soil-conservation work was five and a quarter million dollars more in the later period. This looks like less done for more money, with respect at least to area coverage, and that counts heavily in the soil-conservation program.

I am calling attention to these danger signals because of my continuing interest in the S. C. S. program. As long as there is any possibility of helping to keep soil conservation properly aligned I shall want to do what I can by flagging the plays that appear to be the wrong ones. I am aware that there is no point in doing this unless it is possible at the same time to indicate remedial action. My suggestion in this instance is to turn over to the S. C. S. all the soil-conservation work carried on at the federal level and to keep the agency completely free of politics and panaceas. This would be a practical solution of a problem that must be tackled without unnecessary delay. The people, I think are going to demand it.

BOOKS

Moravia, Moralist

By Frances Keene

THE past twelve months have been eventful for the leading Italian novelist, Alberto Moravia, whose last work to appear in English in a fine new translation is his first novel, "Gli Indifferenti," written twenty-four years ago. In the space of a little over a year Moravia's works have been placed on the Papal Index, reprints of his books have been banned in Chicago, he has been invited to the United States by our cultural attaché in Rome, and he has been denied a visa by our State Department. It does not seem to matter that Chicago is not under direct Vatican jurisdiction, or that the cultural attaché is a part of the same State Department that denied the writer his visa.

Moravia visited this country in 1938 without, as I recall, visa trouble. He was a young author whose first work, the same "Indifferent Ones" now reissued as "Time of Indifference" (Farrar, Straus and Young), had given him meteoric prominence in Europe. In the crucial thirties Moravia's books and articles and short stories seemed without factious political overtones here, and for those who wanted to go into his background the varying allegiances of the critics who praised him would seem to bear out his own non-political attitude. Thus though in Italy he had been launched by G. A. Borgese, then leading critic for the *Corriere della Sera* and subsequently one of the most influential anti-Fascist voluntary exiles, he was shepherded on that trip to the United States by Giuseppe Prezzolini, whose acquiescence to the regime had been rewarded by the fat plum of an appointment as unofficial Fascist cultural attaché in New York, where for a generation he headed Columbia's Casa Italiana. On the face of it, you could not tell Moravia's political views by association, as is now the fashion. He was simply a good young writer on the way up. That he was personally much more than that has been amply attested by the years between, but we are talking of first impressions and of 1938.

Because of the stir "Gli Indifferenti" aroused in Europe, Putnam brought it out in an unfortunate rendering which caused American readers to mislay Moravia for almost fifteen years. However, the keen interest in Moravia's work felt by the late Professor Livingston of Columbia persuaded that gallant Italophile, despite his growing blindness, to dictate a translation of a long novel of Moravia's, known in English as "Wheel of Fortune." The novel was published by Viking in 1937 and, for different reasons, met substantially the same fate as had Putnam's "The Indifferent Ones."

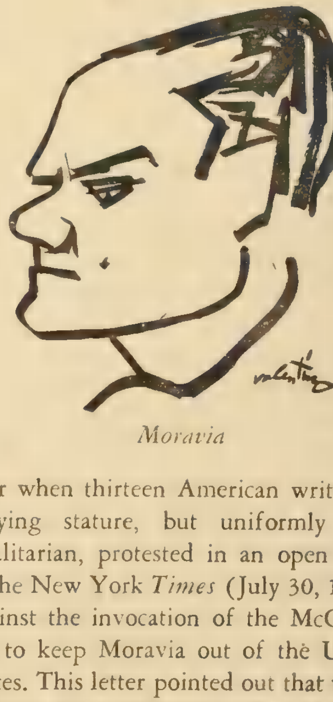
NOW THE WAR, interrupting our close acquaintance with what was new in Continental letters, came to break the jinx. Since its close Moravia has really been introduced to this country for the first time, thanks largely to the sapient handling of his current publisher, John Farrar, who bought up Moravia titles and issued them in good translations in the order best calculated to advance the author on the American market.

The first published was "The Woman of Rome," an improbable first-person tale which purports to lay bare the life and hard times of a Roman tart; works which in Italian had preceded it were held back, among them "Agostino," which Farrar, Straus later issued here as part of the twin-story volume "Two Adolescents." Moravia's publisher was right: "The Woman of Rome," helped by the wave of post-war interest in Italian life, "got" the public.

Since then, Moravia novels have appeared regularly and enjoyed almost uniformly enthusiastic critical acclaim, plus at least two notable sales records. Sales have, of course, extended to the reprint editions of the books, and Moravia is now an American best-seller.

In seeking an explanation of State Department hysteria over Moravia, one would be hard put to establish any marked political alignment on his part. With the exception of his finest novel, "The Conformist," in which he masterfully portrays a type of man who lends himself to total identification with oligarchy, not one book is specifically polemical. And this same "Conformist" is somewhat counterbalanced, if you will, by "The Fancy Dress Party," a weak, verbose novel in an earlier vein in which Moravia's *opera buffa* dictator is relatively endearing. Thus you cannot make Moravia into a tract writer: he remains an increasingly good novelist with a vital interest in modern man's dilemma of survival amid pressures essentially alien to him. And his work has validity in that it is first felt with genuine profundity, then expressed with terse economy and elegance of design.

Moravia's emphasis on work rather than tract was publicly recognized last year when thirteen American writers of varying stature, but uniformly anti-totalitarian, protested in an open letter to the New York *Times* (July 30, 1952) against the invocation of the McCarran act to keep Moravia out of the United States. This letter pointed out that when, in 1950, the *Corriere della Sera* of Milan wanted to send Moravia to Moscow for a series of first-hand reports, "the Soviet Union [also] refused him a visa." Captious friends have remarked that had "The Conformist" been a less successful argument against bourgeois uniformity as a breeding ground for Fascism, and had Moravia trimmed his sails to the wind when asked if he "knew" any Communists, he would have graced many a speaker's platform here from coast to coast.



Moravia

FRANCES KEENE lived in Italy for many years. She edited "Neither Liberty nor Bread," a documented history of Fascism as told by the opposition.

Whatever the truth of these speculations, the fact remains that church and state pressures on both sides of the Atlantic descended on the author with startling synchronization. And after much of the racket had died down, the fact remained that Moravia reprints felt the ax of the Gathings committee, which, as one commentator shrewdly observed, considers that "what is obscene at a quarter is not obscene at three bucks!"

Now it may be objected that there is no connection between the Papal Index, the Gathings committee's condemnation of "Woman of Rome" and "The Conformist" (along, of course, with a spate of other books), and the episode of the cultural attaché and the refused visa. If any instance of such a compounding of coincidence existed in relation to another author of like importance, one might be tempted to give greater weight to the objection. But establishment of a chain of command in censorship is almost impossible. What is important, however, is a clear understanding of those elements in the writer's work which all repressive forces, whether working singly or together, might take exception to.

CERTAINLY my own long familiarity with Moravia's work would lead me to emphasize his morality above everything else. By this I mean that in Moravia's world there is no fakery, no expedient bow to unshared orthodoxies, whether political or religious, *no attenuating circumstances*. In the highest, most personally responsible sense Moravia is a moralist. He does not preach, it is true, but his every book carries within it the dispassionate examination of man's flaws in relation to his possibilities. And though his grasp of motivations is clinically sound, he recognizes man as capable of aspiration, heartbreak, renunciation, selfless attachment. What Moravia says with ever-increasing effectiveness is that until man assesses the circumambient world and his own role in it, until he accepts responsibility for his execution of that role, he can know no peace, and his lot can become no more enviable than a sorry acceptance of the makeshift present.

Now this, more than political proselytizing, is dangerous fare on the open, or the paper-back, market. First, the in-

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RECOLLECTIONS OF ANDRÉ GIDE

by Roger Martin du Gard

THE VIKING PRESS, 18 East 48th Street, New York 17

telligence characteristic of Moravia's protagonists, which makes them capable of continual self-analysis, is suspect—though the Vatican has but recently lifted the ban on psychoanalysis, the climate continues unfriendly. Second, the middle class, which is Moravia's scene, has never looked shabbier, no, not even in Flaubert. Third, the sacrosanct nature of the status quo is subject to continuous tacit attack. Fourth, self-honesty is the only reliable, indisputable virtue. The implicit exhortation to men and women to see their lives for what they are, their world for what it is, runs through every book from first to last. And the unquestioned genius of the man for creating characters of believable proportions, for placing them before problems of genuine impact in a three-dimensional world, makes his work very jarring indeed to those whose interest lies in maintaining an attitude of pliant acquiescence.

Since no political label will stick—for Moravia can easily establish the fact that he was no card-carrying Fascist or Communist—the next level of attack is obscenity and then, bolstering that, sacrilege.

Now "Time of Indifference" has come to swell the list of incisive novels in which Moravia exposes facets of middle-class life in all their gross vulgarity and meretricious hypocrisy. That this was an early book is not, as it happens, relevant: it can stand with his best as a work of power. But its republication will add to the unease with which the author is regarded in certain high places. Justice Brandeis once stated that "among free men the deterrents ordinarily to be applied to prevent crime are education and punishment for violations of the law, not abridgment of the rights of free speech"; and more recently—in 1951, after pressure by Catholic groups forced the New York Board of Regents to ban "The Miracle"—Justice Clark said that, in attempting to define sacrilege, "the censor is set adrift upon a boundless sea amid myriad conflicting views, with no charts but those provided by the most vocal and powerful orthodoxies."

What it all boils down to is how far can you go in criticizing criteria of behavior which are recognized as false but to which the vast majority give patient lip-service? In prosecuting such social studies as "Woman of Rome," "The Conformist," and "Conjugal Love," "all that is relied on," to quote Judge Bok, "is an indefinable fear for other people's moral standards—a fear that I regard as a democratic anomaly." A writer of the unquestioned stature of Moravia may well become a test case in the question of how far our fifth freedom, the freedom to criticize things as they are in this best of all possible worlds, has been threatened if not already curtailed in America.

New Books in Brief

Author and Translator

DOM CASMURRO. By Machado de Assis. Translated by Helen Caldwell. The Noonday Press. $3.50.

Machado de Assis, Brazilian satirist of the nineteenth century, was known in this country chiefly to students of Portuguese until last year, when his "Epitaph of a Small Winner" was translated. That book hid a penetrating irony and a pungent wit behind a deceptively mild style. The accompanying publicity suggested that it ranked as a minor masterpiece, whereas the great work was "Dom Casmurro." Now that the latter has been made available, readers may compare the two and make their own choice. From the point of view of plot "Dom Casmurro" is undoubtedly the more imposing achievement. It is a rounded novel of love and betrayal, a study of deceit in which he who tells the tale has been cuckolded by the woman he loved best and the friend he most trusted. Set in a quiet house in Rio de Janeiro, the story is fashioned with meticulous care for the crucial small details which prove in the end more important than the larger forces to which homage is customarily paid. Belief in the power of the small to destroy the large is the creed by which the author lived and wrote, and it holds the secret of his brilliance.

That creed and that brilliance are conveyed by the shaping of the word, the sentence, the paragraph to the author's intent. When "Dom Casmurro" left the author's hand, every nuance, every modeling and shading, was provided as its maker intended. But when the translator takes hold to clothe such subtlety in another language a new problem is posed. Will what comes out be a true English equivalent or merely a smudged replica of the main design? The translator of "Dom Casmurro" is Helen Caldwell, professor in the Classics Department of the University of California, and winner of a translation prize sponsored by three institutions, including the Pan American Union. The translator of "Epitaph for a Small Winner" was William Grossman, lawyer and economist, teaching in the field of transportation at New York University. For this reviewer, the professional loses out to the amateur: Dr. Grossman's English caught the mordant subtlety of the original; Miss Caldwell's missed the bite.

New Book from Tawney

THE ATTACK AND OTHER PAPERS. By R. H. Tawney. Harcourt Brace and Company. $4.50.

Although not a major work, this collection of essays and addresses is very welcome, for we have had no book from Professor Tawney for far too long a time. Its subject matter is varied. The title piece describes the author's experiences in the World War I battle in which he was seriously wounded. The others include an impressionistic but prophetic sketch of China in 1930, two discussions of Labor Party policy which are still apropos though written in 1934 and 1944, two essays on the Webbs full of illuminating personal touches, and two articles on Christianity and social problems that present a trenchant challenge to the churches.

These papers may perhaps be described as "occasional," but they have none of the anemia that word sometimes implies. Writing a robust and witty prose, drawing on rich stores of historical knowledge, Professor Tawney both informs and stimulates—in short, educates. The temptation to quote is irresistible, but one short passage must suffice. "It would be optimistic to say that, even today, a posture of deference to wealth and social position, and of kindly patronage to common men, is universally recognized by Christians to be the negation of Christianity which in fact it is. The statement that 'religion is the opiate of the people' is naturally resented. It is difficult to deny, however, that a good many Christians continue to behave as though it were precisely that which they think religion ought to be."

Reply to Fry

AN EXPERIENCE OF CRITICS by Christopher Fry and The Approach to Dramatic Criticism by Ivor Brown, W. A. Darlington, Alan Dent, Harold Hobson, Philip Hope-Wallace, Eric Keown, J. C. Trewin, and T. C. Worsley. Edited by Kaye Webb. Oxford. $2.25.

Eight British drama critics reply to complaints made by Christopher Fry at a dinner of their Circle. Mr. Fry's phrases are often witty, but their burden is familiar. Critics take too little pains to consider what the playwright is getting at. He needs encouragement rather than snubbing. Understanding praise is best, but praise of any kind would help. T. C. Worsley of the *New Statesman and Nation* makes the tartest reply. "What authors, actors, and producers want is praise . . . What, on the other hand, they *need*, whether they know it or not, is discrimination." Most of the others content themselves with the usual response: (1) They write for playgoers not for playwrights. (2) One man's opinion, not infallible judgment, is all they claim to deal in. (3) They do the best they can. Pleasant reading but not much new light on a very dark subject.

Dream of the Past

THE ECHOING GROVE. By Rosamond Lehmann. Harcourt, Brace. $3.95.

An odd novel by the author of "Dusty Answer" and "Invitation to the Waltz," not a success and not a failure, despite the incomprehensible reviews it has received. The strained and tortuous relationship of two sisters, which is complicated by one sister's love affair with the other's husband, is told through a series of interrupted time-sequences and broken reveries. As in some of Virginia Woolf's novels, everybody is seen through somebody else's eyes; a type of abstractionism and relativity in the technique of the novel that can be very confusing. The background is a changing England from that Edwardian scene of security and affection—in which Miss Lehmann is more at home—to the social revolution of World War II, full of sturdy determination to compensate for a "lack of petrol." The total effect is that of an intricate and uncertain dream of the past, sometimes nostalgic and tender, at other times unpleasant and harsh when it isn't, as dreams can be, downright tedious. Probably Miss Lehmann's characters are not up to the level of her own insights in the novel. Or they are too old for her special capacity to deal with the tremors and anguishes of adolescence; one suspects that neither maturity nor modern society is her cup of tea.

Theater

Harold Clurman

THOUGH "Can-Can" (Shubert Theater) suffers from what is known in the trade as "book trouble," it provides a pleasant sight and, for me at any rate, an agreeable evening in the theater.

I am not so hard to please in musical comedy as some of my more sophisticated New York friends, who must have everything trim, tight, and as packed with stuff as a sausage is with meat. In fact, I am often inclined to shudder at the severity of our musical-comedy connoisseurs. They will not tolerate a dull moment, a sprawling scene, a muffed punch line, or the slightest decline in zest. (Tickets at musicals come as high as $7.20 a seat.) Still, many of these harsh judges looked favorably upon "Hazel Flagg," which I prefer to forget, and at "Paint Your Wagon," which, for the most part, weighed heavily on my patience. Perhaps they forgive all where there is plenty of noise.

In musical comedy I seek only a few good spots of sight and sound, an occasion to smile, and some pleasant people to watch. The purpose of the musical-comedy form is genial: how can one refrain from greeting it with cordiality? The spirit is what counts much more

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than the technique. When I like the approach, I like the show.

In "Can-Can" I particularly liked Michael Kidd's dance numbers, which by themselves were (almost) worth the price of admission. Kidd's talent is twinkling as well as energetic. No matter how strenuous the type of movement he may design, the effect has a friendly prankishness, a kind of benevolent teasing or good-natured and humorous mischievousness, always fundamentally delicate and light. In "Can-Can," moreover, the dancers he has chosen—beginning with the attractive and versatile Gwen Verdon—form a lovable and amazingly agile group.

Not enough attention, it seems to me, or enough tribute is paid to the brilliant training and natural gifts which are shown by the virtually anonymous young people who make the ensemble of our musical shows. No other country possesses such groups in its popular theater. In Europe these people would be regarded as artists; here, though they have far more craft background and prepare themselves with infinitely more hard work than most of our actors, they are more or less taken for granted as part of the new-fangled "chorus." Dance directors like Agnes de Mille, Jerome Robbins, Michael Kidd, and *their* teachers have made a real contribution to our theater not only through the dances they have staged but through the people they have discovered and helped develop.

Kidd has been delightfully abetted by Motley's costumes. Jo Mielziner's sets are nice—they have a kind of softness which suits a musical about old Montmartre; and on the stage floor itself there are, besides the aforementioned dancers, some good people. Lilo, the leading lady, has that racy quality of French gutter staunchness which is brazen without being offensive. She is, however, stronger in comedy than in sentiment. Hans Conried as a Bulgarian sculptor with an unpronounceable name has a sepulchrally striking mask which he contrives to make funny through a slyly comic nature, and there are at least two girls in lesser roles—tall Shelah Hackett and the dimpled redhead Jean Kraeme—whose good looks are extremely important in a show of this kind.

The fault with Abe Burrows's book is that his talent, which is essentially that of a loose-jointed, slapdash joshing, is not genuine in sentiment or sharp and sustained enough for real satire. That is why the semi-burlesque duel scene and a scene in which a killing notice is read to an artist are funny, while the main plot—something about censorship in Toulouse-Lautrec's day, which is not entirely sincere to begin with—is weak.

Cole Porter's songs are occasionally distinguished by a suave nostalgia, like warmed over memories of kinder and more gracious times and places, but some of them seem short of breath and invention, as if the musical impulse behind them failed before the notes were finished. (One of the songs—the second-act tenor solo "It's All Right with Me"—has a sweet feeling but does not make a complete impression because Peter Cookson, who performs a decent job throughout, does not possess sufficient freedom as a stage singer.)

Yet none of these reservations, though they may seem harsh in printed statement, matter much: the show is gratifying to one's tired bones. Certainly, I found it a warm send-off to my trip to Tel-Aviv, Paris, and London, from which I hope to speed my readers news of the theater.

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Music

B. H. Haggin

THE simple good sense of the Metropolitan's decision to produce Musorgsky's own "Boris Godunov" was so extraordinary, in the light of the work's history, that perhaps this alone is enough to be grateful for, and one shouldn't complain about the production's inadequacies and defects. Certainly if the choice were between this production and none I would choose this one even with its assembled odds and ends of scenery, Yannopoulos's ineffective staging, and Stiedry's ineffective conducting. But it would have been nice if the Metropolitan's good sense had extended to realizing that this first presentation of one of the great masterpieces of the operatic literature was more important than anything the Metropolitan had done in these last few years—more important than the new productions of already known works, more important possibly than even the presentation of Stravinsky's "The Rake's Progress"—and that it was "Boris" rather than "La Forza del Destino" that should have the scenery by Eugene Berman, "Boris" as well as "The Rake's Progress" that should have the first-class stage director and conductor.

In other respects the Metropolitan did well by the work. It commissioned Karol Rathaus to make a revision of the orchestration that would be a more effective realization of Musorgsky's sonorous image—with results that showed the need of further revision: the orchestra came over well at rehearsals in the empty auditorium and when I sat upstairs at the dress rehearsal, but not when I sat downstairs in the filled auditorium at the last performance. For the title role it used two superb singing actors, London and Siepi, of whom London had a fresher and more beautiful voice that was a little too light in color and weight, Siepi a darker and deeper voice that was more effective in the part. And the other singers were good, with two exceptions: Sigurd Bjoerling and Baccaloni, of whom Baccaloni produced the worse sounds, Bjoerling the worse-mangled English. As pronounced by London and the others the English words came through with remarkable clarity at the rehearsals and dress rehearsal and over the air; and heard without effort they were unobtrusive and acceptable. But Siepi's words, with his accent and in the filled auditorium, were difficult to understand; and when the effort to do so drew attention away from the music they became an annoying distraction.

And finally I should add about Stiedry that he produced excellent performances of Haydn symphonies with the New Friends of Music Orchestra years ago, and an excellent performance of Mozart's "Così Fan Tutte" at the Metropolitan, but that the effective pacing and cohesive tension of those performances have been lacking in his performances of Verdi and now of "Boris."

As for the HMV recording of the Rimsky version, when the original "Boris" was produced at Covent Garden a few years ago I wrote to HMV suggesting that it be recorded, and received one of those letters in which the writer assumes that he—or in this case she—is smart enough to contrive the evasions and nonsense in the letter but the reader is too stupid to see through them. That is, after all the recordings of complete operas HMV had done I was told that to record a complete opera was formidable to the point of impossibility. And in due time HMV recorded the complete "Boris" of Rimsky. It is sung in Russian by excellent soloists and a Russian chorus with the French National Radio Orchestra under Dobrowen's direction; and the defects in the performance are the many objectionable details of tempo and dynamics in Dobrowen's treatment of the work, and the vocal distortion Christoff resorts to in the last scene to differentiate between Boris and Pimen (he also sings Varlaam). The accompanying booklet gives a transliterated version of the Russian text and an English translation, both by Louis Biancoli.

Prokofiev's last symphony, his No. 7, was played by the Philadelphia Orchestra in New York; and everything in it—whether the few insipidly sweet tunes of the first and third movements, or the waltz of the second movement, or the characteristically lively and jocular finale —shocked one with its lack of vital impulse and energy. It was undoubtedly music written to please the simple-minded; but it was as undoubtedly music written by an enfeebled man.

Discovering in my program, before the concert, that the Prokofiev was to be followed by the Brahms Piano Concerto No. 2, I reflected on the miseries of being a member of the great Philadelphia Orchestra and having, year after year, to play Brahms, Brahms, and more Brahms. Then the concert began with Ormandy's transcription of Bach's D minor Toccata and Fugue for organ, and I appreciated the miseries of being a member of the great Philadelphia Orchestra and having to play Bach-Ormandy under Ormandy. It was the Stokowski style blown up to the point of caricature, with an added blatant, brassy vulgarity beyond belief; and if that is what this wonderful orchestra was made to do in England one can understand the comments there about American machine-tooled and chromium-plated performances, which it must have given some of our English cousins much satisfaction to be able to make.

Letters

Surgery the Only Cure

Dear Sirs: Congressional investigating committees of the un-American variety are a blot and a curse on the American scene, not because of their techniques, methods, or procedures, primarily, but by the mere fact of their existence. It is futile to wish that they would change their techniques. These reprehensible techniques are part and parcel of their reason for being and of the motives of the men who direct and serve on them. It is ridiculous to suggest that their procedure should be legal, for their entire purpose makes this impossible.

Every move made by these committees, from their creation to the present moment, has indicated that their purpose is to limit the thought and action of Americans, to force them to comply with standards set by the committees. No technical, methodological, or procedural change can make this purpose any less destructive of the basic prerequisites of political freedom.

One "unfriendly" witness, testifying before a session of the House Un-American Activities Committee in Los Angeles, remarked that the existence of the committee was illegal. Mr. Tavenner, the committee counsel, replied that the committee had been authorized by Congress. The witness's reply was that the committee had obviously succeeded in confusing Congress along with some of the rest of us. Whatever the merits of this retort . . . Mr. Tavenner seems to imply that authorization by Congress carries with it automatic constitutionality. This is a grave error. . . .

Justice Holmes, who enunciated the principle of "tolerance for the thought we hate," would turn over in his grave if he were aware of this colossal denial of all that he fought for in the framework of constitutional law and civil liberties. All of us had better turn over before we go to the graveyard of moral and intellectual idiocy being prescribed for us by the investigators.

Evanston, Ill. ROBERT R. HUME

Let Us Praise, Too

Dear Sirs: Every channel of public information daily provides ample material to merit our condemnation. But let us also be vigilant in watching for items which are praiseworthy. For example:

1. Senator Flanders of Vermont, in a speech referring to the recent Siberian plane incident, charged the U. S. Air Force with conducting psychological warfare on the people.

2. Headline: "Closing of Negro College Suggested to Delaware." (Recommendation of a committee set up by Governor Boggs.)

3. The Very Reverend James A. Pike, Cathedral of St. John the Divine, declined an invitation to preach the bac-

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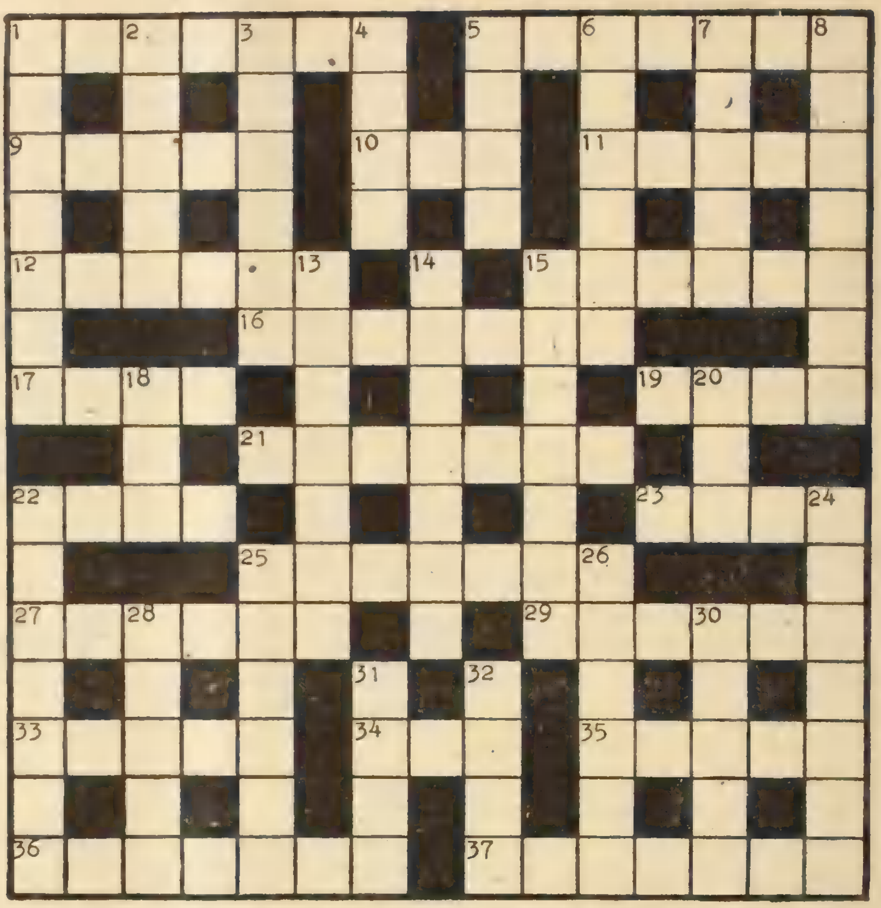
Crossword Puzzle No. 516

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 9. On your feet they shouldn't be exactly monotonous. (3-4, 5)
5 See 10 across. 9 See 1 across.
10, 5 across, 20, 29. Implying a late example of sausage, by the sound of it. (3, 5, 2, 3, 2, 4)
11 See 5 down.
12 Stands for all but the first of well-known poppers. (6)
15 37 might be reading this. (7)
16 Moral? Find it and others around.
17 and 31 down. Is she a fellow-traveler? (4, 4)
19 Cyclops was one. (4)
21 Popular information, certainly not of the high rolling country. (3-4)
22 See 18 down.
23 Check her out of 13. (4)
25 Common in both April and June. (7)
27 See 18 down. 29 See 10 across.
33 It's an ill sorted arrangement, everything included. (2, 3)
34 35, not of a different name. (5)
35 A foil to the character of rustic chivalry. (5)
36 No definite time in May does. (7)
37 It's probably flat, like all feet! (7)

DOWN

1 See 18 down.
2 Winds carry the air along. (5)
3 See 32 down. 4 See 14 down.
5 and 11 across. Makes the note sharp? These won't! (9)
6 One of those Schopenhauer said are always sociable. (6)
7 There isn't a questionable sound in the try-out, but there's something fishy about it. (5)
8 Asparagus might be, but most other food shouldn't be at table. (7)
13 She's found about an uprising of a leftish movement in poetry. (7)
14 and 4. Where to sit at recess? (6, 5)
15 "Mat" is about the sort of word to apply to alyssum. (7)
18, 27, 22 across, 1 down. Is a retirement plan introduced thus? (3, 1, 3, 2, 4, 2, 5)
20 See 10 across.
22 This side is a bad line-up for anything but tellers! (7)
24 French novelist-dramatist overpowers one, and returns therein (7)
25 Created an expression which could result in your getting misled. (6)
26 Found on the music rack, but not as a new arrangement. (6)
28 Limb appended to the gentleman of 6, 34, and 35. (5)
30 Refuse to be not as bad as it sounds.
31 See 17 across.
32 and 3. This should spell out the title. (4, 2, 4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 515

ACROSS:—1 ALTERCATES; 10 MAHOMET; 11 GLOTTIS; 12 IRONCLAD; 13 IDEAL; 15 OVERT; 17 ARMATURES; 19 HELVETIAN; 21 EMBER; 23 ARENA; 24 ROOM RENT; 27 DRAFTED; 28 OLD MAID; 29 FADE.

DOWN:—1 ARMS; 2 TO HORSE; 3 RAMON; 4 ANTALKALI; 5 EDGED; 7 OUTWEAR; 8 DISCLOSURE; 9, 30, 6, 18, 14, 16 NOW IS THE TIME FOR ALL GOOD MEN TO COME TO THE AID OF THE PARTY; 20 LEEWARD; 22 BANDANA; 24 RADII; 25 RADIO; 26 IDOL.

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calaureate sermon and receive a D.D. degree from the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, because of its segregation policy.

4. Headline: "Biddle Urges U. S. to Sift McCarthy Acts" (with an uncompromisingly scathing bill of particulars).

5. Headline: "Lehman Denounces Dulles' Opposition to Genocide Pact."

Common decency and justice demand that the "good companions" shall not be left to feel that they stand alone.

Brooklyn MURIEL I. SYMINGTON

Self-Criticism

Dear Sirs: Briefly, I would like to say amen to the little causerie by authors in the book section of the May 2 issue. They all seemed to be rubbing their eyes, amazed that anyone should care what they thought.

Between the lines, and sometimes explicitly, what cries out is a lack of criticism. There is nothing wrong with American literature that wouldn't be cured by a more cohesive group consciousness.

This self-criticism is the first step toward creating a fruitful criticism which speaks from the same base as the writers. Only this will break down the walls of the cubicles and coteries.

New York E. H. RUSSELL

Hats Off to Haggin!

Dear Sirs: I've read *The Nation* for almost fifteen years, and it is therefore apparent that I enjoy it. During this time, of course, I've read Mr. Haggin's weekly music columns, and I think it's time I write a note of appreciation to you for his reviews. . . . I think his greatest value is his refusal to compromise with mediocrity, and I'm hopeful and sure that he will continue to use his high standards of judgment.

My thanks to you for *The Nation* in general and for Mr. Haggin in particular. CATHERINE WATKINS

Los Angeles

The Good Fight

Dear Sirs: Just a word of commendation for your persistent opposition to censorship, McCarthyism, race hatred, and other forms of insanity prevalent in the United States today. Your comments on The Voice of America were especially apropos. IRA D. CARDIFF

Yakima, Wash.

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Around

the U.S.A.

Victory in Atlanta

Atlanta, Georgia

FOR the first time since Reconstruction days Negroes have been elected to public office in Atlanta, Georgia. On May 13 Rufus E. Clement was elected to the Board of Education, and A. T. Walden and Miles G. Amos won places on the city Executive Committee. In a state where Herman Talmadge is Governor this is a remarkable accomplishment.

Atlanta is booming—everybody has a job—and becoming comparatively urbane and sophisticated. The local Klan has not been heard from in years. In such an environment a Southern kind of liberalism flourishes. Its adherents range from professors and students at the schools and colleges that do not depend upon state funds to the "progressive" jazz and entertainment crowd that winks at Jim Crow laws. In between are the religious groups and interracial organizations.

As in most Southern cities the newspapers mold public opinion with respect to race relations. Atlanta has no race-baiting sheet. The two big dailies are liberal in the sense that they are quiet and polite about their pro-white views. In the recent political campaign they did not support any of the Negro candidates, but afterward they praised those who had won and congratulated the city and the South in general for being so fine-spirited.

Atlanta's Negro community is unusually articulate and active. Negro-owned and operated businesses are more numerous and substantial than in most places; among them are a member bank of the Federal Reserve System, a million-dollar savings and loan association, and a multi-million-dollar insurance company. Home ownership is high. The Negro Business League and the Negro Voters League are effective instruments for community progress.

Last fall the Talmadge machine tried to force through a so-called county-unit amendment to the state constitution. The maneuver was a power grab pure and simple camouflaged as another effort to "save the whites from the blacks." It was defeated at the polls, and Talmadge was denounced by some thirty white organizations, religious and civil, for injecting the white-supremacy issue into the campaign. This was a turning point in local history. All the candidates in the elections of a fortnight ago were asked by the leaders of these same organizations to refrain from raising the race issue, and all complied.

With the help of the United States Supreme Court, Atlanta Negroes have so well established their right to vote that four years ago white candidates for city office learned to pronounce the word "Negro" correctly and to address Negroes as "Mr." or "Mrs." and presented themselves at Negro mass-meetings as believers in democracy and equal rights. If this does not spell complete political democracy, it at least spells progress.

NEGROES, however, still have to fight for their rights every step of the way. For example, when the city Executive Committee learned that some Negroes from the predominantly Negro third ward planned to run for positions on it, it promptly declared that no new members would be elected at this time. The Negro candidates then obtained a court order requiring the Executive Committee to hold the election. Still determined to bar Negroes from membership, the committee announced that an election would be held but on new ward lines; that is, the wards of heavy Negro concentration would be "diluted" by the addition of large blocks of white residents. As it turned out, however, the delays and controversies proved so confusing that one Negro candidate was not opposed by anyone and one was opposed only by another Negro.

When Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, filed for the Board of Education, the Executive Committee was not disturbed. Members of the board are elected by the whole city, and of Atlanta's 110,000 registered voters only 18,000 were Negroes. But Dr. Clement was determined to make a real race of it. His able staff of advisers mapped out a campaign that took him to all parts of the city and by way of radio and TV into almost every home. His opponent, J. H. Landers, was so certain that the white voters would never choose a Negro over a white man for any public office that he did not bother to campaign at all. The Executive Committee, however, with its ear closer to the ground, heard ominous rumblings as the candidates came down the home stretch. So two days before the election it called a special meeting to consider disqualifying Dr. Clement on the ground that he was a Communist or Communist-inspired. Dr. Clement learned of the committee's intentions through friends and went before it prepared to defend his record. After grilling him for hours, the committee by a five-to-four decision ruled that he could not properly be disqualified.

Both the *Constitution* and the *Journal* denounced the attempted smear as "dirty politics." The *Daily World*, the Negro paper, in a front-page editorial declared that "now we *must* elect Dr. Clement." He was in fact swept into office by 22,259 to 13,936 votes, topping his opponent in forty of the fifty-eight precincts. When Mr. Landers was asked why he had not put up more of a fight against Clement, all he said was, "I didn't think that they were ready for this." Apparently they were.

The election of A. T. Walden and Miles G. Amos to the city Executive Committee puts them on what is in reality the Democratic Party's Executive Committee of Atlanta. Through them Negro Democrats of Georgia expect to become integrated into the regular Democratic Party organization of the city and the state.

The influence of the Negro voter was felt all along the line—in the elections for the Board of Aldermen, for the other members of the Board of Education, and for the mayoralty. In most instances the candidates indorsed by the Negro Voters League won. Negro voters gave 88 per cent of their votes to Hartsfield, the successful candidate for mayor. This turned out to be a bit more than the margin of victory.

L. D. REDDICK

L. D. Reddick is professor of history and chief librarian at Atlanta University.

Volume 176, Number 22
New York, Saturday, May 30, 1953

THE *Nation*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Undermining the Public Schools

On July 13, 1948, the Board of Education voted to ban *The Nation* from the public high schools of New York. Our spokesmen insisted at the time that the issue was an incident in a struggle for control of the largest public-school system in the country, one with a larger enrolment than some forty-odd state systems.

Any doubts as to the correctness of these warnings must surely have been removed last week when the Board of Higher Education, top policy body for New York's municipal college system, elected Joseph B. Cavallaro as its new chairman. In his first interview Mr. Cavallaro had high praise for the McCarthy, Velde, and Jenner investigations, insisted that there should be "more religious emphasis" in the colleges.

A prominent Catholic layman appointed to the board in 1946 by Mayor William O'Dwyer, Mr. Cavallaro has four children enrolled in parochial schools, although he himself attended public schools—"regretfully" he adds. His elevation to the chairmanship by a vote of eleven to nine, gives Catholic pressure groups the same dominance of the Board of Education (the elementary and high schools), where Mr. George A. Timone, another Catholic appointee of Mayor O'Dwyer (1946), is the dominant power and chairman in fact if not in name. That individual Catholic leaders have loyally supported the New York public schools should not blind voters and taxpayers there, or elsewhere, to the consequences which ensue when a pressure group which has never bothered to conceal its dislike of public education acquires control of a school board.

Absent-Minded Friends

Primary responsibility for the New York situation, however, probably rests not with Catholic pressure groups but with the absent-minded friends of public education. Thus the New York *Times,* which noted with genuine "apprehension" Mr. Cavallaro's praise of Velde, Jenner, and McCarthy, blandly states that the "McCarthy type of investigation" has not yet been used in New York. But on March 26 the *Times* carried a full account of the testimony of Dr. William Jansen, superintendent of the New York schools, who had journeyed to Washington to praise the Congressional inquisitors and deliver to them in person a casualty list of recent "purges." In the December 27 issue of this magazine Broadus Mitchell pointed out that the McCarran committee's purge of the New York schools was essentially an "inside job" which had been instigated by elements anxious to acquire control of the schools.

The banning of *The Nation* was merely an incident in this struggle for control of New York's public schools—including its municipal colleges—which has culminated in a clear-cut victory for Catholic pressure groups and their City Hall allies.

We Can't Have Everything

For the harassed Republican leadership in Washington, the campaign chickens are beginning to come home to roost, and canny politicoes like Senator Taft and Speaker Martin are running for cover. General Eisenhower promised the undeliverable during the campaign, the time for a pay-off is coming, and nobody is happy.

The General simply promised too much: world peace, adequate defense, lower taxes, a lower cost of living, a balanced budget, and no reduction in the government's "social services." It can't all be done, and the bright program is now colliding with a few of the hard facts of life. The President handed the bad news to his Administration via the radio, and Senator Taft promptly entered Walter Reed hospital for a medical check-up, while Speaker Martin, taking a sidelong glance at the request for continuance of the excess-profits tax, announced, dead-pan, that the House Ways and Means Committee will proceed with it "in the regular way."

The "regular way" ought to be interesting. The committee chairman, Congressman Daniel A. Reed of New York, and most of the fifteen-man G.O.P. majority on the committee, had just recorded themselves as being solidly in favor of killing the excess-profits tax—which they can do by just doing nothing—when the President spoke. Rather plaintively, Mr. Reed remarked that he did not think the Republicans ought to extend oppressive taxes like this "when our party has pledged to reduce them," and most Republicans in Congress think he has a point. Actually, the President has no chance to get his tax program through unless the Democrats come to his rescue. The Democrats are well aware of this, and are

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taking a short breather to enjoy the pleasant spectacle of Republicans sweating under the unaccustomed burden of being obliged to act like a responsible political party.

Pro-Economy or Anti-F. D. R.?

The Republican leaders are caught in an odd fix. They believed their own propaganda, and they wholly forgot that the campaign to reduce taxes and spending was originally launched as a means to an end rather than as an end in itself.

Propaganda held that high spending and high taxes came because feckless Democrats, unused to handling large affairs, were being very wasteful; a business-like Administration would remedy all that. So now we have a business-like Administration, composed (almost excessively) of men skilled in handling very large affairs indeed, yet the millennium has not come; and the real trouble is the dawning realization that you can't go on doing all the things the previous Administration did without spending money—and collecting taxes. The Korean war costs money; so does national defense, and aid to our allies, and the farm program, and social security, and all of the other things which, as the Republican orators insisted, would be done much better by Republicans. Thus, as an example, a worried House of Representatives actually votes $12 million more money in the agricultural-appropriation bill than the Department of Agriculture asked for. (Republican Congressman Usher Burdick of North Dakota warned tartly that "you might just as well legislate yourselves out of this House" as to cut soil-conservation payments.)

The real trouble is very old. For two decades the demand for a balanced budget and lower taxes was actually an indirect way of attacking the social and economic reforms of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. If that point had ever been faced honestly, the Administration could be honest today; but it wasn't. So the President tries to still the waves which he himself helped to raise; and Defense Secretary Wilson tries manfully to persuade Senators that less money for defense somehow means more airplanes and fighting power; and diametrically opposed campaign pledges, none of which can possibly be disowned, meet head-on in a Congress which is already beginning to worry about the next national election.

The Return of William Oatis

William Oatis's return proved an anti-climax to the more rabid sections of our press. He denied that the Communists gave him drugs, except for illness; he admitted he had been in touch with our Embassy in Prague (all foreign correspondents are always in touch with their Embassies); he denied that he was brow-beaten, brainwashed, mesmerized, or in other ways tortured; worst of all, he admitted freely that he had been arrested in the first place because he broke the laws of Czechoslovakia. As things turned out, he would have served the cause—if not himself—better had he stayed in jail.

It is true that Oatis has been talking guardedly enough since his return to make it clear that he is not now telling all he knows. Why should he? He is an Associated Press man, and one of the canons of American journalism is that an AP man never tells a UP man anything if he can help it.

The Czech authorities may have acted stupidly and inhumanly in jailing Oatis, but they acted legally and not at all mysteriously. Even their censorship laws are not quite so esoteric as we would like to imagine. Any correspondent who has worked in the Middle East—or in some Latin American countries—knows how quickly he can get into trouble simply by asking a few embarrassing questions or filing a story critical of the regime.

As for our own country, a few years ago there occurred the Amerasia case, in which a group of writers was threatened with jail for doing precisely what Oatis did: passing around material which, though easily obtained, was regarded as "classified" by our government. It is a tribute to our judicial system—and perhaps a measure of the difference between it and the Czechs'—that in the end the Amerasia people were freed. But it is legitimate to wonder what would have happend in that case had it occurred today, in the atmosphere created by McCarthyism.

We can blame the Czechs for having jailed Oatis instead of doing the humane thing and deporting him. If we criticize—legitimately—their attitude towards a free press, we ought to have a little criticism left over for the direction in which we ourselves are moving. There are more ways of intimidating the press than by putting newsmen in jail, as Senator McCarthy is taking great pains to point out.

Remember F. E. P. C., Mr. President?

While Eisenhower was campaigning, he frowned upon any federal fair-employment-practices legislation but said he would encourage such laws at state level. That was also the line taken by the Republican platform writers. But if the President has been doing any encouraging in this direction, few have been listening—least of all his supporters. Of fourteen states, all pro-Eisenhower last November, in which proposals for new or stronger fair-employment legislation are under consideration, only Kansas has taken a progressive step, albeit an exceedingly small one. The Republican legislature in California, home of Vice-President Nixon and the pro-Eisenhower Senator Knowland, has done nothing. Neither has Pennsylvania, another key Eisenhower state with a Republican legislature and governor, despite a recent report by the Governor's Commission on Industrial Relations which showed employment discrimination in 75 to 90 per cent of the firms surveyed.

Certainly the President should have been able to do something in Michigan, which went all the way for Eisenhower "liberalism." The automobile industry contributed lavishly to his campaign, and key Michiganders —Wilson, Dodge, Summerfield—have risen to important national posts. Moreover, Michigan's Democratic governor, G. Mennen Williams, long an advocate of F. E. P. C., had offered to support any adequate fair-employment measure, whether sponsored by Republicans or Democrats. But recently the period for reporting bills out of Michigan's legislative committees quietly came to an end—and no F. E. C. P. bill was reported out.

How does the President plead to this indictment? That he no longer controls his state machines? Or that he is back-tracking on his campaign pledges?

Bonn, Bermuda, and Points East

THE cold war seems to have settled down into a contest of "initiatives." First Malenkov got the ball and kept it for a while, making considerable gains. Then Eisenhower captured it in his speech offering to discuss differences—when and if. Ike tossed it to Dulles, who fumbled it badly; whereupon Churchill saved it for our side by a bold bid for early, top-level East-West talks—without whens or ifs. But the teamwork was atrocious: no coordination among the Western contestants; Ike's boys, in particular, running all over the field. So Ike came up with a call for Western three-power talks to iron out differences. The ball is his again but anybody who knows the rudiments of diplomatic football realizes that Ike is trying to stall: to keep the initiative but not do anything with it—just fool around until the other side gets tired or makes a misplay. The chances are against such tactics working. British and French members of the team want to use the initiative to get a decision. That is Ike's dilemma. The Bermuda play gives him nothing more than a "time out."

The issues in the cold war cannot be stalled out of existence. Even in the unlikely event that the Russians obliged with a couple of the "deeds" the President asked for—a cease-fire in Korea, the peace treaty with Austria —the big issues loom just ahead, and on these the differences that separate us from our allies are only a little shallower than those between us and Moscow. The big issues are China and the rest of Asia; Germany and the rest of Europe.

For this country the Korean war began as a limited action to check aggression; it has become a campaign in an all-out struggle to end Communist power in Asia. If this is not its officially admitted purpose, the various statements made by President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles—not to mention the generals who have commanded the U. N. forces in Korea and the new head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—add up to something very like it. The policy of the Administration in Korea and Formosa and Indo-China differs from that of the generals and the China Lobby in tempo rather than intent.

The only terms on which the Administration could now—or soon—reach a settlement in Asia are terms it has explicitly rejected. As a minimum it would have to agree to admit the Peking government to the U. N. in place of Chiang's Formosa regime as soon as an armistice is arranged, or at least as part of the political settlement to follow an armistice. But if the United States should agree to this, it could no longer apply money and military strategy to the weakening and ultimate overthrow of Mao's government: no more embargo, no blockade, no training and arming of Nationalist commando units. And if the Chinese Communists were admitted to the U. N. and took their seat in the Security Council, Chiang's regime would not merely lose its present insubstantial claim to be the legitimate government of China but would also lose all right to rule the island of Formosa. The United States, as party to the Cairo convention promising the restoration of Formosa to China, could continue to recognize Chiang's control there only in violation of its word and defend him only by using the unlawful means of armed intervention. These are some of the problems the Administration would like to dodge as long as it can.

BUT SINCE no political settlement in Asia will be possible unless Communist China is taken into the United Nations, it is certain that Mr. Churchill must intend to try to induce Mr. Eisenhower to pay that price. For a political settlement is obviously the aim of Churchill and the French, in Asia as in Europe.

On Europe the division between Washington and its chief allies is less clear-cut, deeper at some points, relatively slight at others. The economic tensions are sharper than the political ones. But in the end they overlap and become a single issue which was neatly summed up from Europe's point of view by Howard K. Smith last Sunday. Europeans, he said, recalling the pre-Eisenhower promise to "negotiate from strength," now fear that the United States is abandoning both ends of the formula. If the West is strong enough to bargain on equal terms—and Mr. Dulles has referred to Moscow's recent moves as a "peace *de*fensive" forced by the growing power of the West—then why does Washington shy off discussions? And if it is not strong enough, why is the Administration lopping five billion dollars from the defense budget and reducing foreign aid by more than two billion—while maintaining trade policies that will reduce still further the economic, and consequently the military, power of the West? The fact that these inconsistencies are partly the product of fierce disagreements inside the Republican ranks rather than of Administration planning does not reassure Europeans. They may have their own troubles with recalcitrant legislatures—as witness the current crisis in France—but if the Eisenhower government claims the right to direct, and largely dictate, Western policy, it cannot afford to put on a spectacle of paralysis in the face of pressure from within. As the conservative London *Spectator* remarked, "There is a poison at work in the United States" that must be eradicated or it will become dangerous—dangerous to other nations, that is. The power of the extremists is becoming decisive in foreign policy, and the grim fact will rise up to embarrass the President when he meets his European colleagues in Bermuda.

BUT THE CHIEF issue at the coming meeting will be the possibility of talking to the Russians about a European settlement—and this means talking about Germany. And the first step must be to find out whether the United States is willing to have an agreement on Germany on any available terms. At present this seems unlikely. What the United States would like is a unified Germany based on free elections but committed in advance to association with the Western bloc. And it wants a European army incorporating German divisions without regard to German unification or a negotiated settlement with Russia. The desire of most Europeans for a settlement with Russia that will eliminate the need of German integration with the West seems sheer romance to Washington—on that one point there is little or no difference of opinion among Republican factions or between the parties. But Europe's desire is bound to be expressed at Bermuda because Britain and France want to negotiate with Moscow on realistic terms, and they know that whatever concessions on Germany the Russians may be prepared to make they will make *in order to keep an armed Germany out of the Western alliance*. Churchill hinted at this in his speech when he suggested that a new "Locarno Pact" guaranteeing Western Russia and Germany from each other might one day be arranged.

What the Prime Minister wanted the President has successfully forestalled—an early exploratory meeting with the Russians without too many previous talks and too precise an agenda, a meeting that could feel out the ground and perhaps achieve some piecemeal agreements. But that sort of informal get-together could have been useful only if there had been initial unity among the Western allies. Since there is no unity, the Bermuda meeting makes sense. Russia naturally regards this as a hostile ganging-up against itself. Perhaps it should wait and see. Bermuda at least offers an opportunity for the advocates of negotiation to regain the initiative.

FREDA KIRCHWEY

GRAB FOR THE ATOM

I. Big Business Moves In . . *by Leland Olds*

[This is the first of a series of articles on one of the most challenging problems of our time, written by a man who is generally considered the country's foremost expert on public power. Leland Olds was a member of the Federal Power Commission for ten years during the Roosevelt administrations—nearly half that time as chairman. He has represented the United States at various international conferences dealing with public power and has long been associated with the power aspects of the St. Lawrence Seaway project. His second article will appear next week.]

THIS is a year of decisions which will profoundly affect our participation in the atomic age. The drive to amend the Atomic Energy Act, which established the Atomic Energy Commission, has been in full swing for more than a year. Everything now appears set for its reconsideration by the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

The first steps were taken in the Truman Administration. In August, 1952, the Congressional Joint Committee advised the Atomic Energy Commission of its intention to hold hearings during the next session of Congress. Gordon Dean, chairman of the commission, replied that the question of industrial participation in the atomic-energy program was being studied and that the commission's policy report would be ready for Congress by the first of the year. The report is now ready, but committee hearings have been delayed. The indications are that the Eisenhower Administration will ask Congress to let private industry have a bigger share in atomic-energy development.

The Atomic Energy Act, which became law in 1946, makes the Atomic Energy Commission responsible for the direction of the entire atomic-energy program. The commission owns the plants and raw materials; in fact, the government has the exclusive right to own not only fissionable material, that is, all material from which energy can be released by splitting atoms, but nuclear reactors, or plants for producing fissionable materials or atomic weapons. The act forbids the granting of private patents in certain parts of the atomic-energy field.

As the law stands today, new discoveries in the field of atomic development become public property. In a sense, then, atomic energy, as a vastly important new resource, is part of the public domain, like the public lands or the water power of streams, which are constitutionally under the jurisdiction of Congress. It represents a public investment some 400 times as great as the Louisiana Purchase. The vital question before the people today is how this new resource, with its tremendous possibilities for our civilization, can best be developed and utilized.

When Congress acted in 1946 to give the government a monopoly in the field, security reasons unquestionably carried great weight. So we find that the act itself contemplates a time when its terms will be reconsidered. In fact, Congress specifically directed the Atomic Energy Commission to advise the President and Congress when nuclear-power development had reached such a stage that supplemental legislation was necessary or desirable.

IN DECEMBER, 1952, as a basis for the coming review, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy issued a document compiled by its staff containing some 400 pages of material culled from a wide range of addresses and reports. It includes no conclusions or recommendations, but material is summarized to suggest the current answers to such questions as: what is meant by atomic power? who is responsible for its development? why is there no atomic-power plant under construction today? who should own atomic-power plants and development facilities and why? how should atomic-power development be financed? what is the public interest in atomic-power development? what are its defense aspects? What is the effect of the patent situation on atomic-power development? what are the secrecy and safety problems? how might legislative changes affect atomic-power development? what is retarding it?

The Atomic Energy Commission is reported to be ready to recommend a revision of the law so as (1) to permit the licensing of American concerns to possess the quantities of uranium they would need to produce electric power; (2) to permit the licensing of such private firms to produce plutonium and other fissionable material as by-products in connection with their use of atomic energy to produce electric power; (3) to permit the government to make long-term contracts for the purchase of plutonium in order to assure private companies using uranium to make electric power a market for this by-product; and (4) to protect private patent rights of companies doing research and experimental work in developing electric power from the atom. The grave question that now arises is whether there is enough public understanding of the issues involved and of the significance of what is going forward to protect the public interest in this legislative proceeding. To test your own understanding of the matter, try to formulate answers to the questions suggested by the joint committee's publication. Or get a group of your friends together some evening and see if they can agree on answers.

The gravity of the situation was emphasized by Oscar M. Ruebhausen, chairman of the New York Bar Association's committee on atomic energy, in an address to a meeting of the National Industrial Conference Board on atomic energy in industry in October, 1952. "There is today no substantial body of informed public opinion," he warned, "that can be drawn upon to formulate an atomic program for the future. There are, it is true, scattered throughout the country, both in government and out of it, groups of able men qualified to pass on atomic problems but *never in the history of our democracy have we been compelled to rely on so few to debate* *problems so vast.* There is a critical need for informed public thinking on these questions" (italics mine).

BADGES and PASSES
MUST BE WORN
IN PLAIN VIEW
AT ALL TIMES
THIS PROJECT

The critical need for informed public thinking is accentuated by the fact that a small group of very well-informed men, representing the private-power utilities and their industrial allies, knows exactly how it wants the Atomic Energy Act changed and is well organized to obtain these changes. Furthermore, it is mobilizing business behind its drive. One of the most articulate members of the group is Walker L. Cisler, president and general manager of the Detroit Edison Company, which together with the Dow Chemical Company has been working for some time under supervision of the Atomic Energy Commission on the generation of electricity with nuclear energy as fuel. Speaking at the American Management Association's recent conference, Mr. Cisler outlined his proposed amendments to the Atomic Energy Act. These would permit private enterprise (1) to build, own, and operate atomic-energy plants; (2) to use, sell, and distribute end-products, such as plutonium and radioactive isotopes, made in atomic-energy facilities; (3) to acquire, own, and dispose of source materials, such as uranium and thorium; (4) to obtain licenses from the Atomic Energy Commission, subject only to maintaining standards and conditions set up under the act; and (5) to obtain normal patent and trade-secret protection, subject only to full disclosure to the commission for its own use in protecting national security.

To get some idea of the significance of these proposals, we should look back six years to a day in July, 1947, when Mr. Cisler appeared in Washington before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and asked virtual dismantlement of another important piece of federal legislation. At that time he wanted Congress to amend the Federal Power Act so that his company and a lot of other large power companies could engage in business across state lines without coming under Federal Power Commission regulation. He was, in effect, laying down the terms on which utilities were willing to give the people the advantages of modern power pooling, which he described as more economical use of power plants, greater reliability of service, and strengthening of the national security. The price the people must pay for these advantages was to grant the companies immunity from federal regulation.

So the amendments now proposed may be taken as the asking price of the private power industry for pushing work on the development of atomic power. If made the basis for changes in the law, they would have the effect of turning the atomic industry, lock, stock, and barrel, over to big business. Note particularly the narrow limitation proposed on the regulatory jurisdiction of the Atomic Energy Commission and the unlimited right to the monopoly privileges of patents.

DURING THE PAST YEAR, in increasing volume, the business chorus has been proclaiming this coming shift of atomic industry from government to private enterprise. A typical voice in the chorus is that of S. B. Roboff of Sylvania Electric Products. Addressing the National Industrial Conference Board's forum, Mr. Roboff forecast the day when so many privately owned reactors would be producing power, plutonium, and isotopes that it would be uneconomical for the government to build and operate reactors for the production, ultimately, of only one of these. He continued: "If to the general reactor program we added companies which are producing with private capital reactor materials, nuclear instruments, fuels, and other supplementary materials, the need for relying upon government sources for these materials would be removed and we would have, in effect, atomic energy on a private-enterprise basis."

Some three months later David E. Lilienthal, former chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Atomic Energy Commission, and now chairman of the Attapulgas Minerals and Chemicals Corporation, said amen to this suggestion. He thought that "the production of fissionable material contributes a good place to start shifting atomic energy over to the competitive system by steps." After a transition period he foresaw the time when even the Atomic Energy Commission's famous Oak Ridge and Hanford plants could go out of public ownership. He summed up the attitude of business when he said that he did not want to see "our American competitive industrial system and our educational system as the first casualties of the atom."

Within the last few weeks the Atomic Industrial Forum, Inc., has made its bow. Walker L. Cisler, according to the *Electrical World,* is its "guiding spirit." This organization is designed to perform for the atomic-energy industry the same functions that the Edison Electric Institute performs for the electric-power industry. Clearly, a parallel organization to protect and promote the great consumer interest in atomic power is urgently called for.

But this is not the only evidence that the private-power monopoly is a jump ahead of consumers in the race to control atomic power. On April 11 the Atomic Energy Commission announced conclusion of an agreement under which two companies serving the utility industry will make a study aimed at industrial production of atomic power in the next few years. These companies are the Pioneer Service and Engineering Company, consultant to the electric utilities in all phases of the power business, and the Foster Wheeler Corporation of New York, manufacturer of equipment for the power, oil-refining, and chemical industries. They are added to the four utility-industrial teams already at work. Under the agreement with the commission these companies, at their own expense, will make a one-year study to determine (1) the feasibility of their designing, building, and operating an atomic-power plant; (2) the economic and technical aspects of building such a plant in the next few years; and (3) whether the project will require any research and development beyond that already done by the government.

The two firms will also make recommendations to the Atomic Energy Commission on industry's role in undertaking and carrying out the power project. This will serve as the focus of industry's participation in the next stages of atomic-power development. But since the assignment involves matters of vital interest to the people, who have invested billions of dollars in the atomic program and are ultimate consumers of the power, the situation calls for a similar contract between the Atomic Energy Commission and an organization provided with sufficient funds to be able to represent all consumer groups in preparing the necessary studies, reports, and recommendations.

IN THIS CONNECTION it should not be forgotten that publicly owned electric utilities in the United States, excluding those owned by the federal government, represent an investment of nearly two and a half billion dollars and supply some 3,700,000 customers with over forty billion kilowatt-hours per year. Including rural electric cooperatives, the people's investment in customer-owned power systems totals nearly five billion dollars and provides more than seven million customers with electric service. This great area of local autonomy in power supply cannot be overlooked in any move to revise national atomic-energy policy.

Last February the American Public Power Association, trade organization of the country's municipally owned electric systems, asked the Atomic Energy Commission for permission to participate in the atomic-power program on a basis of equality with privately owned systems. Subsequently, on April 14, their Atomic Power Policy Committee, headed by Samuel B. Morris, general manager of the City of Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, clarified the association's position on the Atomic Energy Act in a letter to Chairman Dean of the commission.

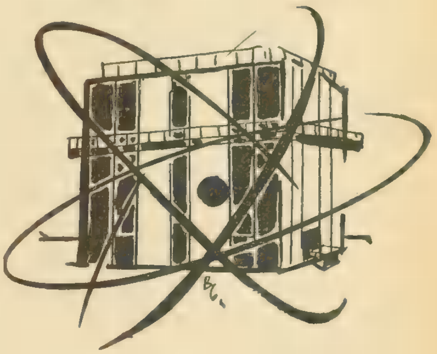
Its estimate of the existing situation was amplified in a report to the association's national convention in Boston, presented by Mr. Morris on May 13. The association considers the problem of government policy in the atomic-energy field "from the viewpoint of protecting the government's interest and of making available to the maximum number of people in the United States the benefits which may accrue from development of this new source of energy." To this end it indorses the provisions of the present Atomic Energy Act and urges that any amendments provide safeguards against monopolistic advantages for private groups.

The urgency of such organized effort to have the public represented in the forthcoming reappraisal of the law is apparent when *Barron's* weekly, authentic voice of Wall Street finance, headlines a front-page story in its March 2 issue: "Power for the Future: It Should Be Freed from the Legacy of the Past." The story deals with the announced intention of the Westinghouse Electric Corporation to build a multimillion-dollar atomic-energy equipment plant near Pittsburgh and with the company's statement that "this investment is an expression of our belief that private enterprise will become an increasingly important factor in the future development of nuclear energy."

Barron's hails this as representing "a new post-election high in corporate confidence in the free economy." The legacy from the past, from which the "power of the future" should be freed, is not the watering of capital stock or the manipulation of education and politics by the private-power industry, exposed by the Federal Trade Commission some twenty years ago. Rather, according to *Barron's,* it is "the old 'socializing' legislation looking toward extension of public power" and, more particularly, the so-called "preference clause," which is referred to as "probably the most arbitrary symbol of the clutch of the public-power philosophy upon the legislative mind." The "preference clause," granting public systems a prior claim on federal power, has been Congressional policy since the Reclamation Act of 1906. It appears in one form or another in the Federal Power Act, the Tennessee Valley Authority Act, the Bonneville Act, the Rural Electrification Act, and the Flood Control Act of 1944. It simply protects the people's own local electric systems in the right to obtain power from public resources, free from dependence on private monopoly as middleman.

Thus it becomes crystal clear that the alleged drive to eliminate federal monopoly and open the door to private monopoly in the development of atomic power is part of the larger private-power campaign against the federal power policy which has come down by unbroken evolution from the birth of the conservation movement in the days of President Theodore Roosevelt and his "great forester," Gifford Pinchot. It is a continuation of the battle that has been waged over the Tennessee Valley Authority, over legislative efforts to create Missouri and Columbia valley authorities, over appropriations for transmission lines to deliver government power to municipalities and rural electric cooperatives. It is perhaps a foretaste of a coming battle to save the great federal power developments from ex-President Hoover's proposed "going-out-of-business" sale. All this makes the indorsement of the provisions of the present atomic-energy law by the American Public Power Association's committee on atomic energy extremely important. And I conclude this article by commending the committee's further suggestions to the thoughtful consideration of all concerned with the country's great resources program.

THE COMMITTEE recommends (1) that there be no release of controls until adequate knowledge and information are available concerning the development of atomic energy for industrial purposes and power, and then only with adequate safeguards against private monopoly; (2) that the Atomic Energy Commission itself assume responsibility for the development of a pilot plant for the production of electric energy, this being amply justified by the tremendous energy requirements of the commission's program; and (3) that publicly owned electric utilities be afforded the same same opportunity to participate under contract in the research and pilot-plant program as other electric-utility and in-



dustrial groups. A portion of the language of this last recommendation is worth quoting. It runs:

> Because this energy potentially represents one which stands as a natural governmental monopoly and one where the advantages must be spread ultimately to the people, it is urged that publicly owned electric utilities also be afforded the opportunity of participating in such development contracts because of their experience in distributing such benefits to the public. For similar reasons, the publicly owned electric utilities should be recognized and be permitted to adequately share in the application of atomic energy to electric-power production when such application has been demonstrated to be appropriate by the results of pilot-plant operation.

As a step toward meeting the need for widespread public understanding of the atomic-energy issue, the report of the atomic-power policy committee of the American Public Power Association should be given wide circulation. Its emphasis on "natural government monopoly" and on the experience of publicly owned utilities "in distributing such benefits to the public" reflects fundamental principles which have been hewn out over the years. Only as the people understand the applicability of these principles to the present situation can they make sure that any reconsideration of the Atomic Energy Act will result in a strengthening of America's great conservation policy.

FRANCO'S BEST BET

Washington and War . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

French-Spanish Border

THE French-Spanish border has always been an unexcelled center of observation and information about Spain. Spaniards cross it every day, and once in France their tongues are loosened. I arrived at the border at a moment of great rejoicing for the Franco regime. As I hope to show in this article, the reasons for the rejoicing are rather slim; however, the presumably imminent signing of the bilateral treaty with the United States compensates the dictatorship, *at least for the time being,* for its loss in popularity even among its former followers. The Spanish dictator, quite incapable of solving the country's multiplying domestic problems, is pinning all his hopes on becoming, with Germany, one of America's two safe allies and hence the recipient of generous aid.

A speech made by Franco on a recent visit to Andalusia, which was intended to remain secret, confirmed the fact that it is the United States to which he looks for salvation. The Caudillo was speaking at army headquarters in Seville. He talked as a soldier among soldiers, without any diplomatic restraint and without anticipating the indiscretions which occurred later. "How happy I am," he said, "to find myself once more among my old comrades-in-arms. In Morocco and later during the war [1936-39] we tempered our spirits for the great days that still await us. I ask you not to lose the enthusiasm of those days because I can assure you that the Third World War *is coming.* When it comes, those who have been chary with their aid and denied us what we need will give us what we need; more, they will give us what we demand." The censorship forbade any reproduction of this speech or any allusions to it; however, its substance was broadcast by a local radio commentator and then quickly suppressed.

The speech showed how academic was the discussion in the United Nations about whether or not Franco represents a menace to peace. His regime is one that lives for war and is a disturbing element in the international situation. Any sign that international tension is diminishing creates anxiety and rage in the Falangist press and radio. At this moment the man the regime hates most is Churchill, and the country it abuses most is England. The thought that the British Premier's policy may lead to a big-power conference which will reduce tension and make it less urgent for the United States to utilize Spain is enough to keep the Falangists in a constant panic. It is a race with time: which will come first, the signing of the Spanish-American treaty or the conference called for by Churchill? Fury against the British sometimes takes ridiculous forms, such as the government-ordered sabotage of the Coronation. Both radio and newspapers have been told to mention the Coronation as little as possible. Coronation advertising matter is refused by the press under the pretext of lack of space.

Non-Franquist Spaniards do not understand American policy toward their country. They cannot find a reasonable explanation for the fact that, at a time when American aid to Europe is being reduced, the Franco government, which is the most corrupt and incompetent of them all and is certain sooner or later to be removed from power, should be the only one exempted from cuts. The opponents of Franco agree at least on one point: the day Franco falls, all the obligations he has undertaken toward the United States will be declared null and void.

Many of the questions Spaniards ask are of a moral nature. A poor Protestant pastor who had to seek refuge in France asked me: "But is not the United States a Protestant country? And is not General Eisenhower himself a Protestant?" He was astonished that American Protestants had not fought more energetically against the policy of aid to Franco. He told me of a number of recent incidents which prove conclusively that after a brief period of "toleration"—while the treaty was being negotiated—Protestants are once more being persecuted in Spain and cannot openly practice their religion there. "The authorities are applying preventive medicine," he said. "Believing that once the treaty is signed many American soldiers and officials will come to Spain, they want to create an atmosphere of anti-Protestant terror so as to prevent the opening of new Protestant churches and the reopening of the few existing ones, now closed. American Protestants will soon find out what is awaiting them in Spain."

Franco needs dollars to cope with a grave crisis which has many causes, though the principal one is that, like all dictators, he has adopted a wholly unrealistic economic policy for reasons of "prestige." A large industrialist, until recently a follower of Franco, told me that the regime maintains the peseta at an excessively high level solely because a cheap peseta is incompatible with the dictator's glory. The more serious among Spain's banking and financial leaders believe that the government's economic policy has failed in its three chief objectives—to modernize industry and agriculture, to increase exports, and to establish some equilibrium between prices and salaries.

These people think that with the two hundred million dollars Madrid apparently expects to get from Washington in exchange for naval and air bases the dictatorship will be able to postpone its downfall for some time longer. They say: "It will be a good business for Franco but not for the Americans." The same people believe that the United States would have to spend some two billion dollars to get any real results; that the two hundred million dollars will be a mere drop in the ocean. It would require ten times that sum merely to put the Spanish railroads in order and to fit the roads to carry heavy armament, quite apart from procuring equipment for an army which is ill supplied in most essentials. In this connection I have found other evidence of the incoherent character of Franco's policy. While the government is asking for more dollars, some of the dollars already in Spain are lying idle. This applies, for example, to a sum allotted to the Altos Hornos de Bilbao Ironworks.

The United States is embarking on troubled waters which no amount of financial "oil" will succeed in quieting. Franco's ministers travel from one province to another, dealing with complaints and promising improvements and reforms which are never made. Meanwhile, the government at Madrid is paralyzed by their absence. A very successful Spanish film, "Bienvenido Mr. Marshall" ("Welcome Mr. Marshall"), which won a prize at the Cannes Festival, shows a high official of the Franco government going to a town to prepare the triumphal reception of the Americans. But the townspeople, believing that he has come to promise them once more the new railroad which has been promised year after year, receive him with great skepticism. It seems almost inconceivable that such a film should have been made in Spain, for even if some people see in it a satire against the Americans, it is undoubtedly aimed at the Franco regime. There are towns in Spain where the cornerstone of a public building has been ceremoniously laid ten times, without ever being crowned by a second stone.

Franco has now joined the journeyings of his ministers to raise public morale. He has recently visited Andalusia, where there is starvation among the peasants, and will shortly go to Catalonia, a traditional breeding ground of social unrest. In Andalusia, Franco spoke to the poor at the opening of a cheap housing project. He talked without a prepared script and his words were significant. He said: "I know very well that the Marxist and revolutionary virus has not left you but we came to power to offer you realities, not utopian promises." Unhappily, the realities are starvation wages and a discontent which no quantity of dollars will abate.

Any American tourist will tell you there is much new construction in Spain. It is true that there are many new buildings in the center of Madrid which give an impression of prosperity. However, the great working-class belt surrounding the city, which the tourist does not see, is full of shacks and caves in which the people, to quote the Falangist newspaper *Pueblo*, live "worse than pigs." A pathetic feature of Madrid life today is the competition for these wretched shelters. A black market in them has grown up in the last few months and hundreds of families are dealing in it. The police recently intervened in an alleged case of profanation of a cemetery. But there was no profanation; there were only some children who had preempted vacant niches, as yet unoccupied by coffins, to sleep in during the night.

WHAT ARE the prospects of the Franco regime? One thing is certain: the process of decomposition is going on. The crisis is affecting a larger number of people every day. Not only does the whole national economy suffer, but also those classes and professional groups which the regime might use to maintain itself by satisfying individual egoisms at the expense of the country. It is the engineer, the architect, the army officer, and the small business man whose situation is becoming ever more wretched. Indifference and cynicism fade when general misfortune becomes personal misfortune. Even the most conservative are beginning to oppose Franco without really wishing to do so, and the time is past when people shrugged their shoulders, refused to take an interest in politics, and preferred to enjoy life by frequenting soccer matches and bull fights.

A section of the army is against Franco—without, however, seriously thinking of displacing him—and even part of the church has turned its back on him. Despite the immense benefits showered on the clergy, intelligent prelates, like Bishop Herrera of Malaga, do not forget the danger the church will be in when Franco disappears and it is left as the principal pillar of the hated dictatorship. Even the Vatican is now reserved in its support; America provides Franco with his only substantial backing.

But as the Spanish saying goes, "There are friends that kill." Many people believe that the American operation in Spain, while helping Franco temporarily, will cause great trouble among his generals and his followers. For in spite of formal assurances that "the dignity and national sovereignty of Spain have been preserved" in the negotiations with the United States, many Spaniards fear that Spain will be converted into "a barracks for the American army" without even being admitted to the NATO organization.

ASIA'S REVOLUTIONS

Meanings for the West . . *by Aneurin Bevan*

London

ON TWO occasions I visited the Indian Parliament in New Delhi. Making allowance for the very different physical setting and for the costumes and complexions of the members, I might have been sitting in the Strangers' Gallery of the British House of Commons.

The procedure is the same. The standing orders have been copied from our own. Lying on the table before me as I write is a volume presented to me by the clerk to the Peoples' House of the Indian Parliament. It is the record of conversations which took place between him and the clerks and officials of the House of Commons when India was framing its constitution and determining upon the procedure it was to adopt for its own Parliament.

There is, however, one fundamental difference. Like many other modern constitutions, India's is preceded by a declaration of fundamental rights to which legislation must conform and which is construed by the courts.

The Indian government has already discovered that this is a mixed blessing. In the same way that the United States has found the powers of the Supreme Court to be a real hindrance to effective action in times of crisis, India is finding that too exact and detailed a description of individual rights can be an immobilizing clamp on the Representative Assembly. But the important thing is that India has decided that its political way of life must follow the pattern of the Western democracies. This is true also of Ceylon, Burma, and Pakistan, although the last has still to agree upon the character of its constitution.

This decision of the nations of Southeast Asia has consequences for all of us which have not yet been fully realized. The reason for the decision should be studied by those who are so critical of the abrupt withdrawal of British power from Southeast Asia. This withdrawal meant that new nations could go about the task of constitution-making in a calmer atmosphere than would have existed if independence had been won on the battlefield. China was denied such an evolution. Imperial domination and civil war made impossible a calm selection among a number of constitutional alternatives, and the decision eventually made in China was as much the result of imposed circumstances as the choice of its victorious leaders.

THE LESSON is obvious and has been so often stated that it is depressing to have to repeat it. It is that national resentment against foreign rule, if too long repressed, acquires a social content that carries the national movement beyond its original center of gravity and results in a social revolution. Unfortunately, the change which thus takes place is the establishment of a form of dictatorship often more oppressive than the one it dislodged, and so another fundamental upsurge is necessary before it can be said that the people have been truly set free.

What is happening in Southeast Asia is therefore unique in the history of the world. Democratic governments have been established in countries with backward industrial techniques, in conditions of life infinitely inferior to those which preceded the Industrial Revolution in Europe. Furthermore, these governments are assailed by the meretricious claims of opulent America and by the intellectual dogmatism of Soviet propaganda. Between the two it would not be surprising if the infant nations faltered and failed.

It would be disastrous for us if they did fail. And I do not mean disastrous in a purely military sense. Their failure would mean an arid polarization between the industrial power of the United States on the one hand and the massed millions of the colored peoples on the other. What we have to do is to preserve for mankind the utmost variety of choice. For, after all, civilization means opportunity freely to choose between a number of proffered alternatives. The more alternatives there are, the more civilized we can be said to be.

These nations of Southeast Asia are trying to do what has never been done before. They are trying consciously to organize their economic and social life by free consent through the instrumentality of representative institutions, and they are trying to do it with a largely illiterate people. These are stirred into often premature demands by what they learn of the more expansive life of the West, and are consequently impatient of the slowness of the progress imposed by their own inevitable handicaps.

We did not succeed in revolutionizing our country by consent. Democracy came to us after the Industrial Revolution, not before. Nor did America do what India has attempted. The Fathers of the American Revolution did not have five hundred millions of illiterate and half-starved people to mull over the finer points of the Declaration of Independence. The Soviet Union did not do it. At an early stage it abandoned all hope of establishing democratic institutions and forced its industrial revolution through by the machinery of the police state.

These are the facts of history, and I do not recall them here to quarrel with them. The silliest thing to do with history is to quarrel with it. But it is necessary to keep all this in mind if we are to view what is happening in Southeast Asia with a true sense of historical perspective.

IT IS EVEN more important that the people of India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, and Ceylon should have a clear sense of what they are doing and where they are going. It is not enough that they are making an industrial revolution, es-

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ANEURIN BEVAN, leader of the left wing of the British Labor Party, recently returned from a trip through Southeast Asia. This is the second of two articles about his journey. The first appeared in our issue of May 16.

sential though that is. It is not necessary now to prove that men of all shades of color can make and manage machines. That is what is so tiresome about a great deal of Soviet propaganda. Only people blinded by outworn theories of national and racial inferiority needed to have it proved that a Russian peasant, like any other, could learn to be a skilled mechanic.

What Russia has shown is how the economic life of a nation can be planned and organized purposefully, and that technical progress is possible without the propulsions of private profit. What Russia failed to show was that this can be done without a centralized bureaucracy and without the compulsions, fears, and disciplines of the monolithic state.

It is not political democracy that is on trial in Southeast Asia. It is democracy as an instrument of revolutionary change. And the fate of mankind may depend on the outcome.

DEFENSE OR DEPRESSION

Is There an Alternative? . . *by Arnold A. Rogow*

TO WHAT extent is the American economy dependent on defense expenditure? The Russians, of course, believe that the prosperity of big business, at least, derives from war preparations, and their view is not inconsistent with the recent performance of the stock market following the peace overtures. Indeed, it has received considerable support within the United States from circles normally considered above suspicion by the Yahoo from Wisconsin. Before the election Eisenhower himself noted that the current prosperity was to a considerable extent war-financed. On September 6, 1952, *Business Week* remarked that industrial capacity "is getting so large that it now takes a consumer-goods boom plus a king-sized defense program to keep everyone busy." More recently *U. S. News and World Report,* surveying the distribution of defense contracts, found that between June, 1950, and June, 1952, the top 100 contracting corporations received $43,800,000,000 worth of prime defense contracts, or 62.4 per cent of all those worth $10,000 or more, and concluded that "arms is essentially big business."

For various reasons, however, America's economic welfare need not be considered absolutely dependent on the defense program. Although $181,000,000,000 has been appropriated for defense since Korea, only $87,000,000,000 had been spent by February, 1953. There has been a deliberate "stretch-out" of the program and hence relatively little interference with business as usual. Thus far defense production has largely come out of increased output and has not reduced civilian consumption and non-military investment.

On the other hand, the $87,000,000,000 already spent has had a stimulating effect on business activity, and it is even possible to argue that the present level of defense expenditure is the decisive element in the current prosperity and will be a vital anti-recession influence for some time. Indeed, it is the thesis of this article that economic well-being in the years ahead will require either a further expansion on the defense sector or more radical political and economic reforms than any that have been previously attempted.

Support for this thesis emerges clearly from an examination of the present scale of defense business in a number of key industries. Of the top 100 prime defense contractors, 9 are automobile manufacturers; and of the top 10 contractors, which together hold more than twenty billion dollars' worth of defense contracts, or 28.7 per cent of the total, 3 are automobile companies. The Ford Motor Company, which ranks third among automobile contractors, does not, unfortunately, publish its accounts. But for seven of the automobile concerns information based on company reports is available and is presented in the table below.

The defense business of not one of the seven companies, it will be seen, amounted to less than 14 per cent of its total business in 1952; for four companies it was approximately one-third, and for one company almost two-thirds of total business. General Motors almost doubled and Chrysler more than quadrupled defense volume between 1951 and 1952. Moreover, at the end of 1952 all the companies had substantial backlogs of government orders. A General Motors official recently estimated that even with a 20 per cent increase in total business over 1952, the company's de-

THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY AND DEFENSE

Company	*Rank among prime defense contractors, June, 1950–June, 1952*	*Value of contracts June, 1950–June, 1952 ($ millions)*	*Net sales, year ending December 31, ($ millions)*		*Defense business as percentage of total business*	
			1951	*1952*	*1951*	*1952*
General Motors	1	5,489	7,466	7,549	10	19
Chrysler	3	2,226	2,547	2,601	3	14
Studebaker	17	747	503	585	—	36
Packard	24	407	178	234	—	30
Willys-Overland	27	387	220	302	21	32
Reo	31	316	113	150	—	66
Kaiser-Fraser	33	303	—	*57	—	*39

* First 9 months of 1952.

ARNOLD A. ROGOW is a member of the Department of Political Science of the State University of Iowa.

fense business would amount to 20 per cent of the total.

Five of the top ten defense contractors are aircraft companies; between June, 1950, and June, 1952, they obtained contracts totaling almost $7,500,000,000, and at the present time the entire industry holds about $25,000,000,000 worth of government contracts. Since Korea the industry has not published detailed accounts, but evidence available suggests that it is almost entirely dependent on defense contracts. The United Aircraft Corporation, which holds fifth place among the top 100 contractors, in 1952 transacted 86 per cent of its business with the government, an increase of 2 per cent over 1951. The percentage of defense to total business was probably not less for the other major aircraft producers.

The dependence of the aircraft industry on defense contracts is of course unique, but the defense business of a number of more diversified industries is still impressive. In steel the defense volume in 1952 amounted to 15 per cent of the total. Last year the government took 50 per cent of the output of machine-tool manufacturers and about 60 per cent of the output of the electronics industry; between 10 and 20 per cent of the total business of the largest farm-machinery concerns was on government contract.

BUT PERHAPS the most significant figures are those describing the relationship between the defense program and full employment. At the end of 1952 private and public employment, including the armed services, totaled approximately 66,000,000. According to government figures, 7,000,000 workers were directly or indirectly engaged in the defense program, and 3,600,000 persons were in the armed services. In other words, about 10,600,000 persons, or almost one out of every six employed, were involved directly or indirectly in defense.

The crucial question of course is: What would that one out of every six be doing if he were not employed in the defense program? If "peace broke out," would he find employment in non-defense work or would he be unemployed? No certain answer to this can be given, and it is well to keep in mind that forecasts of mass unemployment after World War II proved incorrect. On the other hand, the cold war is not World War II all over again. Economic factors which were important during and after the war are not present today; indeed, the contrasts between the two economic situations are striking and sobering.

In the first place, the present labor force does not contain any substantial number of "expendables." In recent years, according to the Department of Commerce, the civilian labor force has received no large influx of adolescents, housewives, or people past the usual retirement age. Nor, since Korea, has the number of hours worked in any large sector of the economy been appreciably extended. Both these things occurred on a large scale during World War II, and therefore, says the Commerce Department, "full employment in the immediate post-war period was consistent with a considerable reduction from war-time peaks in the total of military and civilian employment and in working hours—a situation which is present to only a small extent today."

Secondly, during the cold war, in contrast to World War II, no substantial reserve of savings, private or business, and no considerable backlog or demand for either consumer or capital goods have been built up. In 1952 business added approximately $26,500,000,000 of new plant and equipment without scrapping much of the old plant, and the outlay in 1953 is expected to reach the record figure of $27,000,000,000. This increased capacity has made it possible to satisfy civilian requirements and defense needs.

As a result, there is little likelihood that consumer demand can be expanded sufficiently to absorb any substantial shift from defense to consumer goods; indeed, there is considerable doubt that it will continue at its present rate. According to *Business Week,* 44 per cent of all automobiles in use are only three years old or less, compared with 28 per cent in 1949; 60 per cent of all refrigerators are post-war models. Moreover, output of automobiles, television sets, and home appliances is currently running ahead of demand. It is also worth noting that much of the consumer demand in the last few years has been financed by borrowing. Instalment debt has increased 36 per cent since Korea, and according to a recent estimate, consumer credit now represents 10 per cent of disposable income.

All the signs, in short, suggest that a recession is a probability unless in the next few years defense spending rises above present levels, or appropriations for Point Four and non-defense government expenditure are greatly increased. The choice seems to be between a "warfare" state and an all-out welfare state. Moscow, of course, will influence the decision, but in the final analysis, assuming no Soviet aggression, the choice will be made in Washington. A welfare state under Republican auspices is not out of the question, but it could not be set up easily.

It would require, first, a substantial shift of power from industry to the government. Business would be represented less in the government and labor more than at present; and the total effect of taxation, redistribution of income, social services, and controls would be to reduce the business share of wealth and influence. The warfare state, however, leaves the status quo fundamentally untouched. Industrial leaders staff the key positions and make the basic decisions. Taxation is not designed to redistribute income, social services are not extended, and controls are held to a minimum. The whole tendency of the warfare state is to consolidate business power through a meshing of public and private interests.

A second difficulty is the public's apparent unwillingness to accept any enlightened alternative to the warfare-state solution. Politically it is easier to expand the defense sector than to institute welfare measures or generate support for Point Four. And, clearly, Point Four would be an adequate solution only if it represented a conscious attempt to distribute billions of dollars of purchasing power annually across a world which includes the Iron Curtain countries. Unfortunately, the question whether, in peace time, the nation is willing to pay taxes to feed and equip a good part of the world needs only to be raised to be answered.

Freedom of the Printed Word

By J. R. Wiggins

[Herewith we inaugurate our own "Voice of America," an occasional feature bringing to our readers condensations of or excerpts from speeches which we consider of special interest but which have received little or no notice in the press. J. R. Wiggins, managing editor of the Washington Post, *is chairman of the Freedom of Information Committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the membership of which has been constituted a special group to study the possible threat to press freedom contained in Senator McCarthy's questioning of James Wechsler, editor of the New York* Post. *The speech from which the following excerpts are taken was delivered before the Maryland Library Association.* —EDITORS THE NATION.]

WHEN a Congressional committee summons an editor before it and subjects him to hours of secret questioning and examination and interrogation, every man to whom the printed word is sacred must feel rising out of his cultural subconscious the warnings of history. At the first signal of such invasion the mind goes rushing back through the centuries to earlier examples of printers summoned before the bar of the House of Commons in England, to editors harried from their homes by hostile governor's councils and vengeful assemblies in the American colonies.

And when members of Congress sit in judgment to decide what books may be appropriately left upon library shelves, other memories are stirred. As individuals we may be in agreement with members of Congress on the faults and flaws of many literary works. We may deplore, as Congressmen deplore, the inclusion of some publications on lists of books sent abroad as representative of our culture. But those with an eye on the past can hardly fail to feel an instinctive anxiety about government in the role of book critic.

However objectionable some political ideas may be, American citizens have a right to know about them, to form their own judgments of them, to arrive at their own devices for dealing with them. Ignorance is certainly not our refuge, and our principles are not so poor or our philosophies so weak as to require the protection of censorship against the competition of rival philosophies or systems.

WHEN Congressional investigators, however well intentioned, invade with their inquiries the schools and churches—even though they interrogate only individual teachers and churchmen and not the institutions as such—other recollections are stirred. In 1687 James II created a commission to exercise jurisdiction over Magdalene College at Oxford. Among the three commissioners, it is interesting to note, was Sir Thomas Jenner. These three commissioners turned out the duly constituted authorities of the college, with whom they disagreed on religion, and pronounced the ejected fellows incapable of ever holding any church preferment. It was an act of infamy that remains fresh in English minds these 250 years later.

When political leaders have the power to move against the church, they are in constant danger of being led into abuse of that power by men motivated by religious hates. Religious leaders are peculiarly vulnerable to the sort of conspiracy that one Robert Young attempted against the Bishop of Rochester in the reign of William and Mary in 1692. An accomplice of Young concealed in the home of the Bishop of Rochester a document containing the forged signatures of many associates of the Bishop, binding them to action against the King. The forgery was sufficiently plausible so that the Bishop was summoned before the privy council and questioned. He succeeded in establishing his innocence. Then the Bishop returned quietly to his residence at Bromley.

In our time, we have also seen a bishop unjustly accused. What malice filled the files of the Un-American Activities Committee with reckless and ill-founded charges against G. Bromley Oxnam we may never know. That so formidable a dossier could have been assembled against a man so innocent of the least affiliation with or sympathy for communism is sufficient warning that innocence is no protection against this sort of damage. As long as Congressional committees are willing to become the repository of libelous and scandalous charges against churchmen, there will be no lack of rogues to supply their files.

ONE FATAL weakness marks the Congressional investigations of the press, libraries, schools, and churches. Most of these inquiries have not been concerned with the development of information essential to the act of legislating. Little legislation has emerged from them. These Congressional committees have been performing essentially judicial functions. In many cases, they have combined executive, judicial, and legislative functions. As Madison has wisely observed, the concentration of legislative, judicial, and executive functions in a single body is the very definition of tyranny.

The legislature is especially deficient as a court of justice, and its deficiencies have been well understood in Anglo-Saxon countries for 300 years. Macaulay has well stated them:

> However clearly political crime may have been defined by ancient laws, a man accused of it ought not to be tried by a crowd of 513 eager politicians of whom he can challenge none even with cause, who have no judge to guide them, who are allowed to come in and go out as they choose, who hear as much or as little as they choose of the accusation and of the defense, who are exposed, during the investigation, to every kind of corrupting influence, who are inflamed by all the passions which animated debate naturally excites, who cheer one orator and cough down another, who are roused from sleep to cry Aye or No, or who are hurried half drunk from their suppers to divide.

Though our legislative body may have improved in sobriety and demeanor, many of the solid objections that Macaulay makes against all legislative bodies acting in judicial capacity still are valid.

The Ethics of John D.

STUDY IN POWER: JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, INDUSTRIALIST AND PHILANTHROPIST. By Allan Nevins. Charles Scribner's Sons. Two Volumes. $10.

By Keith Hutchison

CONSIDERING the central role of big business in the American drama, there have been all too few dispassionate studies of its evolution. The many journalistic essays in this field have usually varied between the extremes of hostility and sycophancy. Professional scholars, as Professor Nevins points out in his preface to "Study in Power," have faced two handicaps in undertaking business histories and biographies. On the one hand, corporations have been reluctant to make their records available; on the other, books founded on such records have been suspect as uncritical.

Although an increasing number of corporations are now opening their archives, not all have learned that it is unbecoming to attach strings to this gesture. Some, indeed, employ scholars, at temptingly handsome fees, to write company histories under the supervision of their public-relations departments. Whatever the value of the resulting product as institutional advertising, as history it is apt to be beneath contempt.

Needless to say, Nevins's book is not of this kind. He incurred no obligations in gaining access to the Rockefeller and Standard Oil files, and it is clear that he has made every effort to deal judicially with their contents and the mass of other material he has brought under review. But if Nevins has not been seduced by living Rockefellers, I do feel that he has, in a sense, been overawed by the mighty dead one, whom he depicts as a good man who committed many evil acts usually from the best of motives and with generally healthy consequences. This paradox, as I shall try to show later, leads to some strange conclusions.

KEITH HUTCHISON, a contributing editor, was formerly The Nation's *financial editor.*

Nevins, of course, tackled this subject once before when he wrote "John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise" (1940). The subsequent discovery of a long-lost mass of papers persuaded him to reassess the evidence.

Actually, the omissions in the new book, which is more than 400 pages shorter, bulk larger than the additions. In 1940 the author dealt at length with Rockefeller's parentage and childhood. Now he hurdles these preliminaries in one brief chapter and omits many other family and personal details. Less justifiable is the compression of his account of the Ludlow massacre, the omission of any reference to the Corrigan lawsuit, and the total disregard of the labors of Ivy Lee, the public-relations expert who labored to change the public idea of Rockefeller from devil to saint.

Again, in 1940 Nevins gave much space to a highly critical analysis of Henry Demarest Lloyd's "Wealth Against Commonwealth," the historically important exposure of the Standard Oil monopoly that appeared in 1894. In this book the indictment of Lloyd as a "hysterical" and "inaccurate" writer remains, but the detailed evidence supporting the charge has been truncated.

It seems to me, however, that on this matter amplification was desirable in the light of an article by Professor Chester McA. Destler in the *American Historical Review* of October, 1944. Destler, chairman of the Department of History at Connecticut College, challenged Nevins's treatment of Lloyd, pointing out that "Wealth Against Commonwealth" had been accepted as important and accurate by many reputable historians; indeed, Nevins himself in his biography of Grover Cleveland (1932) had described it as "a searching exposure, amply buttressed by details."

In justice to Lloyd's memory Destler undertook a painstaking examination of Lloyd's citation of sources and concluded that with minor exceptions his statements were supported by his documentation. Further, while defending the honesty of Lloyd's reporting of the famous Buffalo oil case (1887), he questioned Nevins's own account of this trial, in which the managers of a Standard-controlled company were found guilty of criminal conspiracy.

Nevins replied to Destler vehemently and at length in the April, 1945, issue of the *American Historical Review*, but makes no reference to the controversy in this book. It is not a contest that can be adjudicated in the course of a review, but since Nevins repeats his charges against Lloyd, it is unfortunate that he has buttressed them less strongly than before.

Moreover, whatever may be said against Lloyd, the fact remains that many of his conclusions are sustained by Nevins. For instance, while Nevins shows that Lloyd erred in foisting the parentage of the South Improvement Company on Rockefeller—it was a railroad bastard—he agrees that the plan to give members of the company rebates not only on their own oil shipments but on those of their competitors was zealously promoted by the Standard Oil directors. "Of all devices for extinction of competition," he writes, "this was the cruelest and most deadly yet conceived by any group of American industrialists."

When this scheme was exploded by public indignation Rockefeller went quietly to work on "our plan," which involved the purchase of enough refinery capacity to give Standard practical control of the industry. There was talk at the time, and long after, of undue pressure being used to force mergers, and no doubt knowledge of the exceptionally favorable freight rates Standard was able to command encouraged firms to accept the terms offered. However, many refinery owners when threatened by the Rockefeller embrace accepted the classic advice to victims of rape: they relaxed and enjoyed it. Only much later did some of them, like the Widow Backus, about whose case Lloyd was clearly misinformed, complain of insufficiently compensated seduction.

One of the worst features of the consolidation campaign which continued from 1872 to 1878, by which date Standard controlled eleven-twelfths of the refining industry, was the secrecy that accompanied it. Thus Camden's Parkersburg refinery, after being absorbed in 1878, continued to pretend independence in dealing with railroads and pipe lines. Nevins declares that this "calculated deceit," approved by Rockefeller, merits "unsparing censure."

Space forbids quotation of more than one or two other examples of Nevins's condemnation of the methods by which Standard built its monopoly. He speaks of its officers "juggling with truth" on the witness stand; he refers to their "ugly tactics" in seeking to block independent pipe lines: he shows them buying political and newspaper influence, although their activities of this kind were relatively restrained compared with those of some business notables of the "Heroic Age."

But while condemning Standard Oil, Nevins also defends it. If its means were often bad, he says in effect, its ends proved good. If unethical methods fostered its growth, its success owed much more to superior organization and techniques. Above all, it replaced competitive chaos by *order*—a conception dear to all monopolists, political and industrial.

IN HIS 1940 PREFACE Nevins spoke of himself as "a convinced believer in a free competitive economy." He does not repeat the phrase in 1953, and in fact he appears to have developed a horror of competition, for he seldom uses the word without attaching to it some such opprobrious adjective as "savage," "ruinous," or "wasteful." And while he shows the crushing of that competition, in oil as in many other industries, as a ruthless process often carried out with utter disregard for the laws of God and man alike, he seems to justify it in the name of economic progress. "Had our pace been slower and our achievement weaker," he writes, "had we not created so swiftly our powerful industrial units in steel, oil, textiles, chemicals, electricity, and the automotive vehicles, the free world might have lost the First World War and most certainly would have lost the second."

Offensive as this point of view is to American moral tradition, it is not easy to attack. It is true that revolutions, including industrial revolutions, are not made with kid gloves. It can be argued that if men like Rockefeller had followed the Ten Commandments as strictly in their business dealings as in their personal lives, our industrial development would have been much slower. It is possible that fair profits, earned by strictly lawful means, did not, in the last century, provide sufficient incentive to the taking of great risks. It may be that we owe our startling expansion of wealth in part to those "robber barons" who had the audacity to evade the laws and accumulate by sharp practices sufficient profits to accelerate the rate of capital formation.

If these things are true—and Nevins's logic is as persuasive as it is shocking—then economic theory must be revised to take account of both the positive disutility of Christian ethics and the economic function of chicanery. In fact, we revert to the philosophy of "The Fable of the Bees; or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits," in which Bernard Mandeville horrified his eighteenth-century readers by contending that religious or legal restraints on the satisfaction of selfish desires were harmful to society.

New Books in Brief

Our Changing Foreign Policy

FOREIGN POLICY WITHOUT FEAR. By Vera Micheles Dean. McGraw-Hill. $3.75.

Vera Micheles Dean has written, since 1938, a number of books on American foreign policy, dealing with "Europe in Retreat" in Hitler's day and with "Russia: Menace or Promise?" in the days when some other Americans, too, could not make up their minds how to answer the question. Today she rightly points out that all free nations agree "that an aggressive Russia, armed with all the dread attributes of the police state and Communist parties in other nations subservient to Moscow's aims, threatens the security and freedoms of the Western world as well as the independence of all other nations."

The United States has taken the leadership in defending the world against this danger. But it must implement its moral principles with concrete actions —not only when aggression threatens, but in the daily give and take of world affairs. Mrs. Dean suggests some ways in which this can be done. Many of her suggestions are to the point and should be considered. Events so far have shown that she is right in her insistence that the ultimate difference between Democrats and Republicans in the conduct of foreign policy may prove to be a difference not so much of essence as of degree. She expects that Eisenhower, more effectively than if he had been a civilian, will be able to curb war-minded military officials and politicians. The new Administration can follow a policy of negotiation more easily than the Democrats because no one outside a lunatic fringe could possibly accuse it of being soft toward communism. Thus Mrs. Dean, in a book written after the new Administration came into office, looks rather

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A Diarist on Gide

RECOLLECTIONS OF ANDRE GIDE. By Roger Martin du Gard. Viking. $2.75.

Brief excerpts, admiring but candid and sometimes malicious, drawn from the journal kept for thirty-six years by a fellow-novelist of Gide's who was also a Nobel Prize winner. Few men, it would appear, knew Gide better and few admired him more, this side idolatry. But the foibles, and worse, of the great man get their full share of attention—the slovenliness of his personal habits, the extravagance of his precautions against drafts and chills, the childish egotism of his demands upon the time and attention of his friends, and above all the inclusiveness of his assumption that he need only say "I am what I am and must do what I do" to excuse anything and everything. Perhaps little that is new is added to Gide's own accounts of his proselytizing zeal for the cult of homosexuality and his brief flirtation with communism, but it is all seen from a slightly different angle. Du Gard is obviously and in his own right a diarist of a very high order.

The Past Revitalized

LIFE OF THE PAST. By George Gaylord Simpson. Yale. $4.

An introduction to the study of fossil life, the science of paleontology, which is at once readable and scientifically authoritative, making its appeal to the general reader and scientist alike, has long been overdue. In the present volume America's most distinguished paleontologist, has given us such a book. In the hands of Professor Simpson the life of the past is revitalized, and its study becomes not only exciting but an enlarging experience in the understanding of life itself and man's relationship to it.

After a brief historical account of the development of ideas in paleontology, Professor Simpson goes on to discuss the various means of preservation of animals as fossils, the geologic time scale, the economic applications of paleontological knowledge, and an absolutely fascinating chapter on fossils as living things. In the chapter on the diversity of life the principles of classification are clearly analyzed, and could be read with profit by many a professional.

After discussing the theories of evolution Professor Simpson, in his last chapter, answers some questions concerning the practical uses and theoretical consequences of the science that reveals the course of evolution, paleontology. Man, he concludes, fulfils no supernal purpose. "He is not the creature of uncontrollable and undeterminable forces, but his own master. He can and must decide and manage his own destiny."

"The Gandhi Girls"

THE WOMEN IN GANDHI'S LIFE. By Eleanor Borton. Dodd, Mead. $4.

A Gandhi biography that concentrates on the women who influenced his early life, and those who, in his later years, served as his disciples—"the Gandhi Girls," as Vincent Sheean called them. Especially interesting are the stories of his mother and her great influence in shaping his character and beliefs; of his relations with Kasturbai, his wife, often bitter and difficult in the early years of their marriage, always a mirror of his own changing ideals; of Madeleine Slade, who worshiped him as a god and served him for many years; and of Sarojini Naidu, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, and many others who worked with complete devotion to realize his dream of a free India. By studying Gandhi from this angle the author throws new and interesting light on his life and character.

British Health Service

THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE IN GREAT BRITAIN. By James Stirling Ross. Oxford. $7.

The National Health Service was first proposed by Winston Churchill's coalition government in 1944. No change in its major principles—universal coverage, comprehensive medical services, and support primarily from general tax revenues —was made by the Labor government, which enacted the law in 1946 and began its operation July 5, 1948. Mr. Ross gives us the best account of the origin, organization, and conduct of the service that has yet appeared. He takes us down as late as June, 1952, when some important improvements in the family physician's role were made. In his detailed account of organization and of the service in action he shows how all its features are bound up with the pre-existing system of medical care and with the traditions of local and national government.

The book is especially adapted for American readers, correcting errors of fact and perspective which have been disseminated in this country by poorly informed tourists and correspondents and by the medical spokesmen imported from Britain by the American Medical Association. Mr. Ross is frank in his own evaluations, temperate in his criticism even of the tactlessness of "Nye" Bevan, and gentle when in his Note on Opinion in America he suggests to medical and lay leaders of opinion in both nations that "if there is still a hatchet lying anywhere about, let us bury it and light our pipes."

English Drama

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH DRAMA, 1660-1900. Volume I: *RESTORATION DRAMA.* Volume II: *EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DRAMA.* Volume III: *LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DRAMA.* By Allardyce Nicoll. Cambridge University Press. Each Volume $7.

These are the first three of five proposed volumes, of which the two still to come will deal with the nineteenth century. Those now available represent a revision of books previously published under the same titles and constitute the most complete summary available of the drama of the period considered in the light of historical scholarship. Almost too full of names, dates, and documents for cursory reading, they are nevertheless indispensable as reference works. There are very full play lists, innumerable references to other scholarly works, and appendices documenting various disputed points in theatrical history.

Haitian Folk Religion

DIVINE HORSEMEN. The Living Gods of Haiti. By Maya Deren. Thames and Hudson. $4.75.

This study of Voudoun, the folk religion of Haiti, penetrates deeply into the psychology of primitive man and his concept of the universe. African in origin, with Indian and Christian modifications, Voudoun is a subtle and complex system of explaining natural phenomena and the mysteries of life and death in human and comprehensible terms. Unlike most books on the subject this is a serious attempt to understand Voudoun and to explain the origins and meanings of the elaborate rituals.

From Rodin to Roszak

SCULPTURE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By Andrew Carnduff Ritchie. Museum of Modern Art. Distributed by Simon and Schuster. $7.50.

Written to accompany the current retrospective exhibition of sculpture, this survey of trends from Rodin to Roszak illustrates most of the pieces in the exhibition and many major works which could not be included. The 176 plates form the most useful selection of modern sculpture yet published. The text attempts something very difficult—an organic outline of the development of sculpture since 1900, preceded by some account of the work of Rodin, who precipitated either directly or by inspiring counter-development much of what has occurred in the past five decades.

The table of contents, which divides this sculpture into seven groups, seems over neat, and the illustrations do not always appear to fall within the division concerned. A careful reading of Ritchie's text will show, however, that he uses his divisions as points of reference and not as so many strait-jackets, and it will be found that the work of a single sculptor is broken up with perfect justice according to the ideas Ritchie is developing. Thus the very late work of Lachaise lies close to Brancusi's purification of the object, while the main body of his work is an extension of Maillol's classically inspired idealization. In the same way Lipchitz is shown to have developed from Cubist dissection to freely moving bronze forms which have helped to swing very recent sculpture back to the expressive values of Rodin. Among major clarifications offered by this book are the interpretation of Rodin as primarily a bronze sculptor and of Seated Youth as Lehmbruck's final and most powerful statement, and the exposition of the dominance of Brancusi, the growing influence of Gonzales, and the lonely power of Giacometti's recent work.

Films

Manny Farber

IN A seventy-minute feature called "Bright Road," M-G-M has refashioned the story of "The Quiet One," a Levitt-Loeb prize-winning documentary that dealt with the rescue of a blocked, bewildered colored boy, new methods of education, and common-sense therapy. Here, in Emmett Lavery's script, a pretty Alabama school teacher—demure, devoted, glowing with Christian endeavor—breaks through the shell of a perverse juvenile named P. T. ("It don't stand for nothing"), the shame of Vinedale school.

While the tale leans rather heavily on the idea that all becomes well when the wand of modern psychology is waved, and the view of boyhood is forcibly patterned to make this outcome possible, the movie has a surprise gift of humor and humanity. Negro actors, not unlike others, have too frequently fitted themselves into a stereotype that makes them either caricature or figures of sentimentally sterling worth. The newcomers in "Bright Road"—a dozen kids plus two adults (one of them Harry Belafonte)—cause one to be more acutely aware of the burdened propagandist portrayals of Canada Lee, the exquisite clichés of Ethel Waters, the oversensitivity of James Edwards, and the servility of Hattie McDaniels. What I'm trying to say is that this all-colored cast does not accommodate itself to an audience's ready-made ideas and so brings to the screen a fresh spontaneous life.

Some artful scenes reveal the boys' classroom behavior, a mixture of swagger and glee. A small spectacled kid stalls on the trip from blackboard to seat to run his hand across each student as though he were a slat in a picket fence. A born cynic throws tipster comments at a chum having trouble with long division. Another shrugs through a ridiculous description of his vacation experience. This is all enacted with an air of special and private knowhow about humor and an easy grace that make the teacher's correct manners and speech seem hopelessly wrong.

But for the rest, too much of the film is idealized out of reality. The teachers are up on all the latest trends in child psychology and dish it out in globs. The songs are done in the calculatedly intimate, mink-soft voices used by so many popular singers; the delicately chiseled profiles seem too universal. The only apparent sufferer is the new teacher, Dorothy Dandridge, who goes in for worried pantomime and mumbles such things as "Oh Lord, let me say the right words for once." Since Miss Dandridge offscreen is one of those quick bright songstresses who rely less on voice than on an ability to tell a story with a sensitive and emotional face, this is rather nice to watch.

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Music

B. H. Haggin

AS usual the New York City Ballet presented no new works during the first week of its present season; and watching the beautiful performances of "Four Temperaments," "Concerto Barocco," and "Symphony in C" I found myself realizing how these great Balanchine abstract ballets were like great pieces of music in the fact that they could be seen again and again and each time it was a newly revealing, exciting, and deeply satisfying experience. Also I noted a remarkable change in LeClercq's dancing: in the short interval since the winter season she had eliminated her former angularity and acquired a fluidity which filled out the time in the second movement of "Concerto Barocco" with a quietly continuous flow of beautifully contoured movement; and this quiet continuity was one manifestation of a greater technical strength that was evident in the greater security of the series of arabesques in the second movement of "Symphony in C." All this in addition to the elegance and distinction, the force of presence and projection that have always been extraordinary.

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Watching "The Prodigal Son" I appreciated again Balanchine's power in dramatic ballet—the way almost nothing in this piece is presented literally, almost everything in dance metaphors that amaze one each time with their imaginative originality and force. And I also appreciated again Moncion's powers as a dramatic dancer. But the son's pulling himself up into his father's arms at the end doesn't work right; and I wish Balanchine would take time to figure out a way of achieving the effect I remember in the 1929 performances.

IN ADDITION TO the warmth and purity of thirteen-year-old Gerard Poulet's playing in Mozart's Violin Concerto K.216 (Remington) I should have mentioned the extraordinarily sentient inflection that makes this one of the most remarkable and beautiful performances on records; and the playing of the orchestra under his father's direction also is outstanding. On the other hand I am bound to mention the few slides and other such momentary excesses in the boy's playing that one can only hope will disappear rather than get worse in the years ahead.

And I would like to express more strongly my feeling about the unusual character and power of Janacek's Slavonic Mass (Urania).

The record Italian Baroque Music (RCA Victor) offers the beautiful Vivaldi Concerto in A minor, No. 8 of "L'Estro armonico"; his Sinfonia No. 2 in G, a lesser work; and two fine Concerti Grossi by Marcello and Geminiani, all excellently performed by the Società Corelli. Vivaldi's Cantata "Cessate Omai" and an excerpt from Carissimi's oratorio "Giudizio Universale," sung well by Luisa Ribacchi, I found less interesting.

A few of the pieces that Mozart wrote for "Les Petits Riens" (MGM) are engaging; the rest are uninteresting. On the same record are the charming Scarlatti pieces that Tommasini orchestrated brilliantly for "The Good-Humored Ladies." Good performances by the Covent Garden Opera Orchestra under Braithwaite.

Charming also are the early pieces that Respighi orchestrated in "The Birds" and the Suite No. 2 of Ancient Airs and Dances for the Lute (Vanguard). Excellent performances by the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Litschauer.

Chopin's beautiful Piano Concerto No. 1 gets a fine performance by Gyorgy Sandor, playing in the traditional style but with good taste, and the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy (Columbia).

The fast movements of Mendelssohn's "Scotch" Symphony are quite engaging, the finale especially so. Solti's performance with the London Symphony (London)—excellently paced, impressively controlled and poised, sensitive in inflection, coherent in shape—confirms previous impressions of him as outstanding among conductors of today. Steinberg's performance with the Pittsburgh Symphony (Capitol) is inferior in all respects and less well reproduced.

Tchaikovsky's Suite "Mozartiana" gets a heavy-handed performance by Fistoulari with the London Philharmonic, and is cut (MGM). Better played are a few excerpts from the unfamiliar opera "The Slippers" which I presume are not the music Gerald Abraham said "ranks with the best Tchaikovsky ever wrote."

In Mahler's Symphony No. 1 one hears the Mahler mind operating in its completely individual way with youthful freshness and engaging results. Borsamski's performance with the Radio Berlin Symphony is good; its sound is better on the Urania record than on the Vanguard.

One hears the same mind operating in the Symphony No. 7 (Urania), but strangely, endlessly, with results that fascinated Arnold Schönberg but don't interest me. Rosbaud's performance with the Radio Berlin Symphony is good.

The first two of Delius's North Country Sketches are beautifully wrought, though excessively long, evocations of autumn and winter; the last two I don't care for; and I like only a couple of lovely passages in "Eventyr" (Columbia). Beecham's performances with his Royal Philharmonic are good.

Art Notes

NATHANIEL POUSETTE-DART, a frequent exhibitor, presents a series of very small landscapes in water color. A few are abstractions; the others sketch-like fragments of outdoor scenes—beaches, farms, houses, trees, and the like.—*Passedoit to June 6.*

AMERICAN ABSTRACT ARTISTS in their seventeenth annual show present oils and sculptures by fifty American artists. Among the more familiar names are Joseph Albers, Henry Botkin, Perle Fine, A. Trumbull Mason, George L. K. Morris, and Charmion von Wiegand. —*Hacker to June 30.*

SUE FULLER, well-known printmaker, plays with colored string and space within a deep frame to create complex shapes and movements. Her colors are gay and exciting, and her new medium has definite possibilities.—*Bertha Schaefer to June 6.*

RHEA BROWN has recorded her impressions of a recent trip to the Caribbean in a number of post-impressionist oils, water colors, and drawings.—*Hugo to June 6.*

ATHENA SANTOZE HSU, distinguished Chinese woman painter and profesor of painting at Teachers' College in Formosa, has had many exhibitions in the Orient. This is the first in this country. Her style is a decorative blend of Eastern and Western techniques; her subjects are flowers, mountains, figures, and birds.—*Chapellier to June 9.*

NANCY GALANTIERE has exhibited in several group shows, principally in the West. Her imaginative paintings of horses and dragons are abstract-expressionist in style and done in sensitive and bright colors.—*Grand Central Moderns to June 13.*

Letters

Improbabilia and Politics

[The following brief comment on one aspect of current literature was solicited for use in The Nation's *Spring Book issue of May 8 but arrived too late. Ward Moore, author of "Greener Than You Think," has another novel, "Bring the Jubilee," scheduled to appear in the fall.]*

Dear Sirs: Either as novelist or critic I am one of the most unsatisfactory people in the business to give an appraisal of current or recent or classic improbabilia—alias science fiction or fantasy—because I am strongly opposed to the segregation of literature by caste. It seems roundabout to read novels because they deal with possibilities just as it seems over specialized to read others because they treat of Cape Cod, or adolescent frustration, or elephant shooting.

Novelists use a particular medium because it offers the best vehicle for the purpose they have in mind. This purpose may be to turn an honest buck the very hardest way, or to entertain, or to change something. Improbabilia have been used by the best of their narrators, from Plato and Sir Thomas More through Dean Swift to H. G. Wells and Ray Bradbury, as vehicle for comment on contemporary society. Moved by anger and pity, the politically dissatisfied writer often turns to improbabilia as the ideal form for displaying not only the shortcomings of the civilization in which he lives but the remedy, or the disaster if some remedy is not applied. No doubt this is why science fiction has been officially condemned in the Soviet Union.

Paradoxically, at this particular moment, when social comment is urgently called for, too little is being offered. Unquestionably this is partly due to the activities of Senators and Congressmen who equate political purity with intellectual sterility. It is partly due to a new self-consciousness, a new sense of responsibility among writers who habitually use this medium. 1953 has produced no "1984's," nor is it likely to. Though there have been some good anthologies, no novels or collections of stories of even second rank have come out. The present seems to be a moment of pause, perhaps of stocktaking.

When the medium is considered respectable again and its use does not stamp one as a writer of space opera, it is more than likely that the number of adult novels cast in this form will rise again. They will be political novels primarily perhaps, but also philosophical

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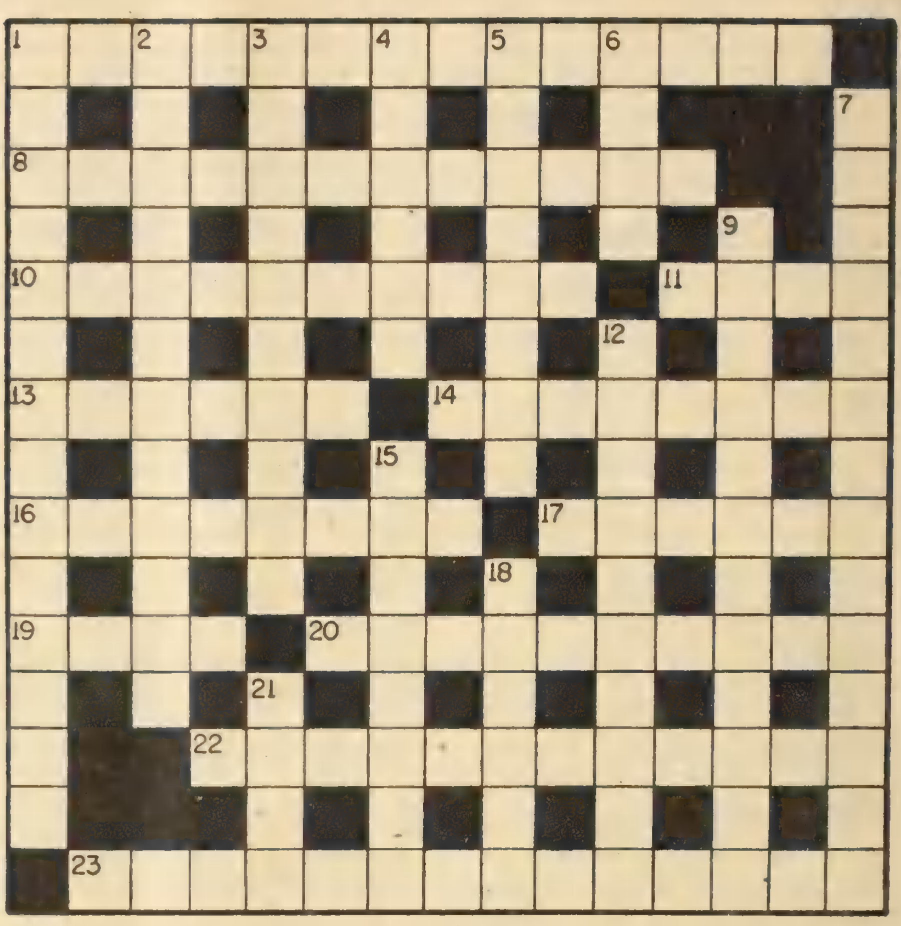
Crossword Puzzle No. 517

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 One bitter olive might be a choice offering, in case of authenticity. (7, 2, 2, 3)
8 Are city maids still to be remembered? (9, 3)
10 Thrown like the sort that suggests a strong point in English literature. (10)
11 Frightens animals. (4)
13 A boast of away 'way back? (6)
14 Concerning certain inner tubes, it's the wrong wagon to repair bodily. (8)
16 Having threefold symmetry. (8)
17 Robert, rather than Thomas. (6)
19 This is no different, when charged. (4)
20 Chief of the order hymenopter. (10)
22 Roth's, when the remainder of the bill is light. (5-7)
23 Something about two-faced people which not all of us like to see? (6, 8)

DOWN

1 Empty vehicle on the hill-top? (No damage done, despite the report.) (5, 9)
2 What Jeremiah is after is not a mental disturbance. (12).
3 A little bit of England, transplanted to the Union of South Africa? (4, 6)
4 He finished up 22 with a sort of 19. (6)
5 23 run here. (8)
6 The way to extend an opening in many papers? (4)
7 Would one imply the freedom of the corral? (5, 9)
9 He who creates my one, perhaps, doesn't necessarily leave me 22. (12)
12 Not a teller, as suggested, but in a vaguely related business. (10)
15 Fare for Noah's son on the river of song? (3, 2, 3)
18 The best known inventor of the movies? (6)
21 If this fish went by, it would be fat. (4)

~●~

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 516

ACROSS:—1 and 9 TWO-TONE SHOES; 10, 5, 20 and 29 THE WORST IS YET TO COME; 12 EASELS; 15 MATTER; 16 ETHICAL; 17 and 31 PINK LADY; 19 EYED; 21 LOW-DOWN; 23 STOP; 25 SHOWERS; 33 IN ALL; 34 ALI; 35 ALFIO; 36 SOMEDAY; 37 LEAFLET.

DOWN:—2 OBOES; 5 and 11 WHETSTONE; 6 RASCAL; 7 TROUT; 8 SPEARED; 13 STROPHE; 14 and 4 WINDOW SEATS; 15 MADWORT; 18, 27, 22 and 1 NOW I LAY ME DOWN TO SLEEP; 22 DAISIES; 24 PREVOST; 25 SMILED; 26 SONATA; 28 ALARM; 30 OFFAL; 32 and 3 BILL OF SALE.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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[illegible] ated space opera and the [illegible] xt disguised as fiction will [illegible] ppear in the more flaccid [illegible] endency toward preciosity, [illegible] a recoil from the horrors of [illegible] ndoubtedly exert its pull on [illegible] se fantasy has been labeled [illegible] "pessimistic." This will be of [illegible] interest only to those fancie[illegible] anner rather than matter; the [illegible] us will want good novels, whether [illegible] are in the improbabilia form or [illegible] the realistic or romantic mood. And for many of us "good" carries the connotation of concern with the moral problems of our society, for though books may not change the times, the times produce books which characterize them. WARD MOORE

Topanga, Cal.

Misleading Title

Dear Sirs: The fact that the findings and techniques of the social sciences, clinical psychology, and even psychoanalysis may be abused in advertising is a point well made by Ralph Goodman in a recent article in *The Nation* [Freud and The Hucksters, February 14]. However, the title of the article is misleading and seems unfair to psychoanalysis and its practitioners. . . .

The reference to Freud is particularly ironical because despite the relatively greater acceptance of psychoanalysis in this country than in any other, Freud expressed his anxiety about a certain pragmatic tendency here to exploit the basic sciences. Freud feared this even in the field of medicine. His explicit wishes for analysis were to alleviate suffering and along with other disciplines to advance human culture and thus help to prevent war. One can well imagine how he would regard any anti-social exploitation of analysis.

Though a psychoanalyst, I am not protesting because the master's name may have been taken in vain but rather because as an old reader and supporter of *The Nation* and a Nation Associate I regard the title of the article as an indication, among others, of what seems to be a hostile trend toward analysis. Certainly a kind of know-nothingism or flippancy which labels psychological tests and sociological techniques as "Freud" is not in keeping with either the usual sophistication of *The Nation* or its liberal point of view. . . . I. PETER GLAUBER

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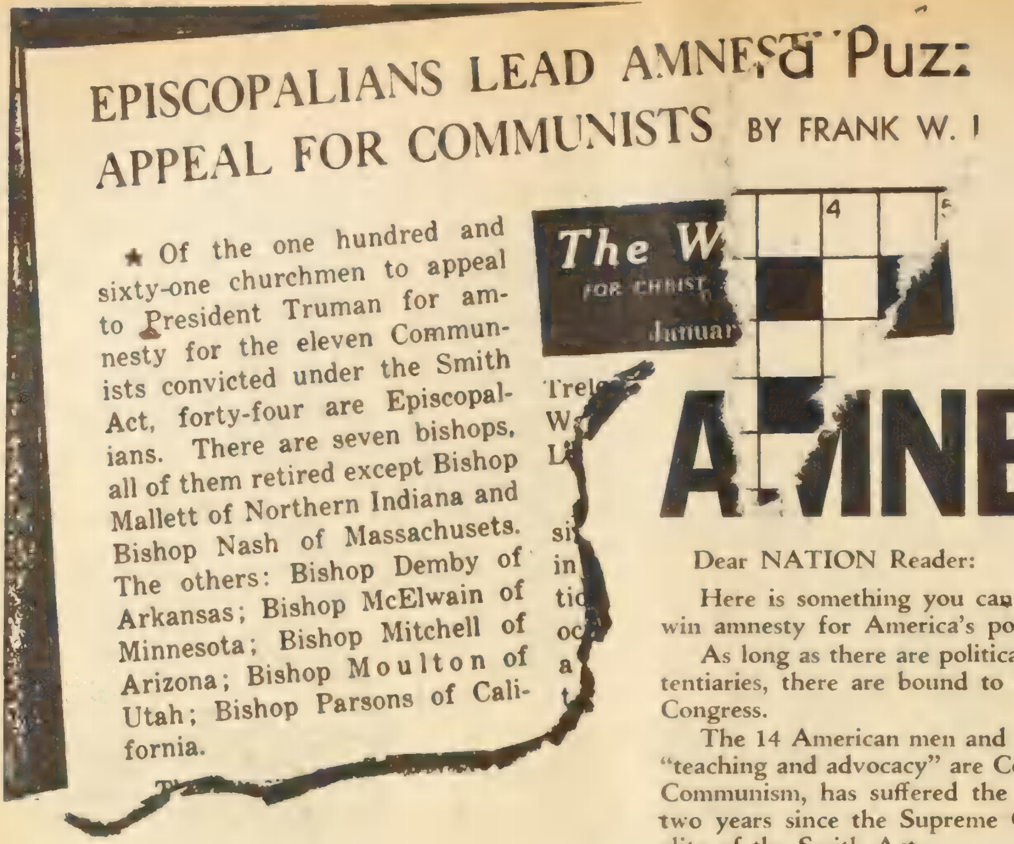

EPISCOPALIANS LEAD AMNESTY APPEAL FOR COMMUNISTS

Of the one hundred and sixty-one churchmen to appeal to President Truman for amnesty for the eleven Communists convicted under the Smith Act, forty-four are Episcopalians. There are seven bishops, all of them retired except Bishop Mallett of Northern Indiana and Bishop Nash of Massachusets. The others: Bishop Demby of Arkansas; Bishop McElwain of Minnesota; Bishop Mitchell of Arizona; Bishop Moulton of Utah; Bishop Parsons of California.

AMNESTY!

Dear NATION Reader:

Here is something you can do about McCarthyism—help win amnesty for America's political prisoners!

As long as there are political prisoners in our federal penitentiaries, there are bound to be McCarthys in the Halls of Congress.

The 14 American men and women now in prison for their "teaching and advocacy" are Communists. But democracy, not Communism, has suffered the more grievous wounds in the two years since the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Smith Act.

Thought-control legislation is the meat on which McCarthyism feeds. Amnesty for the victims of the thought-control Smith Act would go far to curb those who seek to destroy our Bill of Rights and wreck our efforts to achieve world peace.

Campaigns to win amnesty are not new in our country's history. Amnesty was won from Presidents Wilson, Harding and Coolidge after the first World War. Amnesty grants have been wrested from the fascist government of Spain, the monarchist government of Greece, the reactionary government of Turkey, the center government of Chile, the liberal government of Guatemala.

We welcome the release of William Oatis, which followed amnesty decrees in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and the Soviet Union.

More than five hundred leaders of American public opinion have appealed to the President for amnesty for those convicted under the Smith Act. Almost every trade union—CIO, AFL and independent—is on record for repeal of the Smith Act. The United Packinghouse Workers-CIO and Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO were among the first to take the logical next step and ask amnesty for the Smith Act victims.

On June 4, 1951, Supreme Court Justices William O. Douglas and Hugo Black, in their dissenting opinions, warned that the Smith Act is inconsistent with our democratic traditions. By June, 1953, the wisdom of their stand is spelled out in the McCarthy-McCarran assault on the rights of all Americans.

Our Committee has designated June 4 to July 4 "Amnesty Month."

We urge that you speak out now for amnesty—alone or in concert with others, through a letter to President Eisenhower or through the press.

Defend *your* right to say what *you* think by defending the rights of those with whom you may disagree!

Add Your Name to Theirs

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PART II: LELAND OLDS ON ATOMIC POWER

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THE *Nation*

June 6, 1953
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Does Silence Mean Guilt?

THE FIFTH AMENDMENT CONTROVERSY

by Norman Redlich and
Laurent B. Frantz

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

Letters

Challenging Mr. Wittenberg's Article

Dear Sirs: In his excellent article How to Say No to the Demagogues [issue of May 9] Philip Wittenberg counsels witnesses before Congressional inquisitors to challenge their authority to inquire into political opinion. That is precisely what nine of us from Hollywood did—and we went to prison just the same.

No one of us invoked the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer questions about trade-union and political affiliations. All of us, to use Mr. Wittenberg's phrase, raised "the clear issue of the committee's offensive conduct," cited the secrecy of the ballot, the Bill of Rights, the impertinence of the inquiry. It seemed to do no good.

While I might be inclined to agree when Mr. Wittenberg deplores the need to invoke the constitutional privilege against self-incrimination—and I certainly agree that the inquisitors have so distorted facts as to make such invocation in itself appear a confession of guilt—I would ask him: please, what else can a witness do these days? When the challenge to the committee's authority is answered by a contempt conviction good for a year in prison and a perjury conviction—"provable" by the testimony of any hired perjurer the inquisitors choose to trot out—can bring five, what would Mr. Wittenberg suggest to keep other decent citizens out of jail? None of the nine men from Hollywood, I am sure, regrets the time he served for challenging the House un-Americans. But we are all anxious to see that no one else is forced to pay such a price for defending our traditional freedoms.

To my layman's mind—which becomes increasingly unimpressed by attorneys' apparently endless faith in the courts—Mr. Wittenberg misses the point of the whole show: that the inquisitors are not interested in the law or even in the witnesses they pillory. They are the spokesmen and the agents of the most reactionary and fascist-minded sections of big business and they have a job to do: to black-list, intimidate, destroy militant defenders of the democratic rights of the people and to silence those who might in any way challenge the authority of their principals.

San Francisco ALVAH BESSIE

[It is true that the Supreme Court refused to review the conviction of the Hollywood Ten. Mr. Wittenberg, however, raised an issue which is not based directly on the Bill of Rights. What he argues is that the inquisitorial hearings have become in effect "trials" and thus represent an encroachment on the judicial function. To our knowledge, the Supreme Court has not been asked to pass directly on this issue.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Rediscovers Us

Dear Sirs: Thanks for the article by Philip Wittenberg. I shall file it for future use. I am a little ashamed to confess that it was this article which prompted me to buy, and thus rediscover, your estimable journal. Today I was standing in a super-market queue, discussing the article with a friend whom I met there when the man behind me, a stranger and very "conservative" looking, broke in and said, "*The Nation* is the only magazine which has the right to call itself one in the whole country. In fact, it's the only newspaper we have!"

New York JEAN PURCELL

Orchid for Beale

Dear Sirs: The article Teacher as Rebel—His War for Freedom by Howard K. Beale in the May 16 issue of *The Nation* is outstanding in its readability and perspicacity. It is refreshing to find an author who sheds new light on this tremendous problem of freedom to learn and at the same time writes succinctly and clearly.

RICHARD BARNES KENNAN,
Secretary, National Commission
for the Defense of Democracy
Through Education

Washington

Voice of Liberalism

Dear Sirs: Allow me to thank you for the courage and level-headedness repeatedly evinced by *The Nation* since its partial reorganization a few months ago. Always liberal, always dynamic, today it is more consistent and fearless than ever before. The so-called neo-conservatives led by the paradoxical Peter Viereck deplore its influence, and Elmer Davis has told them in print that *The Nation* is not as "important" as they seem to believe—or fear. I hope Mr. Davis is mistaken. As the journal of advanced liberal opinion that *The Nation* now definitely is it should command a wide and appreciative circulation. We need it to speak for the America of Jefferson, Jackson, Cleveland, Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt and his brilliant brain trust.

The Eisenhower Administration is hopelessly blind and ignorant. It is converting the once democratic republic into a predatory plutocracy tempered only by dread of a major depression. As *The Nation* has said editorially, the Dulles foreign policy, particularly as exemplified by its promises and deeds in Indo-China, is thoroughly reactionary and stupid. Mr. Dulles is an international lawyer, not really a diplomat. He doesn't know obsolete colonialism and discredited imperialism when he is forced to deal with them. He is another Charles E. Wilson; to him, what is good for big business is good for the country. How long will the people who trusted the Eisenhower crusaders and orators cling to their delusions and fancies?

La Jolla, Cal. VICTOR S. YARROS

The Old South

Dear Sirs: In your issue of March 21 I noted an article by a neighbor of ours, Howard Snyder of Canton, Mississippi, in which he gave his impressions of the change that has come over the old South during the forty years he has resided in our state. With most of the facts of this article we are in hearty accord. However, some of the statements are quite shocking to an old-timer of the deep South. When he speaks of the "poor benighted hill farmers" being "soaked and saturated with hate for the Negro," we feel that it is a gross misrepresentation of the old South forty or even sixty years ago.

I was born and bred in the hills of Mississippi, the son of a tenant farmer, and from my earliest recollection have been intimately associated with Negroes. When I became twelve years of age, father was able to own his own land, and had Negro tenants on his farm and occasionally employed Negroes at wages until I was full grown and went to college. We boys worked along with them on the farm, splitting rails, building fences, and sharing every other experience pertaining to rural life.

As for mistreating the Negroes, our father never laid a lash on a one of

(Continued on page 491)

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New York, Saturday, June 6, 1953

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Revolt of the Puppet

From the time the Korean war began *The Nation* has been almost alone in pointing out how seriously the Syngman Rhee regime compromised the whole action undertaken in the name of the United Nations. Not only was Syngman Rhee regarded by Asians as an American puppet, he obviously enjoyed the special favor of General MacArthur and his military successors. When the U. N. army first pushed into North Korea, Rhee's political police followed right after, to establish his control in the conquered areas and "clean up" the unreliable elements. And although the U. N. ultimately forced the recall of Rhee's terrorists, his claim that all of Korea should come under his rule as soon as it was liberated was never formally turned down. Nor was his assumption that unification would be achieved by force of arms rather than by political measures after an armistice.

Today we reap the consequences of this series of blunders. The erstwhile puppet, grown great on American arms and flattery and dollars, has not only rejected the truce terms proposed by the U. N. command but threatens to fight to prevent their being carried out. As this week began, President Eisenhower and his advisers were obviously even more concerned about their Korean ally than about their Korean enemy. Suppose the Communists should accept the terms offered—or other reasonable terms—would the United States use its decisive military and economic power to force the South Koreans to yield? The choice is a horrid one, but we brought it upon ourselves.

Foreign Policy: Ike's or Taft's?

The President had to repudiate Taft. He had to do it plainly, firmly, and for "direct attribution." For the Senator put before him a clear alternative: he was forced to choose between his own foreign policy and that of the Congressional isolationists, between the fiction of party harmony and the survival of the Western coalition.

Mr. Taft may have thought the President would shilly-shally again. His capitulation on Morningside Heights last September 12 was a small Munich, but its immediate effect was limited to the balance of power within the Republican Party. Had he used similarly cautious words about Taft's brush-off of the United Nations, he might have started the chain reaction that would ignite World War III. It would have been a big and possibly fatal Munich.

This he has forestalled, and in doing so he has both recaptured some degree of executive authority and shifted the balance of power away from the fanatic periphery of his party toward the center, where his own policy naturally rests. Taft's demand that we "abandon any idea of working with the United Nations" in the East had been expressed in more typical lingo by John O'Donnell in the *Daily News* (May 28). Commenting "cheerily" on the tonic effect of the Taft speech he remarked:

> Did we say cheerily? Ancient as we are and stiff as the legs may be, we promise to dance at the foot of Forty-second Street on the day, and soon may it come, when Uncle Sam forecloses his mortage on the U. N. house of glass and boots back to Europe the unwelcome foreigners who have been leeching on us North Americans since the day when the traitor Alger Hiss set up the charter in San Francisco back in April of 1945.

This wraps up the opposition line as snugly as anything we have seen.

The Need For Deeds

So Mr. Eisenhower must not imagine that he has done more than square off at the opposition. The Taft cohorts will close ranks and fight back; and if he tries to duck they will have him where they want him. As a soldier he presumably knows this. But while his rejection of the Taft position was straightforward, he showed less resolution in attacking the vicious Dirksen rider—voted twenty to three by the Senate Appropriations Committee—cutting off this country's financial contribution to the United Nations if Communist China should become a member. (The United States provides more than one-third of the U. N.'s annual budget.) Questioned on the proposal, Mr. Eisenhower said only that he considered it a very drastic cure and would want to think it over before commenting at greater length.

Weasel words like these are not enough. In fact, if the President's assertion of his own policy and authority is to stick, even strong words will not be enough. As he has so often advised the Russians, deeds will be neces-

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sary to convince his adversaries that he means business. He will, for example, have to stand firm on truce terms that the Senate isolationists, along with Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee, do not like. He will have to do better than in the recent past in consulting with his allies and in demonstrating his willingness to operate through the U. N. The President has "just begun to fight"—just barely begun. If he is to save his Administration and what it professes to stand for, he will have to go on fighting, and much harder, for he has a lot of lost ground to regain.

Profits, Yes; Risks, No

A number of recent developments underscore the importance of Leland Olds's fine series of articles on the key policy questions involved in the industrial uses of atomic power now running in this journal (see p. 478). On the same day that North American Aviation exhibited a model of an atomic-power generator—it will be completed in two years—the Atomic Energy Commission proposed that Congress enact legislation which would "create a favorable atmosphere" for the development of nuclear power for industrial uses by private enterprise. Representative W. Sterling Cole, chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, has announced that public hearings on the subject will open on June 15.

In the meantime, the proposed 30 per cent cut in the 1954 atomic budget may have momentarily dampened the enthusiasm of big business to "have a go" at atomic power. Those industries, writes Eric Hodgins in *Fortune*, that are most involved in the atom's commercial future "gleam at the prospects but quail at the costs"; they do not want to see atomic power left on industry's doorstep "without a large feeding bottle of federal funds." Both motivations will be apparent in the Washington hearings. The committee should pay particular attention to the transcript of a recent conference on the industrial uses of atomic power which the National Industrial Conference Board has just released. It details in the most impressive manner the revolutionary implications not merely of atom-generated electric power but of the endless profitable uses to which radioactive atoms can be put, from measuring and automatically controlling the thickness of tin plate on a can to determining how different kinds of oil save wear in an automobile engine.

Naturally the interested companies "gleam at the prospects"; but they would, of course, like the public to underwrite the risk without sharing in the profits.

Mr. Atom and Mr. Malan

Some witness at the hearings should call the public's attention to the fact that atomic power has now pushed this country into what could prove to be a most embarrassing alliance with the Malan regime in South Africa. Late in May a large uranium-extraction plant was opened near Daggafontein, the first of a number of such plants which will be built. Already the world's largest producer of uranium, the Union of South Africa will now rapidly increase its production; by 1956 it should be furnishing about 40 per cent of the entire supply used by the A. E. C. Great Britain and this country have signed a ten-year contract with the Union and twenty-odd mines there under which approximately $650,000,000 will be invested, insuring this country about three-fourths of the total output.

Uranium production in South Africa is certain to be enormously profitable, since it can be carried on there as a by-product of the business of mining gold. South Africa's purchases of American products, which have fallen off, will now increase rapidly, as will our involvement in South African internal affairs. Natives make up 90 per cent of the labor in the mines. A strike in the mines, one American diplomat told Edward Hughes of the *Wall Street Journal,* could "hit Oak Ridge, Tennessee, right in the belly." Malan's Nationalists are of course elated; they now have what they regard as "an iron-clad insurance" against any threats, external or internal, to peace and good order in South Africa. Will atomic power, which might be used to lift the world's colonial areas to a new level of prosperity and well-being, actually be used, at least initially, to strengthen white supremacy and add to the burdens of native peoples? An informed American public opinion can influence the kind of answer that will be given to this question.

Czech Devaluation

Announcing one of the most drastic currency devaluations in recent history, the Prague radio declared: "We will not allow that bourgeois elements be enriched." But while the "reform" may extinguish any remaining Czech capitalists, we doubt that it will console multitudes of workers or dissuade them from the belief that they have been swindled. In particular, the concurrent repudiation of all government securities issued since 1945 means the wiping out of huge amounts of workers' savings invested in this medium—savings which in many cases have been forced through obligatory payroll-deduction schemes.

The devaluation confirms reports of economic crisis in Czechoslovakia brought on to a large extent by the insistence of the Communist regime on over-rapid expansion of heavy industry at the expense of production of consumer goods. This, together with harvest failures, encouraged an inflationary situation and led to discontent among the workers that manifested itself in large-scale absenteeism and even, despite police-state sanctions, occasional strikes. It seems improbable, however, that the discontent will be allayed, since the revaluation of wages and prices which has also been ordered appears to mean a serious reduction in real wages. Czech workers, who can hardly have forgotten that less than twenty years ago they enjoyed the highest living standards in Eastern Europe, must be growing increasingly skeptical about the blessings of communism.

The Present Danger

I. The Crisis in Leadership

LIKE sleepwalkers stumbling toward a precipice, the American people are moving toward a hazard which many of them sense but few can clearly see. Watchmen shout diverse warnings, but the mass of the people, stirring uneasily to a new consciousness, are still only vaguely aware of the danger. Friends in Europe perceive it and their warnings have begun to echo here, but not much time is left to awaken the nation. A thousand Paul Reveres are needed, as Senator Lehman has suggested, to ride forth and tell the people that their liberties are threatened. What is urgently needed is a Committee on the Present Danger to alert the people.

The present danger is of course "McCarthyism." This spring has seen the turning point in the career of the Wisconsin demagogue who picked up, so to speak, where Huey Long left off. For the first time, oddly enough, the Senator is being taken—and is taking himself—quite seriously. In the same week in which the Alsops announced (April 15) that it was now "almost universally agreed that McCarthy's objective is the Presidency," Bertrand Russell, writing as if he were looking backward to the 1950's from a fear-free London, gave American readers a brilliant account of how McCarthy triumphed in 1956. The Senator then confirmed these flattering forecasts by issuing the traditional disclaimer of the active candidate.

But talk of the Presidency is merely an aspect, not a cause, of the Senator's new look. His influence, instead of diminishing, as many expected, has greatly increased under the Eisenhower Administration. The Bohlen affair, the Voice of America hearings, the transatlantic clash with Mr. Attlee, these and a number of other events of the last four months have changed McCarthy the Irresponsible Bounder into McCarthy the Serious Contender for Power. Mr. Attlee merely voiced a question that has been troubling an increasingly large number of Americans: Is McCarthy so powerful that the President must listen when he speaks? Now even Sidney Hook is clamoring for "a national movement . . . to retire Senator McCarthy." But the rapid enlargement of the Stop-McCarthy forces has curiously failed to provide champions willing to take on Goliath. Who is there to lead the fight against fear demanded, with almost hysterical emphasis, in so many recent editorials, speeches, and sermons? The Eisenhower Administration does not intend to force a showdown with McCarthy. The President emerged from the fight over Mr. Bohlen's confirmation victorious but worried, and definitely committed to a policy of avoiding a head-on collision at almost any price —witness the public humiliation of Mr. Stassen, the craven handling of Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton's appointment, the forced resignation of Theodore Kaghan from the "Voice" program, the shameful dismissal of Joseph M. Frankenstein from his post in the High Commissioner's Office at Bonn, and the ludicrous failure to carry through on the appointment of David Lee Shillinglaw, wealthy Chicago patron of the Administration, to the American delegation at the United Nations.

EACH TIME the Administration has been challenged by McCarthy, except in the Bohlen affair, it has sidestepped a showdown. The breach between the White House and the Senator, however, has widened to the point that Vice-President Nixon has become a regular go-between, setting up situations in which McCarthy can pose as the President's magnanimous friend and loyal supporter. ("It is a favor to the Senator," writes Doris Fleeson, "to give him a chance to make an apparently generous gesture toward President Eisenhower. He will always take it—until he is satisfied the Eisenhower luster is dimmed.") But the Administration is cunning as well as fearful: it wants McCarthy's help on the budget and other matters, and it also intends to use him in next year's Congressional elections, in which his influence could be decisive in five key campaigns—Illinois (Douglas), Iowa (Gillette), Minnesota (Humphrey), Montana (Murray), and West Virginia (Neely). It makes little sense, therefore, to petition the President to crack down on the Republicans' most effective demagogue—as some Democrats who wanted the President as the Democratic nominee in 1948 have been doing. McCarthy's influence has been linked with powerful elements in the Republican Party; to break with him would be to split the party. Nor can the President repudiate McCarthy without repudiating "McCarthyism"—the miracle-working formula which has given the right-wing coalition a new dynamism and coherence. For the President to repudiate McCarthyism would mean dispelling the fear which reaction exploited so successfully in the 1952 campaign.

The Democratic leadership is no more willing than the Republican to lead a crusade against McCarthyism. In two of the finest speeches of his distinguished career Senator Lehman has tried to induce the Democrats to launch "a frontal attack on McCarthyism," even at the risk of possible defeat, but the New York *Post* notes that the silence in high Democratic circles has been "significant and oppressive." The "old hands" incline to the view that what-to-do-about-McCarthy is a problem for the Republicans, not the Democrats. Most of the Dixiecrats, of course, agree with McCarthy, and the Dixiecrats are to the Democrats what the corn-fed Dirksens are to the Republicans—the center of the party's power, at least in Congress. Apart from this, the Democratic leadership intends to place major reliance on local or regional issues in 1954. Writing in the New York *Times* of May 3, William S. White reported that "nothing on the horizon suggests a general Democratic adoption of the tactic recommended by Senator Lehman" of going all-out against the Republicans, "horizontally across the nation," on the issue of McCarthyism and civil liberties, rather than fighting them along regional or vertical lines. In short, the Democratic leaders, like the Republican, if not cheer-leaders for McCarthy are either unwilling to oppose him or cannot because they are politically isolated in their own party.

Given the existing dislike of McCarthy—and the recent polls reflect a larger "unfavorable" than "favorable" opinion—it may seem strange that politicians in both parties are so reluctant to grab the leadership of what might turn out to be a wave-of-the-future movement. But the explanation is obvious. McCarthy's appeal is to both parties and in about equal measure. "The forces of reaction," Senator Lehman notes, "are actually bipartisan, although they appear to have a strategic center in the present majority party." In close contests McCarthy's influence can be potent, for he can swing normally Democratic votes to the Republican column, and his influence is strongest in precisely those areas where the liberal Democrats have their largest following—in the highly industrial states. Just as the Republicans are delighted to have a campaigner who can strongly influence Catholic voters, so the Democrats hesitate to adopt a tactic that might alienate many Italian, Polish, and Irish Americans.

IT IS this strategically disposed power situation that enables McCarthy to feel that he has nothing to fear from the Democratic "left," which, already punished and smeared, he proposes to destroy in 1954. To him the liberal Democrats in and out of the Senate have always been "followers of the Communist Party line"; tomorrow they will be "card-carrying Communists." A recent cartoon in one of the labor papers showing a witness assuring a Congressional committee that he is not and never has been "a member of the Democratic Party" clearly foreshadows the McCarthy line in the 1954 election. Already Westbrook Pegler and his colleagues are demanding that the Congressional inquisitors cease trifling with second- and third-rate suspects and subpoena Eleanor Roosevelt, Justice Frankfurter, Henry Wallace, and Dean Acheson.

The crisis in political leadership accents the present danger that McCarthyism, meaning the worst bipartisan reaction, may score heavily in 1954 and even triumph in 1956. McCarthy is well aware of this crisis and exploits it with skill and daring. Just as he cultivates his Democratic following by continuing his attacks upon the Republican-directed State Department, so he delights his Republican fans by stepping up the campaign against the fellow-travelers of Thomas Jefferson, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Now he has begun to talk about protecting "small business"; next year—who knows?—he may appear as the "friend" of labor and the dirt farmers.

BECAUSE his appeal is bipartisan, only a bipartisan opposition stands much chance of being effective. In the 1930's the extreme right-wing elements of both parties were numerous, vocal, and fairly well financed, but leadership was lacking and programmatic differences stymied every effort to achieve unity and compact organization. The democratic coalition was then united under the leadership of Roosevelt. Today the situation is reversed. The right-wing elements have achieved unity and organization, while the democratic forces are disorganized, demoralized, and leaderless. The problem is to unite these factions in an alliance that can protect and even enlarge the liberal influence in Congress and bring a new majority to power in 1956. The opposition to McCarthyism is large and is increasing rapidly, but it cuts across every party, religious, racial, ethnic, sectional, and class interest. Precisely because it cuts across every grouping, the existing leadership is paralyzed and some new leadership must be stimulated.

Fortunately partisan organization is not needed in 1954, but even a bipartisan guerrilla army requires some organization. It need not be elaborate. If nearly a million coal miners can carry out a successful strike stategy by simply interpreting the raising and lowering of John L. Lewis's eyebrows, it should not be too difficult for a Committee on the Present Danger to rally the opposition to McCarthyism. In the meantime let those who oppose this evil demand the kind of leadership that will not compromise with it. Let them demand it in every group to which they belong and in every relationship of their lives. There is not enough time to bring new organizations into being, and the doctrine of guilt by association would seriously limit the effectiveness of those that might be formed. The problem is not to bring new forces into being but to set existing forces in motion. Every day the present danger is being more widely realized; already new stirrings can be noted in the labor movement, in the churches, on the campuses. The mystic chords of memory can yet swell to the chorus of the union if they are touched again, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

Next week we will deal with another aspect of the present danger: the necessity for clearer understanding of McCarthy's tactics, of how these tactics can be countered, and, above all, of how *not* to fight McCarthyism.

Magnificent Carnival

London

All countries need their symbols of unity and their opportunities of pagentry; they are both happier and less dangerous when these flow from the tradition of the country. This is the only sensible way to regard the Coronation.

Queen Elizabeth, as the saying goes, "has got everything." She is young and attractive; she has a son and daughter whose pictures, as they climb in and out of the drawing-room windows, suggest to every mother in the country that the home life of the Queen is after all very much like theirs. The Duke is as handsome as a prince should be. He is at home as a sailor and an air pilot and looks fine in either uniform. Almost every woman in the country subconsciously identifies herself with the Queen; her Coronation, at which the Archbishop crowns her and her husband is the first to pay homage, is surely the supreme fulfilment of feminine desire. If every woman is a Cinderella at heart, the Coronation is a fairy story in which we can all share. Amid cheering crowds the gingerbread coach with its pantomime footmen and circus horses rolls along, and out of its windows, smiling on an enchanted world, leans the young Queen herself, with her glass slippers barely hidden and Prince Charming by her side.

I am told that this royal triumph is due to the deep machinations of cunning men who give us every day more monarchy in our newspapers and more religion on the B.B.C. Such a propaganda element does exist; it has been at work ever since privilege began to fear democracy. It is less necessary, however, today than it was forty years ago and less even than it was in the thirties. For our society is floating on a tide of unreason. Men believed in the thirties that they could influence events. Today they feel disillusioned and helpless. They respond to every "human interest" item in the press, to everything intimate and non-political, to the royal fairy story, more than they did twenty years ago because they feel unable to face the affairs of the world. In 1953 newspapers have found that the public appetite for monarchy is unlimited. They have not been able to supply enough. If we deplore this, we are deploring a malaise of our age of which the worship of monarchy is one of the least important and less unhappy signs. No doubt the extravagant lengths to which it goes is a symptom of the same disease which started fascism on the Continent and gives McCarthy so much power in America today. But what a contrast as a symptom! If British democracy does no worse than this, we shall have little to complain of. The public is not under any illusions that we shall be saved by magic or that the Coronation is anything more than a magnificent carnival.

KINGSLEY MARTIN

J. Alvarez del Vayo

The French Crisis

Paris

A WEEK of consultations and interviews confirms my earlier impression that President Auriol is confronted this time with a crisis that cannot be dismised as just another manifestation of France's "crazy politics." Technically its origin may be related to the fact that the majority in the present National Assembly has not yet found its point of equilibrium, while its instability has been increased by the anarchical situation of the Gaullist deputies, left free to act by the General's decision to abolish his party. But the real cause must be sought in the fruitless attempt of the French government to combine two irreconcilable policies: continue the war in Indo-China and at the same time build a strong economy that will permit France to fulfil its obligations to the Atlantic coalition.

Americans have been told by those unable or unwilling to understand the present economic difficulties of France that while every American is burdened by taxes the French do not pay taxes at all. This, of course, is not true. Every French citizen carries a greater tax burden than his American counterpart. Bare figures do not tell the story. One must take into consideration the standards of living in the two countries, the value and stability of the currencies, and many other factors. On the lower income levels a Frenchman after paying his taxes finds himself in a much worse situation than the corresponding American, who can count on a relatively stable dollar and arrange his business or personal budget accordingly. The French taxpayer does not know what the value of the franc will be six weeks ahead. At present the franc is greatly overvaluated. The official rate is 350 francs to the dollar. On the *marché parallel* (diplomatic language for the black market) francs sell today at 412 to the dollar, but the realistic exchange rate, based on the franc's true value in terms of what it will buy, would be 600 or 700 to the dollar. I could give many other proofs of how Frenchmen are taxed—directly and indirectly, visibly and under various disguises—far beyond their capacities.

M. René Mayer did not discover any way of convincing Washington that France must either negotiate with the Vietminh leaders and put an immediate end to the Indo-China war or cut its other military expenses, reduce by half its present commitments to NATO. Washington demands that France manage both obligations at once. Since that could not be done through normal political methods, M. Mayer asked the Assembly for "special powers," which would have meant a new delay in the unavoidable task of ending the Indo-Chinese war. The special powers were refused him, and the crisis followed.

I do not ignore the subsidiary though also important factors that contributed to his fall—the opposition of the distilling interests, the economic egoism of various financial and business groups with influence over the deputies, and so forth. But if the fundamental fact is missed—the fact that the war in Indo-China is ruining France and that from left to right impatience and outright anger are increasing as it drags on year after year—nothing about French politics will be understood. We shall have only the irritated or ironical American press comments repeating the old canard that the French are irresponsible individualists and that France cannot be "governed."

FROM THE first day of the crisis President Auriol exercised his experience and talents to try to find a way to put together a stronger coalition. A broadening of the coalition to the left was difficult so long as the Socialists remained convinced—as the recent elections indicated—that opposition was more rewarding than participation in the government. But in spite of President Auriol's unusual public pressure on them to take the responsibility of government, the Socialists refused; so Paul Reynaud was asked to rally the other kind of majority—a right-to-center instead of a center-to-left majority. Reynaud's experiment turned out to be one of the most illuminating of this crisis, which in every aspect is so much more serious than those preceding it. Since it is impossible today for the right to come to power through the normal play of politics, Reynaud attempted a parliamentary coup d'état by proposing to the Assembly the alternative of either supporting the government whatever its program might be or committing hara-kiri by automatic dissolution and demanding new elections if it voted the government out.

The most important feature of his performance was his bold admission of the awakening of the workers, which *Nation* readers will recall was stressed in this column a couple of weeks ago. He challenged the bourgeois parties to recognize the existence of that still unmaterialized "rally of the left" which was looming on the horizon. In order to underline how seriously he took the menace of a return to some kind of popular front, under a new form of course, he addressed his argument chiefly to Pierre Cot, without doubt the other most brilliant speaker of the Assembly. In the dialogue between these two was concentrated the essence of the present political situation in France today.

But Reynaud's condition was rejected by a substantial majority, and Auriol turned next to Mendès-France, favorite of the left. Although undoubtedly he is one of the men best fitted to handle the mounting economic and financial crisis, his uncompromising opposition to the indefinite prolongation of the Indo-China war and his support of negotiations with Moscow reduce the likelihood of his obtaining the backing of the old majority. Thus it looks as if within a few hours or a few days the country would have another Prime Minister little different from those of the last three years. And all the problems of France will remain.

DOES SILENCE MEAN GUILT?

by Laurent B. Frantz and Norman Redlich

[*The unusual amount of space given to this article is an indication of the importance that the editors attach to it. To assure its widest possible distribution, reprints have been ordered which are available at cost to individuals and groups.*

The authors have had broad experience in constitutional law. Laurent B. Frantz is the Law Librarian of Duke University; Norman Redlich, a member of the New York bar, has contributed to legal publications.]

THE ancient right to refuse to answer incriminating questions, embodied in the Fifth Amendment and in the laws or constitutions of every state, is now being put to its most vigorous test since its inception in England eight centuries ago. In an era of ever-expanding Congressional inquiry into personal beliefs, the privilege of invoking that right is the only effective legal weapon now available for the protection of witnesses. It is not surprising, therefore, that the investigators have attacked it as a legal technicality which shields Communists and Communist sympathizers. What is surprising is that even the critics of current investigations have condemned the use of the Fifth Amendment by "uncooperative" witnesses. The often repeated charge that the privilege is being "abused" reveals a lack of understanding of its nature and of the legal, moral, and practical reasons which compel witnesses to use it. And it ignores the key position which the privilege occupies in our constitutional framework.

The number of witnesses who claim the privilege increases daily as Congressional inquiries reach into new areas of American life. Typically, the Fifth Amendment is invoked when the witness is asked questions about his affiliation with the Communist Party or other organizations characterized as subversive. As a result of the generally accepted assumption that those who claim the right not to answer have something to hide, witnesses who do so have been subjected to severe economic and social penalties. In the current Congressional investigation into schools and colleges, for example, most witnesses who have refused to answer have subsequently lost their jobs or been effectively black-listed. New York City interprets its charter as requiring the discharge of any employee who refuses to answer questions for Fifth Amendment reasons. Although the faculty of the Harvard Law School voted against expelling two students who refused to answer a Congressional committee, it is generally thought that they will be unable to gain admission to the bar of any state. A recent statement by a group of university presidents, while setting forth a workable concept of academic freedom, accepted the idea that the status of a person invoking the privilege must be "reexamined." Even the American Civil Liberties Union has refused to disapprove the discharges of teachers and United Nations' employees who had invoked the Fifth Amendment.

EXCEPTIONS to this trend have been few. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1951 refused to take any action against Dirk J. Struik, professor of mathematics, when he refused to answer questions asked by the House Un-American Activities Committee. (He was later suspended when indicted under a state statute for conspiring to overthrow the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.) Harvard University, while condemning the conduct of three professors who invoked the privilege, refused to discharge them, since they are not Communists at the present time. The recent convention of the American Association of University Professors resolved that invoking the Fifth Amendment "is not in and of itself justifiable cause for the dismissal of the faculty member," but it also felt constrained to add that "this statement is not to be construed as advising or generally approving such action by teachers under investigation."

If a non-lawyer were to read the simple words of the Fifth Amendment, the right to avoid self-incrimination would appear very limited indeed. It says simply, "No person . . . shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." But the courts have held that the privilege may also be asserted in civil cases, grand-jury proceedings, legislative inquiries, and virtually every other form of official inquiry.

A similar meaning has been given by the courts to the various state provisions. Underlying this broad interpretation of the privilege is the deeply ingrained notion in Anglo-American jurisprudence that no person shall be forced to give testimony which may subject him to criminal punishment. Criminals and non-criminals alike are afforded this protection; without it, the power of the sovereign could easily make it impossible to distinguish the guilty from the innocent. It is no mere coincidence that the decline of torture as a recognized mode of questioning and the rise of a person's legal right to refuse to testify against himself were almost simultaneous developments in English history. For in a judicial system in which the accused must answer all questions, the police may be tempted to get the answers they want by any means available.

BECAUSE police authorities are thus required to obtain outside evidence against the accused, the rule has been attacked by prosecutors and investigators as an impediment to justice. The necessity of making a thorough and objective investigation of cases often seems like an unduly burdensome task, especially when the short cut of grilling the suspect might achieve more immediate results. But the history of our criminal law offers ample evidence that there are no real short cuts to justice. Sir James F. Stephen, historian of the English criminal law, has made a detailed comparison of a group of English and French trials.

In the English trials there was no power to question the accused. In the French trials the questioning of the prisoner was the high point in the proceeding. He concluded not only that the English procedure was more dignified and humane but that "in every one of the English cases the evidence is fuller, clearer, and infinitely more cogent than it is in any one of the French cases." Despite the intense criticism to which it has been subjected, the provision against self-incrimination remains an essential element in the whole pattern of procedural safeguards which seek to redress the terrible imbalance which might otherwise exist between the state and the accused.

The "No Inference" Rule

It is a strange commentary on our times that the exercise of so basic a right should be treated as sufficient ground for depriving a person of his livelihood. There is no legal justification for the conclusion that anyone who refuses to say whether or not he is a Communist must be one. In the federal courts and in most state jurisdictions the law permits no inference of guilt from a claim of the privilege—against either the accused or an ordinary witness—and neither court nor counsel can make any adverse comment upon it. As a practical matter, to allow the inference of guilt would destroy the protection of the Fifth Amendment, because the witness would then merely be given a choice between a verbal confession and a silent one.

The no-inference rule is a recognition of the fact that an innocent person could be forced to give testimony which would make it easier for the government to prove a case or which would make him appear guilty in the eyes of the public. Indeed, the witness who feels he has committed no crime but may nevertheless be jeopardized by his own testimony has a clear right to claim the privilege. His is one of the situations for which the privilege was particularly designed. To assume otherwise would be to assume that innocent people are never accused of crimes.

Contrary to popular belief, the fact which the witness is privileged to withhold does not have to be a crime or anything from which a crime could be directly inferred. It is enough that the fact might furnish a link in a chain of evidence needed for prosecution. A recent Supreme Court case held a witness justified in refusing to say whether she knew the names of the state officers of the Communist Party. Another was held privileged to withhold knowledge of the whereabouts of a person who was being sought as a grand-jury witness. No criminality could be attributed to mere knowledge of these facts, but the question was "incriminating" in the special and highly technical sense required by the privilege, because it called for information which might prove helpful in a prosecution brought against the witness. That the information might prove helpful to a prosecution certainly does not warrant the assumption that the witness committed a crime. It would be absurd to say that a person may protect himself from the consequences of his statements if he is guilty but not if he is innocent. This, however, is the precise absurdity on which any inference of guilt drawn from a claim of privilege must necessarily rest.

If the no-inference rule is accepted in a courtroom, where the atmosphere is calm and the charges against an accused are specific, it should certainly be accepted in a legislative committee room, where a witness is often interrogated under bright lights, in the presence of newspapermen and photographers, and where the inquiry roams across the whole terrain of past associations and beliefs. Legislative committee hearings, together with the political setting in which they are held, have created a situation where the exercise of the privilege is even more necessary than in a courtroom and where any inference of guilt is even less justified.

Senator McCarthy

"Conspiracy" Pitfall

Witnesses today appear under circumstances emphasizing the importance of withholding a fact that might furnish only a link in a chain of evidence. Many of the "anti-subversive" laws passed by Congress and the states make it a crime to "conspire" to do an unlawful act. In a conspiracy prosecution the basic link in the chain of evidence is the association of two or more persons. If the jury finds that the purpose of the association was to commit a crime, the association itself is treated as criminal, even though the crime which the conspiracy allegedly sought to achieve was never committed. The process of proving a conspiracy is dangerous, and the danger is compounded in prosecutions for political conspiracies, for here the defendant's conspiracy consists largely of acts which would normally be considered protected by the First Amendment.

In a prosecution for conspiracy to violate the Smith act, for example, most of the evidence deals with participation in meetings at which public issues were discussed in a peaceful and orderly manner and nothing whatsoever was said about overthrowing the government. It deals with the distribution of publications in which the most imaginative interpreter could find no unlawful doctrine. The jury's belief that these acts were done in furtherance of an ultimate unlawful purpose transforms these acts and many more like them from constitutionally protected political activities into parts of a "conspiracy" to "advocate" violent revolution. Thus, if a witness has attended a meeting with no "intent" to overthrow the government, his attendance can nevertheless be used as proof of his participation in an unlawful conspiracy because the jury might have different views as to his "intent." It is therefore obvious that all questions which might tend to show an association between the witness and persons or groups regarded as subversive—itself a nebulous term—are questions on which the privilege may be claimed, even though the witness knows these associations were wholly innocent. The association itself is a possible link in the evidentiary chain for a conspiracy prosecution. Such re-

Senator Jenner

fusals to disclose political associations need not, by any means, be confined to associations with the Communist Party. The same chain of reasoning by which Communists have been convicted of conspiracy to advocate violent revolution will serve equally well to convict anyone who has participated in any activity involving Communists, if a jury cares to draw enough inferences regarding the witness's intent. For example, today membership in the Communist Party exposes a person to an indictment for conspiracy to teach or advocate violent revolution. Tomorrow membership in a group dominated by Communists could be used for the same purpose, regardless of the innocence of the member.

As Congress and the states pass other loosely drawn laws designed to curb subversive activity, the possibility increases that an innocent witness may furnish testimony which can lead to his conviction. For example, in the Internal Security Act of 1950 Congress has made it a felony, subject to ten years' imprisonment and $10,000 fine, "for any person knowingly to combine, conspire, or agree with any other person to perform any act which would substantially contribute to the establishment within the United States of a totalitarian dictatorship." Whether the constitutionality of this blunderbuss statute will be upheld, and if so what application of it will be permitted by the courts, will not be fully known for a long time. Meanwhile many persons guilty of nothing except an intellectual belief in principles which some other person might characterize as "totalitarian" are under its shadow and therefore have an enormous and indefinable area in which they may claim the right of silence.

Unfortunately, witnesses today are at a loss to know whether a seemingly innocent act can be used as part of an evidentiary chain to prove a crime. In the Harry Bridges case, for example, the defendant's views on trade with China were deemed relevant as showing that he committed perjury in denying Communist Party membership. In the Rosenberg case the collection of money to aid refugees from Spanish fascism was deemed relevant as showing a motive to commit espionage. If, after all, we have reached the stage where a civil servant's criticism of Nationalist China creates "reasonable doubt" as to his loyalty, can an innocent witness be blamed for standing on the Fifth Amendment when asked questions about past associations or beliefs?

The Waiver Problem

Thus far, we have discussed the wide range of testimony which could incriminate innocent witnesses in an age of steadily increasing political crimes. This, however, is only a part of the problem. It does not in itself explain why a person who may never have been a member of the Communist Party will invoke the amendment when asked about such membership. Nor does it explain the frequent phenomenon of a witness who announces that he will answer anything about himself but nothing about other people. Why does this witness, who appears willing to tell about his own affiliations, claim the privilege when asked if he was ever a member of the Communist Party? Basic to an understanding of this problem is a concept which is rarely mentioned in public discussions of the Fifth Amendment but which presents the Congressional witness with what is probably his greatest difficulty. The concept is the complicated legal doctrine of waiver. The precise law of waiver in this field is still obscure, and its very obscurity intensifies the witness's problem. The main theme is this: by voluntarily disclosing an incriminating fact—that is, a fact which could lawfully have been withheld—the witness is deemed to have waived his privilege with respect to any fact related to the one disclosed. A witness who is willing to answer some questions is faced with a serious problem—that of what facts are "related" to the fact he has already disclosed. To the extent that a fact is related, he can no longer withhold it, for he will be told that he has "waived" the privilege. The dilemma in which witnesses are placed has been cogently summed up by Justice Black in a dissenting opinion: "On the one hand, they risk imprisonment for contempt by asserting the privilege prematurely; on the other, they might lose the privilege if they answer a single question. This view makes the protection depend on timing so refined that lawyers, let alone laymen, will have difficulty in knowing when to claim it."

In a practical sense, the witness who claims the privilege too soon can usually correct his error before going to jail. He probably will be allowed to purge himself of contempt by answering the question. But the error of claiming the privilege too late can cause irreparable disaster. The only safe course for a witness who feels that at some point he will refuse to answer is to claim the privilege as early and as often as possible. Only in this way can he be fairly sure that he will not be trapped into unintentionally waiving the privilege.

Representative Velde

Refusal to Inform

The effect of this waiver problem in current investigations is enormous. A witness, let us say, may have been at one time a member of the Communist Party or some other organization now regarded as subversive. Twenty years ago his membership in such an organization certainly would not have been condemned as it is today. The witness might be perfectly willing to testify freely about his own activities, which he regards as entirely innocent. Generally, however, Congressional committees use witnesses as a means of getting information about other people. A witness who

"They say she won't answer questions if she's called."

admits past membership in a subversive organization will then be asked to give the names of his associates. These associates may have been completely innocent of any subversive activity. They may have attended meetings years ago with no intent to harm the country. Many intellectuals in the 1930's toyed with Communist ideas and were interested in Marxist thinking. To reveal the names of these people could easily place innocent men in jeopardy. But the witness who has admitted his own membership can no longer refuse to testify about someone else because he has waived the privilege against self-incrimination. One thing is completely clear about the law of waiver: if the witness elects to talk freely about himself and then refuses to name others, he can be sent to jail for contempt. The Supreme Court specifically so held in the Rogers case.

The witness in this situation—and it is a very common one—has exactly three choices and no more: (1) he may become an informer and thereby, perhaps, gain the committee's confidence and approval for himself; (2) he may testify about himself, refuse to name others, and go to jail; (3) he may claim the privilege in regard to himself despite the fact that he would have preferred not to do so, and thus retain his right not to inform. To be an informer is morally open to those who approve the purposes of the investigation, but it is difficult to see how anyone who regards the current investigation as an assault on freedom of thought can conscientiously place others in the committee's line of attack. The second choice is illegal. It is also somewhat quixotic, since it involves an election to go to jail rather than exercise a clear constitutional right. Persons who regard themselves as defenders of civil liberties must hold the Fifth Amendment in low esteem if they can even criticize a witness—let alone justify his discharge from a job—because he made the third choice.

This dilemma is even more acute for witnesses who may never have been members of subversive organizations. Though not a member himself the witness may have known Communists or Communist sympathizers in the past or may have attended Communist meetings at the invitation of a member. The witness may know other innocent people who attended meetings at which Communists were present. He does not wish to be an informer, but the only way to avoid it is to invoke the privilege against self-incrimination when asked about membership in the Communist Party. If the witness denies membership and the line of questioning proceeds, the next question may be, "Did you ever attend a Communist meeting?" This starts the very process of informing which the witness seeks to avoid. Thus even the nonmember is forced to give the public impression of membership in order to avoid informing.

When a committee discovers that a witness will invoke the privilege, it often deliberately subjects him to the most extreme forms of publicity, and in the presence of newsmen, radio broadcasters, and TV cameras proceeds to torture him with absurd and baseless accusations couched in the form of questions, such as "Were you a spy?" "Were you not in a position to pass secret information?" "Were you engaged in treasonable activities?" A witness who claims the privilege on such questions easily furnishes a Roman holiday for the newspapers. But he may be boiling with rage and frustration while he doggedly follows the advice of his lawyer that the only safe course, legally speaking, is to claim the privilege on *all* incriminating questions.

The entire problem is nicely illustrated by the case of Lillian Hellman, who made a bold but futile effort to resolve the dilemma. Having received an Un-American Activities Committee subpoena, Miss Hellman wrote the committee offering to talk freely about herself if she could obtain assurance that she would not be compelled to inform on others. The committee refused to make any such bargain, and Miss Hellman was compelled to claim the privilege on questions about herself.

Judge Jerome Frank of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals has suggested an answer to the problem created by the concept of "waiver." He has argued that the waiver has no place in an investigatory proceeding. It was originally intended to prevent a witness from harming the opposing side by presenting one side of the case and then invoking the privilege against self-incrimination. Since, in an investigation, there is no adversary to be harmed, it is Judge Frank's contention that the witness should be permitted to invoke the privilege at any point in the proceedings. Adoption by the courts of this rule would eliminate one major reason why people who are willing to talk about themselves still invoke the privilege against self-incrimination when asked about their activities.

Fear of Perjury

Perhaps the major factor inhibiting witnesses from answering today is the fear of subsequent indictment for perjury. For example, a person may at one time have considered joining the Communist Party, as many hungry or disillusioned people did in the 1930's. Perhaps he attended meetings of the party and discussed the possibility of membership with other people. In conversations with others he may have defended the position of the Soviet Union and voiced ideas which today sound communistic. This person may have abandoned these ideas many years ago. If, however, he happens to be a prominent professor or scientist or government employee who has been attacked as a Communist he knows that the Department of Justice stands ready to indict him for perjury. If he is asked, "Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party," a wise lawyer should certainly advise him of the advantages of invoking the privilege of not incriminating himself. If he tells the truth and answers "No," he may be indicted for perjury, and the government may be able to build up a fairly strong case to show membership in the Communist Party. It is difficult to prove negative propositions. The witness may be able to offer little beyond his own word as direct evidence that he was never a member. He will be tried in an atmosphere highly unfavorable to his cause. The most innocent witness can feel little confidence that, once accused, he can be sure of acquittal.

THE CASE of Professor Owen Lattimore has made the threat of perjury so real that no witness can ignore it. Lattimore was indicted for perjury because there were minor discrepancies in his testimony and because he allegedly lied in denying that he was a "Communist sympathizer." He had been subjected to grueling investigation for weeks. Is there a witness who can be sure that after a lengthy examination some points in his testimony will not be at variance with another person's testimony, or even with his own testimony of an earlier date? Can anyone be sure that ideas which he may have expressed would not be characterized by an ambitious prosecutor as "sympathetic" to communism? It is true that Judge Luther Youngdahl dismissed aspects of the indictment relating to Lattimore's alleged Communist sympathies because they violated the First Amendment. But the government is appealing his decision. In the meantime the threat of a Lattimore-type indictment hangs over every witness. And even if Judge Youngdahl's decision is upheld, the threat of being indicted for minor discrepancies in testimony will remain.

It must be remembered that the problem of perjury runs both ways. A witness may not only fear his own indictment. He may be reluctant to answer questions about someone else's activities for fear that his version of an event will differ from the other person's version. Honest men can have different recollections of the same event. In this respect, the problem of not wanting to be an informer has been compounded by the possibility that the witness's testimony could be used to indict someone else for perjury. Of course, the fear of perjury indictments either against himself or another party does not give a witness a legal right to remain silent. But if he has that right for some other reason, it may strongly influence him to exercise it.

We can therefore suggest at least the following reasons why a witness who feels himself wholly innocent of any crime may need the privilege and may have a right to it: (1) he may have done or said or joined something which was innocent in its own context, and may not be criminal even now, but which might be offered as evidence against him in a criminal case; (2) he may be willing to answer questions about himself but is forced to invoke the privilege for fear that any answer will constitute a waiver and will compel him to be an informer; (3) he may be moved by the fear that the truth would expose him or someone else to the danger of a perjury prosecution in which the cards would be stacked against the defendant. There is also a fourth: he may simply disapprove of the investigation itself and the methods by which it is conducted so strongly that he feels he cannot conscientiously give it any more cooperation than the bare minimum legally demanded of him. None of these situations is at all hypothetical or far-fetched. They are all highly characteristic of the type of investigation under discussion. They compel the conclusion that a witness who invokes the privilege is not necessarily guilty of anything.

The Amendment's Critics

Despite these valid reasons for invoking the Fifth Amendment, many people continue to attack the privilege and demand that it be restricted in scope. Let us examine some of their assertions. It is claimed, first, that the privilege is being used more extensively than ever before and in a way not originally intended. This is a strange charge, indeed, for it implies that the fault is with the witnesses. Actually, it is the interrogators, not the interrogated, who have wrought the change. The increasing number of anti-subversive laws form the legal basis for the invocation of the privilege. As more acts become criminal, and as Congress investigates to see whether these criminal acts have occurred, it follows logically that more questions will tend to incriminate. This is the purpose of the privilege. To condemn it for this reason is to deny the very basis for its existence.

Another charge leveled against the privilege is that Congress can ask few if any questions which the witness is not privileged to refuse to answer. Doubtless this is annoying and inconvenient for the committees, but there is nothing startling or improper about it. It merely reflects the fact that the committee is investigating the guilt or innocence of the witness. When the witness is treated in effect as an accused, and the subject matter of the proceeding is really the question of his guilt, the hearing has become something very close to a criminal trial. Under these circumstances the witness's privilege should acquire a scope corresponding to that available to him if he were a defendant in a criminal trial. In such a trial the privilege of the accused is not a right to decline to answer particular questions. It is a right to refuse to be questioned at all.

THE PRIVILEGE is being criticized by some as an interference with the investigatory function of Congress. But Congress has no general investigatory function. It has a function, merely incidental to its duty to legislate, to find facts needed as a guide to legislation. Facts needed for this purpose seldom are and seldom could be withheld on Fifth Amendment grounds. Frequent claims of the privilege are a sure sign that the committee has departed from its constitutional role and is attempting to usurp the judicial function of determining the guilt or innocence of particular individuals. The McCarthy, Jenner, and Velde type of investigation is becoming a trial to such an extent that efforts to introduce some aspects of court procedure into it are being seriously discussed. That the privilege should be used to curb this judicial role is entirely proper. When committees hold trials, most constitutional rights are ignored—trial by jury, the right to know the nature and cause of the accusation, the right to confront and cross-examine the accusers, and the right to have compulsory process for the production of evidence for the defense. The tendency of the Fifth Amendment to impede the development of trial by committee is one of its most important virtues. Its loss or serious impairment at this moment would immediately jeopardize the whole structure of procedural standards which the Constitution lays down for trying questions of personal guilt.

Limiting the Fifth Amendment would also seriously impair the rights guaranteed by the First Amendment. Of what use is the right of free speech if a Congressional committee may compel the speaker to disclose his beliefs with the aim of using them as proof of criminal conduct? Will men continue to speak freely if they may be compelled to justify their views in the hostile surroundings of a Congressional committee? The power to compel disclosures of any type of conduct for purposes of penalizing the witness necessarily involves a certain amount of control over the area investigated. Such power may be harmless and necessary as long as the investigation is in fields which the government may properly regulate. When this power is used to investigate the field of disputed political ideas and theories, the freedom of thought that the First Amendment was intended to secure is under dangerous challenge.

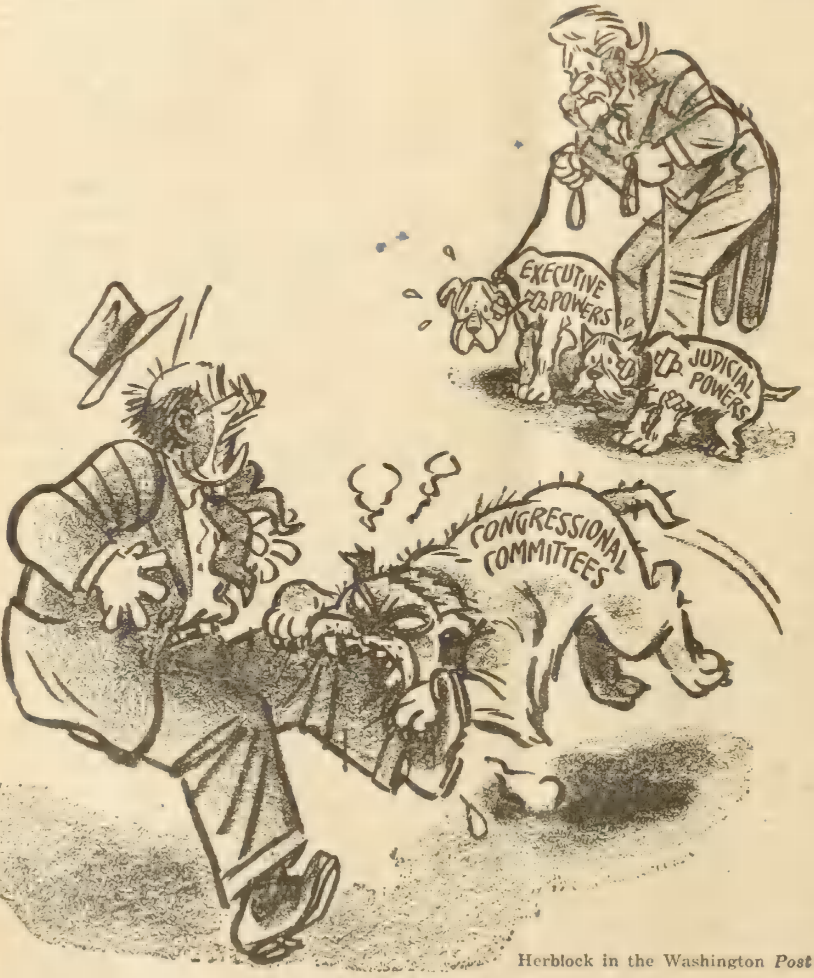
The effort to limit this threat to free expression has occupied scores of excellent legal minds in numerous test cases. All the principles suggested have been rejected by the courts. Only when the Fifth Amendment was used has victory been won. If a witness decides to fight the committees at all, the weapon is not a matter of choice. The experience of hundreds of witnesses before him, transmitted to him by his lawyer, shows that he can fight only with the Fifth Amendment. Under these circumstances the privilege acquires a special constitutional significance it might not have in more normal times. It has become an indispensable shield for the protection of rights under the First Amendment. Without it the power of investigating and penalizing ideas would have no effective limit.

When all these factors are considered, what becomes of the argument that those who invoke the privilege should lose their livelihoods because it is the duty of every American to "cooperate" with the committees? This approach pretends to accept the Fifth Amendment, yet asserts a duty to answer which the amendment denies. It pretends to view the McCarthyite investigations with alarm, yet requires unconditional cooperation with such investigations, above and beyond what the law itself requires. The extra-legal pressures thus generated tend to bestow on the committees the power of compelling testimony which the Constitution attempted to withhold.

Modern Inquisition

The occasions on which the privilege is currently being invoked are dramatically and significantly parallel to those in which it had its origin. It was developed by religious dissenters to protect their freedom of belief and association; in England it brought a halt to the procedure by which the church inquisition hauled dissenters before it, forcing them to reveal their beliefs and to inform on their coreligionists. These religious dissenters, despite brutal maltreatment, courageously answered with an argument that marked the birth of our privilege. They did not contend that they had committed crimes which they had a right to conceal. On the contrary, in the words of Judge Jerome Frank, they "considered it no disgrace to commit the crime of heresy; they were proud of their heresy; if, without fear of punishment, they could have confessed to what the law denounced as heretical acts, they would have been glad to do so." They urged that the whole proceeding was illegal because they felt that no man was bound to be his own accuser.

This stand was first taken in the twelfth century. In the Revolution of the 1640's the Puritan argument was victorious, first among the people, then in Parliament, and finally in the courts. It was the origin of the privilege. Later the privilege was extended to include the right of silence for the defendant in a criminal trial and then to all persons in any official proceeding. Historically speaking, the essence of the privilege is that beliefs and associations based on



Herblock in the Washington *Post*

"No leash for this one?"

beliefs may not be made the subject of an inquisitorial investigation.

The technique of the inquisition is not limited, however, to religious bodies. Basically, it is a form of criminal procedure. Whenever a court can set itself in motion without a formal complaint and with no effective limits to its field of investigation, and whenever the court itself acts as the accuser, the investigator, and the judge at the same time, the technique of the inquisition is being used. When Congressional committees concern themselves with problems of individual guilt or innocence, they tread dangerously close to this type of procedure. Throughout its history the inquisition has proved frightfully effective as an instrument for stamping out religious, political, or any other form of dissent regarded as dangerous. Whenever and wherever ideas have been regarded as dangerous, the inquisition has flourished. And its success has depended on its ability to override the witness's right to refuse to answer.

The Fifth Amendment today is under a two-pronged attack. One is the "immunity" bill pending in Congress [see following comment] which would authorize committees to compel the witness to answer and to provide that he may not thereafter be criminally prosecuted for anything he may say. The Department of Justice has attacked this bill because it might give immunity to people who are about to be indicted. But there are other more serious defects. There is no way to guarantee that an individual state will not prosecute on the basis of the testimony. Nor can the witness be freed from the technically non-criminal forms of punishment, such as restrictions on the right to certain types of employment, to use a passport, to use the mails, or to hold office in unions.

The other form of attack against the privilege is the pattern of systematic economic and social penalties imposed on those who exercise it. These are as severe and coercive as most legal penalties and therefore tend to deprive the privilege of its efficacy. It is no coincidence that this attack comes at a moment when the privilege is once more needed for the very purpose which gave it birth. The effort to control thought breeds inquisitorial methods. These, in turn, demand that the Fifth Amendment be overcome or evaded.

The public has not been made aware of the important place the Fifth Amendment occupies in our constitutional framework. Nor has it been made aware of the valid ethical and legal reasons that may compel witnesses to remain silent. Today, as in the past, the voice of the inquisitor again demands, "The witness must answer." This is the same cry that was heard in seventeenth-century England, in Salem, in Nazi Germany, and is heard today in Eastern Europe and other parts of the world. The only answer is the clear command of the English common law: "No man shall be a witness against himself." ■

THE IMMUNITY PROPOSAL

[*The immunity bill mentioned by Messrs. Frantz and Redlich in the closing paragraphs of their article very nearly passed the Senate without debate of any kind (see editorial, The Senate Sleeps, in* The Nation *of May 23). Senator Harvey Kilgore, aware of the far-reaching implications of the measure—known as S 16—did a public service in soliciting comment on it from a number of prominent legal authorities. Excerpts from some of the replies follow.*]

THE witness, under the proposed procedure, is protected from federal prosecution but not from any state action. . . . Why not consider adding a provision that before any witness is compelled to testify, he be given the specific right to counsel, and to cross-examine any witness who may theretofore have testified against him?

FRANCIS BIDDLE,
Former U. S. Attorney General

SENATOR McCARRAN'S bill, as surely you have noted, empowers a majority of any Congressional investigating committee to grant immunity. I am entirely in accord with Senator Kefauver's belief that the Attorney General should be brought into the picture before any such immunity is extended. Indeed, I am not sure that Senator Kefauver's proposed requirement of mere notification to the Attorney General goes far enough. It seems to me that if the Attorney General is not in accord . . . it would be preferable to require a vote of the house of Congress (Senate or House of Representatives, as the case may be) as a prerequisite to the grant of immunity.

TELFORD TAYLOR,
Former United States
Prosecutor at Nürnberg

IT IS my own view that such legislation would be unwise. I recognize the difficulty that confronts investigating agencies when testimony is refused on the ground of privilege. From the legal point of view, it seems clear that the only way to get testimony from that particular witness is to grant him immunity from prosecution. Nevertheless, the harm that may be done through the granting of immunity seems to me to outweigh the gains. . . .

ERWIN N. GRISWOLD,
Dean of Harvard Law School

I MUST express my feeling of doubt as to the wisdom of giving Congressional committees the right to override the constitutional objection of a witness by granting him immunity from prosecution on self-incriminating testimony which he may be compelled to give. Where a claim of privilege is made by a witness in judicial proceedings, the judge has an opportunity to weigh the desirability of obtaining evidence against the undesirability of granting immunity, particularly if he has specific issues before him to aid in his judgment. But where a committee is making an investigation it will be peculiarly difficult for the committee to weigh all the possible evil consequences of a grant of immunity against the very uncertain good consequence of compelling the particular testimony which is sought.

DONALD R. RICHBERG,
Noted constitutional lawyer

[*We think it would be helpful if our readers would express their opinion of S 16 in letters to Senator Kilgore or to their own Senators or Congressmen.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

GRAB FOR THE ATOM

II. Wanted: a George Norris . . *by Leland Olds*

IN THE coming battle over the Atomic Energy Act we face the Muscle Shoals issue of the 1920's on a grander scale. In the Harding Administration they gave away Teapot Dome. But they never succeeded in giving away Muscle Shoals because Uncle George Norris, great Progressive Senator from Nebraska, stood in the way. The Muscle Shoals power plant in the Tennessee River, authorized for defense purposes during World War I, became the cornerstone of the Tennessee Valley Authority, which brought the country a new era of widespread use of electricity at low rates and influenced resources development in all parts of the world.

Just over a generation ago Senator Norris, as Republican chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, began his long fight to assure Tennessee Valley power for the people. He blocked the Harding-Coolidge attempt to turn over the government-owned plant to private interests. Twice he got through Congress a bill setting up the prototype of the Tennessee Valley Authority. The first bill was pocket-vetoed by President Coolidge. The second was vetoed with a message by President Hoover. But Uncle George had won. For Muscle Shoals became a symbol of the power issue in the 1932 Presidential campaign, and he had his answer as he stood on the dam in January, 1933, with President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt.

During World War I the Muscle Shoals power plant was authorized to provide power to produce nitrates for explosives. Fifteen years later it became the nucleus of a great program which made low-cost power available to municipal power systems and rural cooperatives throughout the Tennessee Valley, showed the way to wider use of improved fertilizers to redeem wasting farm lands, raised living standards, brought new economic health to an entire region, and put competitive pressure on private companies throughout the country to reduce their rates. The private power industry does not intend to see atomic power, born of World War II, blossom into similar developments all over the United States.

But the power monopolies are not presenting the people with that clear-cut issue. They know that America is proud of the TVA and of what it has accomplished. In fact, only a few years ago they had Opinion Research, Inc., take a poll to find out whether their multimillion-dollar propaganda campaign against public power was successful. They were shocked to learn that 63 per cent of those polled favored the TVA. They found also that the same percentage thought it would be a good idea to have TVA's in other parts of the country. So the so-called Electric Companies' Advertising Program turned its guns on "creeping socialism."

The campaign against this bogyman reaches the people through every medium of advertising and public relations. It serves as groundwork for the campaign to turn over atomic energy to private companies. But here the propaganda is a baited hook. What private monopoly is offering the people is a quicker and cheaper voyage to the new promised land of atomic power. It charges that the present law means federal monopoly, that federal monopoly is holding back the development of commercially feasible atomic power and rendering the entire program more costly. It cites the automobile and television as examples of what can be accomplished by American ingenuity under the stimulus of the profit incentive and urges the virtual renunciation of the atom to "competitive private enterprise" as the key to progress.

Let us examine this line to see whether it does not reveal many of the characteristics of the proverbial gold-brick. The questions which we shall naturally want answered are: (1) Has development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy progressed at a reasonable rate under the existing Atomic Energy Act? (2) Does turning over the atomic business to private enterprise offer better prospects of progress? (3) Is there any reason why we should be rushed into making decisions which will profoundly affect our civilization for generations?

THE SIMPLEST ANSWER to the first question is that it is but a moment in man's technological history since the first atomic fire was lighted and controlled. In fact, it is only just over twenty years since the neutron, the bullet which splits the atom, was discovered and thirteen years since a start was made in using these bullets to produce atomic fission and chain reaction. Compared with the ages between the time when a mythical Prometheus brought man the gift of fire and the invention of the steam engine, the rate of atomic progress under government control has been phenomenal. In fact, had man waited for private enterprise to transform Einstein's great equation into useful atomic energy, a century would probably have been needed for the accomplishment of anything comparable to what has been done under government direction in the last decade. Remember that some fifty years elapsed between Faraday's discovery that rotating a wire loop through a magnetic field would produce electricity and the day when the first dynamo lighted an electric bulb.

Progress under the Atomic Energy Commission has by no means been limited to development of atomic weapons. Great forward steps have been taken in providing radioactive isotopes (particles) which are making revolutionary contributions in medicine, agriculture, and industry; the atomic-power program is well under way under the

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LELAND OLDS served as member and then chairman of the Federal Power Commission for many years under President Roosevelt. The third article of this series will appear next week.

general direction of the Reactor Development Division set up by the commission in 1949.

Early in 1951 the A. E. C. announced that in cooperation with industrial concerns it was exploring the possibilities of their participation, on their own initiative and with their own resources, in developing the use of atomic energy for power purposes. A few months later it received four proposals from eight corporations working in pairs—the Monsanto Chemical Company and the Union Electric Company of Missouri, Detroit Edison and the Dow Chemical Company, Commonwealth Edison and the Public Service Company of Northern Illinois, and Pacific Gas and Electric and the Bechtel Corporation. (The Detroit Edison combination has since been joined by a number of other electric utilities).

THE Monsanto Chemical and Union Electric team came up with a proposal that the government build a pilot plant to produce power, with plutonium as a by-product; then private industry might build a full-scale plant at its own expense. Dow and Detroit Edison proposed a joint study to be followed by the building of a full-scale atomic-power plant without going through the pilot-plant stage. The Commonwealth Edison group proposed a public-private undertaking in which the government would build a reactor to produce power and plutonium, permitting private companies to build and own the generating equipment and sell electricity to the public.

Meanwhile Westinghouse and General Electric have been constructing reactor power plants for atomic-powered submarines. On March 31, the A. E. C. announced that the first of these experimental engines was in operation at its testing station in Arco, Idaho. These submarine plants may eventually produce power at somewhere between two and five cents per kilowatt-hour. This is high compared with five-to-eight-mill power in coal-fired steam electric stations, but a reactor power plant which Westinghouse is designing for a larger naval vessel will more nearly approximate the size of a utility steam plant and costs should come down.

Walter H. Zinn of the Argonne National Laboratory (A. E. C.) predicts that the country will have a central-station nuclear-fueled power plant operating four or five years after "we have definitely decided to construct and operate such a plant." He is already running an experimental "breeder reactor" which is providing enough power to light the small building in which it is housed. This is probably the world's first atomic-powered plant.

The latest authoritative word comes from Dr. W. L. Davidson, director of the commission's Office of Industrial Development. He says: "Nuclear electric power is already a fact, not mere fancy. In two separate reactor projects the A. E. C. has generated token amounts of electricity employing nuclear fuel as a source of heat."

Dr. Davidson points out, however, that the prime purpose behind these experimental reactors was something other than power, and that while there had been considerable research and development work on the general problem, no construction of major projects for the production of economic electric power had yet been authorized. He estimates that the cost of power from such a plant, if approved, would be about double the kilowatt-hour costs of power from conventional fuel plants, or about fifteen mills. He predicts that at least ten years will elapse before nuclear power will be generally competitive with power generated from coal, oil, or gas.

The time required for successful results is variously predicted as from three to ten years. Altogether, the conclusion seems warranted that pressure to amend the Atomic Energy Act is due to the fact that commercially feasible atomic power is so close to realization rather than to lack of progress under the Atomic Energy Commission.

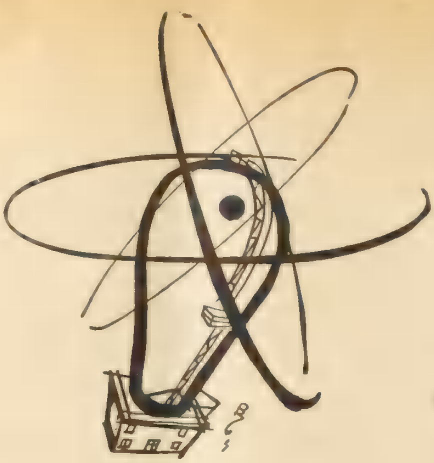
THIS BRINGS US to the second question: whether we can expect greater progress if development of atomic power is turned over to private enterprise. Here we are concerned with something very different from the development of an industry based on the invention of some new gadget or synthetic material. We are dealing with a great new energy resource that is vital to our whole way of life.

Samuel B. Morris, general manager of the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power and former dean of engineering at Stanford University, has given a simple answer to the contention that opening up atomic-power development to private enterprise would let in the fresh air of competition. Presenting the report of the Committee on Atomic Policy of the American Public Power Association, Mr. Morris said that the electric-utility industry is essentially a monopoly and not a field of dynamic private, competitive enterprise. To open the field of atomic power to private patents would, in effect, pile monopoly on monopoly. Citing the country's telephone colossus to illustrate his point, he suggested that the increasing rapidity of modern invention, by opening the way to a chain of patents, would foster a continuing monopoly in the vital field of atomic power. He stressed the fact that patents are not always a stimulus to production.

The energy-resources field offers many examples of the tendency to hold back rather than expedite development of competing products. In two cases the situation is strikingly parallel to the proposed use of atomic energy as a new industrial fuel—namely, the synthetic production of motor fuel and gas from coal and the extraction of oil from our vast shale deposits. In terms of both conservation and national security, bringing both processes to the point of commercial feasibility is probably as important as the application of atomic energy to production of electric power. But both products would be competitive with what the big oil companies have to sell, and private enterprise has shown no zest for their development.

The story of halting progress in the synthetic production of motor fuel and gas from coal is particularly revealing. Started years ago by the Bureau of Mines in cooperation with the University of Utah School of Mines, the undertaking was subsequently moved to Pittsburgh and finally wound up during the 1940's in the hands of Standard Oil of New Jersey and its close relative, Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Company. To date these corporations have given no evidence of competitive drive to bring to fruition this contribution to our energy-resources economy. Meanwhile the Bureau of Mines has been making considerable progress in producing gasoline and Diesel fuel from coal at its recently completed demonstration plant at Louisiana, Missouri. But as the "Bituminous Coal Annual" tersely puts it, the urging of the Bureau of Mines that private industry "proceed immediately on a large-scale basis with establishment of a synthetic-fuels industry . . . provoked a stiff debate with the National Petroleum Council on the economics of making oil from coal." And, significantly, the item for continuation of the bureau's work in this field has so far been cut from the 1954 federal budget.

SIMILARLY, although the Bureau of Mines pilot plant at Rifle, Colorado, has brought the cost of producing gasoline from oil shales to within two cents of that for the regular petroleum product, there has been no rush on the part of private enterprise to take over and push the process to the point of commercial use. Yet in neither of these fields are there any of the legislative obstacles to a complete taking over by private enterprise that are criticized as holding back progress in development of atomic power. Moreover, the synthetic production of oil and gas is probably of more immediate public interest than the production of electricity by atomic energy. For our conventional reserves of these élite fuels, representing only about 2 per cent of the nation's mineral energy resources, are carrying 50 per cent of the load. By any estimate their service lives are relatively short, and the country is depending more and more on foreign supplies. In comparison, oil imprisoned



in the shale deposits of the country is estimated at eight times our regular petroleum reserves, and our coal will probably outlast our oil by hundreds of years.

Furthermore, natural-gas markets in the Northeast are crying for more gas from the Southwest faster than the big pipe lines can expand their deliveries, and field prices, which a few years ago were around four and five cents per thousand cubic feet, are upward bound, with fifteen cents predicted within a year and twenty to twenty-five cents expected four years hence. These are prices at the beginning of the thousand-mile journey to the Northeast, with many costs still to be added before the consumer pays his bill. Testimony in the Federal Power Commission's natural-gas investigation suggests that perfection of the synthesis of gas from Appalachian coal would provide the Northeast with ample supplies at a price lower than future prices of Southwestern gas. But such development appears unlikely to be carried to the point of economic feasibility so long as the great oil companies have natural gas from their Southwestern reserves to unload at unregulated prices.

Instances could be multiplied. Coal and rail interests unite with the power industry to hold up a competitive St. Lawrence River navigation and power project and oppose the entrance of natural gas into their local markets. Manufactured-gas interests in New England insist on controlling the marketing of natural gas in their areas. Altogether, experience suggests that private industry may well be more interested in delaying than in expediting the application of atomic energy to the field of power.

SO WE COME to the final question: whether there is any urgent public need for a hasty decision on the atomic-energy issue. The answer seems to be that there is no hurry at all. All the agitation has been stirred up by a well-directed drive to get us to sell our atomic birthright for a mess of pottage for which we are not yet really hungry. It is more important for the country to be in control of atomic power when it finally arrives than to advance the date of arrival a few years by abdicating to private monopoly, assuming these to be the real alternatives.

Atomic power offers no quick road to lower electric rates. All present conceptions of what is practical would only substitute splitting atoms for burning coal, oil, or natural gas as the source of heat for standard steam-power plants. Spectacular reductions in cost of fuel would be counterbalanced by the necessity for increased investment in facilities for developing the heat and conveying it to the generator.

Professor Manson Benedict of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, analyzing the possibilities of an atomic-power plant in Boston, shows that if nuclear fuel were obtained at no cost at all, the allowable power-plant investment could not exceed $258 per kilowatt of capacity to be competitive with plants using conventional fuels. He compares this with the estimate of Dr. Donald Loughbridge, assistant director of the A. E. C.'s division of reactor development, that the cost of a nuclear plant, using present-day techniques, would be something like $500 or $600 per installed kilowatt, and concludes that "before nuclear fuels could compete with coal in Boston, it will be necessary to develop a successful breeding reactor and cut the cost of a nuclear-power plant in half." A breeding reactor comes pretty close to perpetual motion in that it produces more nuclear fuel than it consumes in the process of producing heat, thus providing a much higher utilization of the uranium charge.

An unusually farsighted power-company executive, Philip Sporn, president of American Gas and Electric Company, says that the chief thing hoped for from atomic power is that it will lower the cost of fuel in power production. But he hastens to add that the most optimistic assumption would be a reduction of perhaps 10 per cent in this part of the total cost of electricity. As the fuel cost of power in Boston is only about one-third of a cent, a 10 per cent saving would be negligible so far as the average consumer of electricity is concerned. Mr. Sporn considers atomic energy chiefly important as a supplement to coal in meeting the rapidly increasing demands for power. He calls attention to the estimate of the President's Materials Policy Commission that the country's electric-energy requirements will increase from just under 400,000,000 kilowatt-hours in 1950 to 1,400,000,000 kilowatt-hours in 1975, with coal's responsibility going up from about 90,000,000 to 300,000,000 tons.

There is, however, every indication that these requirements can be met without turning to a supplementary fuel. Although coal provides the country with an extraordinarily wide range of services, latest reports show that its market is actually falling off, that mechanization is counterbalancing increasing wages in maintaining relatively stable prices, and that the industry is today producing far less than its capacity. In 1950 the 416,000 bituminous-coal miners averged only 183 days of work during the year in producing the required 516,000,000 tons of coal. The Bureau of Mines estimates on the basis of 1949 figures that with employment averaging a 308-day year the mines could have produced about 860,000,000 tons. This would have exceeded the 825,000,000 tons the Materials Policy Commission figured as the total requirements of the country for all purposes in 1975.

So we are driven to the conclusions (1) that great progress has been made in the peace-time uses of atomic fission under the present law; (2) that leadership in the development of synthetic energy resources has not come from the competitive urge of private enterprise but from the work of a federal agency; and (3) that there is no urgent reason why we should be rushed into a decision to revise the present set-up before we have developed public understanding of the wide range of contributions atomic energy may make to the future of our economy.

The chairman of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee has just announced a proposed 30 per cent cut in the appropriation for the work of the Atomic Energy Commission during the coming year. This will apparently mean reduced activity in the development of atomic power. Here is an opening for private enterprise to come forward with the proposition: amend the law and we will provide the funds. But our answer should be that although the nation waited until 1933 to get the advantages of federal ownership of Muscle Shoals power, the dividends which have since been flowing to the region and the country as a whole much more than compensate for the delay.

When the tests on the Atomic Energy Act come, let us hope that a new George Norris will arise, with the vision and courage to preserve atomic power as the first George Norris preserved Muscle Shoals.

MOROCCO IN TURMOIL

I. The Fanatic Colonials . . *by Alexander Werth*

Casablanca

NEARLY six months have passed since the Casablanca riots—or "massacres"—of last December. "And now look at Morocco! We've got perfect peace," said M. Boniface, prefect of Casablanca, when he received me. His staff call him playfully "l'assassin de Claude Bourdet," and M. Boniface proudly claims full responsibility for having suppressed the "Communist-Nationalist" riots.

The windows of his vast office looked on to the magnificent Parc Lyautey, with its equestrian statue of the great marshal. Around the park *les buildings,* the sixteen- and seventeen-story skyscrapers, rise into the blue sky. This is the heart of European Casablanca, and not many Moroccans are seen here. The Moroccans live mostly in their filthy old Medinas or in the *bidonvilles* on the outskirts of Casablanca, or, if they are lucky, in the new "garden cities" that are gradually replacing the *bidonvilles,* those unspeakable tin-can slums that have sprung up in the last few years and are said to house about 100,000 people. It was here that the December riots started; they are "the cancer of Casablanca," the authorities will tell you, "a cause of understandable discontent, and of course we are doing our utmost to clear them away."

European Casablanca is very different. Building sites cost more than in the Champs Elysées in Paris. It is a sort of North African New York. Casablanca's population is already about 700,000 and in a few years is expected to reach a million or more. It is the biggest port of Morocco and the only major industrial city, and it exercises an irresistible attraction on the hungry peasants of the *bled.*

The French in Morocco are not at all like the people one meets in France. Some of them are the sharks and profiteers who came to Morocco to make money quickly by speculating in land values and buildings and materials; others have an earnest sense of "mission" and feel intensely superior to the French at home. "We are no stick-in-the-muds," they will say. And one thinks of France, of provincial France especially, where people say so often that France is an old, tired, mismanaged country and really not a great power any more. No such humil-

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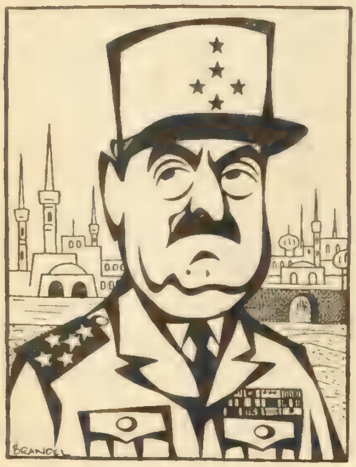
THIS is the first of two articles on Morocco by The Nation's *Paris correspondent. The second will be published next week.*

ity is noticed among the French in Morocco; they are conscious of being empire-builders, of having "made Morocco" with French brains, French money, French technicians. The more extreme among them hate Paris and the French government, and worst of all they hate the Paris "sentimentalists," the "intellectual busybodies" who "don't understand a damned thing about Morocco but who *will* interfere."

Among these they single out not the anti-colonialists of *Franc-Tireur* or *l'Observateur* but François Mauriac, a Catholic and conservative who dared to raise his voice in protest against the ruthless handling of the December riots, and talked a lot of nonsense about France's duty to be "just" and "Christian" in its North African policy. To M. Boniface and his ilk Mauriac is a traitor—a traitor to his class and a traitor to France. A young official under Boniface said to me: "If Mauriac had published his reflections in some philosophical review, it wouldn't have been so bad, but to publish them in the *Figaro,* which everybody in Casa reads—that was too much. Doesn't he realize that there are many good Catholics in Morocco who might be affected by his bunk about our 'Christian duties' to the natives?"


General Guillaume

I do not deny that I was impressed by M. Boniface. He has terrific personality, is full of boisterous bonhomie and superbly conscious of being invulnerable—whatever Paris says. No one had any doubts about whom M. Schuman had in mind when he wrote that certain officials in key positions in Morocco were so strongly backed by local financial interests that no French government could possibly get rid of them.

Lyautey may still be a hero in Paris, but his ideas are not popular with the French extremists in Morocco. Lyautey believed that the Protectorate should guide the Moroccans but not interfere with their native institutions. He was an enemy of *administration directe,* at least in the long run. Above all, he wanted to strengthen the central authority of the Sultan, and he wanted the Moroccans to love the French.

THE OTHER DAY an extraordinary thing happened. General Catroux, who knew Lyautey well in the past, was going to Casablanca to give a lecture about him. Two days before he was to start he received a letter from the Resident-General, General Guillaume, strongly urging him to cancel the lecture since it would undoubtedly stir up trouble. Catroux's views were known from an article he had recently written for the *Figaro* in which he associated himself with Mauriac's campaign against the "un-Christian" policy of the French authorities in Morocco and declared that it was entirely contrary to the teachings of Lyautey. Obviously Boniface intended to get his boys together and make it hot for Catroux. General Guillaume could do nothing. I saw him at about this time, and when I mentioned the matter, he was plainly embarrassed.

The "Catroux scandal" had not broken when I was received by M. Boniface, but I don't think anything could embarrass him. He started right off by attacking Mauriac. Most un-Cartesian, he said, for a French author to write about things he knew nothing about. Morocco was very complicated, very *nuancé.* "Damn it, I've lived here since the age of six. I speak Arab; I speak Berber; I know what I'm talking about. They call us colonialists—well, let them. We haven't a great armed force in Morocco. If the Moroccans wanted to throw us out, they could. It's not true that they hate us. They like us, and have confidence in us. We've done wonders here. It was a medieval country when we first came. We've stamped out banditry and malaria, and people have started thinking for themselves. We don't mind that; it was part of the progress. But it's still a very backward country, and one can't go too fast—least of all with Moslems. Of course, we'd like to send a million Moroccan children to school, and not just 200,000. But we need time and money. Even so, in 1912 they had nothing—no schools, no hospitals, no roads, no telephones. And we've managed all this despite the two wars we've had to fight."

So far so good. But now M. Boniface came to hotter subjects. "It has all the possibilities of a democratic country. The Berbers have strong democratic traditions—much more democratic than the centralist and theocratic concepts of the Arabs." And then he suggested that the Sultan was simply an ambitious man out to increase his personal authority through his so-called "reforms." "The prestige of the Sultan was not as great as he liked to think. The Berber south did not think much of him. The religious fraternities throughout the country called him 'a bad sherif.' In Morocco large sections of the population were opposed to totalitarian Moslemism and worshiped their local saints. Neither the temporal nor the spiritual power of the Sultan was as great as some imagined. It was France which had created the central authority of the Sultan. Morocco was still deeply divided—quite unlike Tunisia in this respect."

"And the Istiqlal, Monsieur le Préfet?"

"C'est rien. C'est zéro. A few half-baked intellectuals, with wishy-washy ideas about Western democracy and the French Revolution! The Moroccan people despise them. They picked up a few ideas from the Communists and off they went trying to cause trouble among the proletariat of Casablanca. They also tried to set up cells all over the place; didn't amount to much. Of course, they were encouraged by the Sultan, who fancied himself as a kind of Führer! Young people spouting slogans, waving flags. A crazy press, too, going in for blackmail and intimidation. When they started their nonsense in Casablanca we had to put our foot down. We had no right to be weak. And look at Casa now! Peace, perfect peace."

IT WAS a revealing talk. Play off the Berbers against the Arabs; encourage the feudal lords of the south and the obscurantist religious fraternities to gang up against the Sultan—if not to overthrow him, at least to isolate him more and more. And so preserve the status quo, at least for as long as possible.

SEARS, ROEBUCK

"Subverting" Latin America . . *by Lincoln Clark*

ONE of the mightiest "subversive" forces in Latin America today, by virtue of the non-reversible changes it is effecting in the way of life, is Sears, Roebuck and Company. In the next few years Sears is likely to have a greater influence on conditions south of the border than the United States has had in the last eight decades. Its great resources and technical "know-how," developed through the years of its operation in this country, equip it to make a terrific impact when it enters markets where conditions are roughly comparable to those in this country in 1900.

Controversy is raging over whether Sears is a twentieth-century-model benefactor—an unofficial instrument of our "good neighbor" policy—or a traditional capitalistic exploiter of the Latin American masses. A commonly stated goal of the numerous national and international relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction agencies has been "to help people to help themselves." In practice this has largely meant helping farmers and manufacturers to increase production. The assumption has been that the consumers would benefit ultimately as the food and goods produced dribbled down to them, after distributors, jobbers, and retailers had taken their cut. Sears's program starts with the consumer.

Sears launched its revolution with the opening of a modern department store in Havana in 1942. Openings in Sao Paulo and Rio de Janiero followed. In October, 1952, Sears opened its twenty-first Latin American store in Puebla, Mexico. In the five countries where it is now operating—Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, and Venezuela—twenty-eight possible locations for new stores are under investigation. Sears is watching and waiting for changes in conditions that will make it feasible to enter Argentina, Peru, and Uruguay.

In deciding where and when to open a store Sears studies the area's purchasing power, labor and tax laws, and site costs. In this country stores on the outskirts of large towns can attract customers by providing parking lots. In South America, where most people use public transportation, Sears must locate in established shopping districts. Site costs are therefore high. The land for the Sao Paulo store cost about twice as much as an adequate location for the same sized store in the United States. Sears seeks what the trade knows as "100 per cent locations." Thus in Guadalajara it has leased space in a building diagonally across from the Cathedral. Building costs have been unpredictable from United States experience. In Cuba and Mexico they are perhaps half as high as in this country but in Venezuela 50 per cent higher. Show cases and other fixtures—major investment items in a modern department store—cost about the same in Cuba as in the United States, in Mexico and Venezuela about double, and in Brazil five or six times as much.

LIKE ANY competent merchant, Sears investigates what its potential customers want. It is prepared to offer articles that are in accord with local tastes. Much to its surprise, it has found that the most popular styles are generally the same as in the United States. One interesting phenomenon has been the salability of soft goods—hats, lingerie, and the like; while here Sears has traditionally been looked upon as a good source of hard goods—baling wire, chicken brooders, refrigerators, pick axes.

Sears makes every effort to use and build up local sources of supply if comparative costs permit. The percentage of supplies purchased in the country where the stores are located varies from about 25 per cent in Cuba to 90 per cent in Brazil. In the case of furniture high shipping costs led to having the latest North American styles reproduced locally. Importation of some articles is limited by law or government edict. In such cases Sears has been stimulated to develop local sources of supply at a faster rate than it would have done if a free market had existed. It frequently makes advance payments, lends money, and provides technical aid to local suppliers in order to obtain goods manufactured to its specifications. Then it presses hard to get delivery on schedule —a revolutionary Yankee concept.

But perhaps its most subversive innovation is its inspection for quality. In South America as in this country Sears has been a mighty fighter against the intrenched marketing dictum "Caveat emptor." It has introduced instead the more efficient principle, "Satisfaction guaranteed or your money back."

A major deterrent to American ventures into foreign markets is currency restrictions, which limit the recovery of investments and the profits that Americans can take out of a country. Sears has such a long-range view that it regards this as a temporary hindrance. Placing less and less reliance on imports, it has ample opportunities to invest current income. Sears looks on the funds it has already put into the program as "seed money" and is not rushing to reap the harvest. Not only are profits plowed in but there is talk of raising additional capital by selling stock locally.

The amount of attention Sears is giving to its South American business does not seem entirely due to its profit potentialities, since it represents mere "chicken feed" in the Sears empire. Probably the outlook of Sears executives is the true explanation. The knowledge that their company is offering better values to millions of people and lowering the cost of living by forcing competitors to toe the line is an immense psychological satisfaction. The Sears program is so vast and all encompassing that it looks as if its strongest motivating force were to sell the Sears "way of life" to the world —although in the end it may turn out to be extremely good business.

LINCOLN CLARK is an editor of the Journal of Marketing *and teaches at New York University.*

BOOKS

Babbitt, Jr. in Two Roles

SHAME AND GLORY OF THE INTELLECTUALS: BABBITT, JR. VS. THE REDISCOVERY OF VALUES. By Peter Viereck. Beacon Press. $4.

HERESY, YES; CONSPIRACY, NO. By Sidney Hook. The John Day Company. $3.75.

By John W. Ward

FROM quite different vantage points Mr. Hook and Mr. Viereck address the same problem—the responsibility of the intellectual for the condition of freedom in the United States today. Mr. Hook, writing in the pragmatic tradition of James and Dewey, believes that "rights" are definable only in the context of history. Mr. Viereck believes that values are innate and universal. The real enemy for Mr. Viereck is the pragmatic liberal who has weakened the value structure of Western culture so that it is easy prey to totalitarianism. Mr. Hook feels quite as strongly as Mr. Viereck that today one must choose to be either pro-Communist or anti-Communist; there are no areas left in which one can be a *non*-Communist. But Mr. Viereck is more positive. He believes one must choose certain absolute "values." "Totalitarianism," he writes, "is not the opposite of naturalistic relativism, as many liberals believe, but its consequence." Since Mr. Hook's book is an attempt to work out "a tough-minded philosophy to guide American liberals," one anticipates an area of disagreement with Mr. Viereck, who is continuing his task of defining a "new conservatism" for America. Such is not the case. Mr. Viereck and Mr. Hook may differ on progressive education, but otherwise their devils and angels are pretty much the same. Both, having examined the character of the American intellectual, conclude that the chief danger in America today is his softness toward communism. Thus both end their books with an inquiry into academic freedom. The façades differ, but the floor plans are remarkably alike.

"The Shame and Glory of the Intellectuals" is a book by an intellectual for intellectuals about intellectuals. The glory of the intellectuals was their resistance to Nazism; their shame is their tolerance of communism. The conflict today is between the liberal intellectual and the new conservative bent on the rediscovery of values. While radicalism in politics and experimentalism in literature were once vivifying forces, they are now cliché ridden and impotent. So instead of George we have Gaylord Babbitt, Jr., fellow-traveler and literary mandarin.

Recently the intellectual has been somewhat on the defensive. His plight has even enriched the vernacular. Ironically, just after making a unilateral peace with America—if the recent *Partisan Review* symposium is a valid index—the intellectual discovers himself relegated to the egg-heap. But if intellectual life in America is in shameful condition, not the least of the reasons is that a book like Mr. Viereck's could be written by a college professor.

With conservatism in politics Mr. Viereck argues for a parallel return to formalism in literature. Yet his bombastic style owes more to Carlyle than to Dryden. What is one to make of a man who can argue for classical humanism in this fashion?

> Clarity and reasonableness more exciting than visceral enthusiasm or sublime vagueness. Consequently, special homage to Samuel Johnson (memo to Modern Language Association: revise textbooks accordingly). No more southern Californias.
>
> No Untergang, no Decline and Fall; the regeneration of the West through the dignity and purity of Form; man as personality instead of man as insect.
>
> The aesthetic sense once more in control of the utilitarian sense, today inhibiting it, tomorrow fulfilling it; not only cloudward to ivory towers but earthward to ivory factories. Except for the lowest indispensable minimum, no more cowering and groveling before the muscular adjective "Practical"; ringside tipsters whisper he is a mere debating-point champion and shows poor footwork in wrestling with angels; through jiu-jitsu, he can be forced to concede that only death is "Practical" in the "long run" and that nothing else "really works" because only death is "here to stay."

Another reviewer has said that Mr. Viereck's character as a poet accounts for his almost obsessive tendency to play with words. Quite the contrary. The poet wrenches language to illuminate his subject; Mr. Viereck's violence results only in a short circuit. That such chaotic discourse is offered in support of order and clarity indicates a corruption of the intelligence which is manifest on every level of Mr. Viereck's book.

I am not so much concerned here with the fact that the hermaphroditic Gaylord Babbitt, Jr., exists nowhere outside Mr. Viereck's imagination; it simply is not the case that the political radical and the literary aesthete have composed a single personality in recent years. Nor do I wish to dwell on Mr. Viereck's failure to meet the minimum standards of decency, as, for example, when, addressing "my fellow-'professors,'" he implies they are the people Sir Winston Churchill had in mind when he described the Communists as "bloody-minded professors." What I especially want to draw attention to is the self-contradictory nature of the book. Exactly as Mr. Viereck's style violates his professed literary ideal, so his very argument betrays his explicit thesis.

Mr. Viereck admits to ignorance in the field of philosophy, but this does not dissuade him from castigating a pragmatic tradition based on naturalism and cultural relativism. With the candor of one who says, "I don't know anything about art but I know what I like," he announces his inability to speak with intelligence in the "value controversy" but blithely proceeds to do so because "life goes on; crises confront us; we must *make immediate decisions* in value problems." What is this but a resolution of the problem in pragmatic terms? Mr. Viereck introduces his whole discussion of values with an appeal to the emotion of common sense—"for reasons it would take years to prove and which the reader will either sense in a second or not at all." What has happened to the campaign for a revolt against romantic intuition and a return to "pure reason"? Except for providing a cumbersome hy-

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JOHN W. WARD is a member of the English Department at Princeton University and also teaches in the Special Program in American Civilization.

phenated description (Roman-Graeco-Hebrew-Christian tradition), Mr. Viereck contributes no more to a definition of the "new conservatism" than to insist on the inviolable dignity of the individual. Here we are back where the liberal tradition began.

Mr. Viereck is shrewd enough to realize that a new current is stirring in America. The openness and indeterminacy of the democratic system become difficult to bear in a period of crisis. People seek the comfort of ethical, and sometimes political, absolutes. But shrewdness is not what the situation calls for. Intelligence is required to drive the bandwagon.

NEXT TO Mr. Viereck, Mr. Hook profits immensely. One may disagree with Mr. Hook, but he is not to be dismissed. "Heresy, Yes; Conspiracy, No" exposes two enemies—the "cultural vigilante" of the McCarthy stripe who would destroy heresy, and the "ritualistic liberal" who, obsessed with civil liberties, would allow conspiracy to destroy freedom. The ritualistic liberal is of course Babbitt, Jr., stripped of his mandarin robes. Mr. Hook believes that fear of communism is the "obvious main cause" of cultural vigilantism. I disagree. Communism is the occasion, not the cause of McCarthy. America's anxiety makes McCarthy a possibility; what motivates McCarthy is a less simple matter. Mr. Hook believes that the source of ritualistic liberalism is the alienation of a small but strategically placed number of intellectuals. He feels that by criticizing American institutions the ritualistic liberal plays into the hands of communism, since neutralist sentiment in Western Europe is based on the belief that the United States is no better than Russia. Here I feel Mr. Hook exaggerates grossly. Europe's distrust of the United States owes far less to intransigent critics of American policy than to the disgrace of Senator McCarthy. It was not the *New Statesman and Nation* but the London *Times* which recently argued that "the fears and suspicions which center around the person of Senator McCarthy are now real enough to count as an essential factor in policy-making for the West."

In his first chapter Mr. Hook writes, "Truth is sacred, but a person who revealed it knowing that it would be used to destroy his country is a traitor." One hardly knows what to make of this surprising sentence. From its context Mr. Hook is obviously not considering scientific truth, which is involved in national security, but moral or philosophical truth. To make truth subservient to national policy is to justify an idea by its consequences in a most disturbing fashion. It is this line of reasoning which underlies Mr. Hook's attack on critics of America. The same premise informs his chapter on the Smith act. Although he disapproves of the act Mr. Hook thinks repeal would be unwise because the act is popularly supposed to be directed against the Communist Party and abolition of it might weaken public sentiment against communism. The logical conclusion to Mr. Hook's argument, and one I would expect him to disavow violently, is to put the state in the seat of reason.

Mr. Hook's major effort is an extended analysis of freedom in the schools. Here he does the academic community a real service by challenging it to think through many of its assumptions. He concludes that one who merely believes in communism must be allowed to teach, since belief involves heresy, but not one who joins the party, since membership involves conspiracy. Mr. Hook is careful to keep the discussion out of the area of freedom of thought by insisting that joining the party is an *act* and should not be confused with belief. But this seems to be a dangerous casuistry. The tradition of American justice has always been that one is responsible only for personal acts. Once admit that membership in a group is an *act* and one of our traditional safeguards is lost. Moreover, by Mr. Hook's own pragmatic standard, it seems to be an inoperative distinction. The principle will catch everybody but the Communist.

Mr. Viereck and Mr. Hook do, however, point to one major problem—the widening gulf between the business community and the intellectuals. Perhaps we are over-sensitive to the split. Anti-intellectualism seems the dominant rather than the minor trend in American history. The recent brief interlude in which the intellectual seemed to find an honored place in our society may have been more of an exception than the current revolt against the "egg-head." Someone has yet to write the study of anti-intellectualism which will put today's problem in proper perspective. Whoever does will need these two books.

The Female of the Species

THE NATURAL SUPERIORITY OF WOMEN. By Ashley Montagu. Macmillan. $3.50

By Frances Keene

DR. MONTAGU, an anthropologist of note and a facile popularizer, has done an important service to men and women equally in gathering under one provocative title much hitherto dispersed information. His main thesis is that "the liberation of woman means the liberation of man, for until women are freed from the myths which at present impede their progress, no man can be free or mentally completely healthy"; and as he goes about proving this he stresses repeatedly that equality in freedom has little to do with identity or *likeness.*

The book recapitulates available data which prove that woman has "as good" a brain as man's and that the size of it, in proportion to her frame, is even somewhat larger; the author trots out the by now familiar fact that women stand up better under a variety of severe strains, including concentration-camp pressures, than do men; and he gives the first capsule explanation that has ever made sense to this layman at least of why men die younger than women: "The fact is that the female is constitutionally stronger than the male and only muscularly less powerful. . . . The male pays heavily for his greater body build and muscle power. Because his expenditure of energy is greater than that of the female, he burns himself out more rapidly, hence dies at an earlier age."

There are certain points one would challenge or like expanded. For instance, provocative as is Dr. Montagu's remark that Freud "mistook the great *cultural* emphasis placed by our species upon sex

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FRANCES KEENE is a frequent contributor to The Nation's *book pages.*

as a biologically motivated function" (author's italics), it should be further elaborated, for, once the point is raised, the reader has every right to expect more serious discussion. Again, in considering women's greater urge to sociability, Montagu describes this gregariousness as "the most fundamental of all emotional qualities." Surely a human trait is not *di per se* a "quality," and the ill effects of this one are as marked as the good; hence its position at the top of Montagu's emotional ladder is seriously open to question. In the chapter on muscular versus biological superiority, the author concludes that since the ideal of human (physical) perfection lies in nearness to the human infant, woman is more nearly perfect than man, who has undergone such toughening changes as growth of body hair and beard, roughening and deepening of voice, bulking up of muscle. Carried to its logical conclusion, then, the feminine characteristics of the male homosexual type would be a step in the direction of this ideal—a conclusion Dr. Montagu does not draw but which any rational mind would find implicit in his argument.

The book is soundly based and easy reading. The author has a tendency to overstate and undersupport his points, but a work of this kind was needed for the benefit of the general public.

New Books in Brief

The Diplomatic Art

THE DIPLOMATS, 1919-1939. Edited by Gordon A. Craig and Felix Gilbert. Princeton University Press. $9.

This book has a forbidding appearance, seven hundred large and closely printed pages, written by scholars. Yet it will be read with sustained interest even by laymen if they wish to find out about European history in the two fateful decades between World War I and World War II. Events are competently presented through a discussion of the leading diplomatic personalities of the period, their methods and achievements.

Though the book has no thesis to propose or defend, it nevertheless will serve to warn the reader against the distrust of professional diplomacy so fashionable after World War I. The advice of trained observers in the missions abroad was often neglected in favor of the intuitive judgments or impressions of non-professionals or of politicians with negligible experience in foreign affairs. The governments and peoples of the West were more and more inclined to prefer diplomats who reported what they wanted to hear to those whose analyses were more pessimistic but have been justified by history. Sir Robert Peel called diplomacy "the great engine used by civilized society for the purpose of maintaining peace." Naturally the engine has to be adjusted from time to time to the changing conditions of society. For many decades the United States has had little need and little respect for the art of diplomacy. A book like this one, in addition to providing pleasant and informative reading, will perform a useful function by increasing the understanding of the potential achievements and limitations of the diplomatic art.

Nostalgic Epicure

BLUE TROUT AND BLACK TRUFFLES. By Joseph Wechsberg. Knopf. $3.75.

A delectable and nostalgic book of reminiscences by an epicure who has eaten his way across Europe. Among the restaurants he has visited are Meissl and Schadn in Vienna, where twenty-four varieties of boiled beef were served, Gundel's in Budapest, where the pre-war wine card ran to eighteen pages and listed forty-eight different liqueurs, and the Restaurant de la Pyramide at Vienne, "the greatest this side of heaven." Their most celebrated creations are described in ravishing detail. Best of all is the chapter in which an old waiter recalls the golden age of Maxim's at the turn of the century when it was the rendezvous of kings and famous courtesans.

Greatness and Oddness

A HOPKINS READER. Selected and with an Introduction by John Pick. Oxford University Press. $4.50.

"Glory be to God," wrote Father Hopkins in one of his marvelous poems, for "all things counter, original, spare, strange." And again, in a letter to Robert Bridges: "Design, pattern, or what I am in the habit of calling 'inscape' is what I above all aim at in poetry. Now it is the virtue of . . . inscape to be distinctive, and it is the vice of distinctiveness to become queer. This vice I cannot have escaped." Professor Pick's selection from Hopkins's poems, notebooks, and letters brings into sharp focus both the greatness and the oddness, the distinctiveness and the price paid.

The price was painful. Letters to friends are weary and often banal, full of sighs. Landscape and metrics are studied with compulsive attention. In metrics this original genius was painfully sensitive to being called aberrant, and made special pleas for his correctness. Landscape he searched continually for the inscape (the pattern of being) of cloud or water-swirl or tree: each object and each moment seen in its own light, as in the Taoist approach to nature, but without serenity. His mind and body were worn by moral struggles: the pull of fame against sacrifice, of distinction against the sin of pride. An original genius seeking his own laws, he was a member of the Jesuit order which praised Blessed John Berchmans for strict observance of their strict rule—Berchmans who said, as Hopkins wrote Bridges, "Common life is the greatest of my mortifications." This is a soberly illuminating and an invaluable book, a record of a war in the spirit. From the conflict sprang those shining and inimitable poems in which the oddness and the despair have such a hard time with the *gloria.*

Art as Symbol

FEELING AND FORM. By Susanne K. Langer. Scribner's. $7.

One of the aspects of symbolism treated in Mrs. Langer's earlier book, "Philosophy in a New Key," was its role in art, and her new work is an exploration of the theory that the essential nature of art is symbolic. Offering the definition, "Art is the creation of forms symbolic of human feeling," she applies it to all the important forms of art in turn. Works of art, she says, seem to create for themselves an illusionary realm from which they speak, as prime symbols, directly to the perception. This realm she calls the "virtual." It is the space in which a painting exists, the time of a musical composition, the actuality of a novel. In these realms separate from but similar to those of ordinary existence the work of art is free to achieve forms consistent with aesthetic rather than practical considerations. The chapters in which ideas like this are applied to the particular arts serve as introductions to the aesthetic philosophy of each art. Mrs. Langer's theory involves many borrowings and illuminating critiques of other philosophies, like those of Croce and Bergson, and also provides her with a method of vigorously tackling such classical problems as the imitative function of art, the place of expression and communication, and the relation of content and form.

New Mediums of Consent

ESSAYS IN POLITICS. By Scott Buchanan. Philosophical Library. $3.75.

Mr. Buchanan is extremely concerned with what he describes as "our crisis of consent." Recalling that Americans are committed to the proposition that just governments derive their power from the consent of the governed, he argues that the institutional mediums through which consent has been traditionally given are no longer adequate. The politically relevant institutions today are the many and varied kinds of corporations to which we all belong. To preserve our democratic processes, we must widen the basis of participation and control in these organizations. Devices must be created to enable the individual to approve or disapprove the actions of those corporate bodies which affect him most directly. Just how we are to accomplish this feat remains in doubt. Mr. Buchanan suggests that the corporate form of which the T. V. A. is the prototype is the most likely recourse. In the light of the deep-rooted frustration and apathy everywhere apparent in American society today, one may feel a degree of skepticism about the possibility of such a remedy.

A Great Thinker

THE IMPACT OF SCIENCE ON SOCIETY. By Bertrand Russell. Simon and Schuster. $3.

The theme of Lord Russell's book is, of course, momentous; nothing has been of greater significance in the Western world than the scientific revolution launched in the seventeenth century and completed in the technological revolution of the last hundred years. That it has transformed the face of the earth, society, and man is a commonplace. What it will make of the future, if there be one, is the anxious question to which Lord Russell addresses himself. In brief, his position is stated in the following felicitous passage: "Broadly speaking, we are in the middle of a race between human skill as to means and human folly as to ends. Given sufficient folly as to ends, every increase in the skill required to achieve them is to the bad."

Lord Russell does not claim to have the answer. In general, he hesitates between a profound pessimism and a moderate, skeptical optimism which pleads for population control, world government, and the cultivation of love and compassion as possible defenses against the dangers of power, competition, violence, and fear. There is not much that is new in this plea; and perhaps there is not much that is new in the book as a whole. A number of points are treated superficially, and on some the author even seems to be inconsistent. But with Russell it is not only what he says but how he says it that counts, for the brilliant insights, ingenious formulations, and independence of mind which he brings to almost every subject still make him the last of the great thinkers of our time.

The Father of Digests

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF A NEWSPAPER. By J. W. Robertson Scott. British Book Center. $6.75.

This curiously disjointed book by the venerable editor of that unique British magazine, the *Countryman,* may prove caviar to the general but should interest students of newspaper history and delight connoisseurs of English eccentricity. The *Pall Mall Gazette,* for which the author worked in his early years, never was a commercial success, but for a part of its career, which ended in 1923, it was amazingly influential. To a great extent this was due to three talented but very different men who edited it between 1880 and 1892—Lord Morley, W. T. Stead, and Sir E. T. Cook. Of these three the most original character was the evangelical Stead, once described as "a curious amalgam of sensational journalist and political seer." Notable both as craftsman and crusader, he rather than Northcliffe was the inventor of the "new journalism," and after leaving the *Gazette,* he became, by founding the *Review of Reviews,* the real progenitor of the now vast family of Digests. Stead has been unduly neglected since his death in the *Titanic* disaster, and it is good to have this fresh and intimate account of his career.

Amusing Villainy

SOME FACES IN THE CROWD. By Budd Schulberg. Random House. $3.

These stories about pathetic sadists, naive tyrants, and self-deceived egotists have chiefly an anecdotal interest. The infinite possibilities of human villainy are easy to believe in nowadays, but Mr.

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Schulberg gives the point new force by making the boundless darkness of ill-will yawn convincingly in the golden spotlight of success shining on Ciro's or the boxing ring. He explores the evil lurking in such places as radio, movies, marriage, family life, and the white-collar fringes of war. Virtue, when it appears, is weak, foolish, odd, even grotesque, and seems, on the whole, to be asking for the trouble it invariably runs into. Mr. Schulberg gives the impression of not really being interested in it. It is a necessary foil for the cruelty whose infinite variety fascinates him. The stories do not probe character too deeply to lose their smooth, well-trimmed effect; and although they manifest a clear knowledge of some of the less attractive aspects of American civilization, they are never too alarming to be amusing.

Work of Young Writers

AMERICAN VANGUARD, 1953. Edited by Charles I. Glicksberg and Brom Weber. Dial Press. $4.

The latest issue of an excellent series of anthologies based on the Writers' Workshop of the New School for Social Research. In the past this group has produced such novelists as William Styron, Sigrid de Lima, Leonard Bishop, and George Mandel; it is probably the richest center of new fiction among our colleges and universities. Editors, critics, teachers would do well to check over the present volume, which may also be of interest to the general reader. The young writers represented here, it should be added, do not work according to any school of critical theory but directly out of their own experience, guided by a flexible and experimental teaching staff. There are short stories, sketches, novels in progress, and poetry in the present volume, all of high quality.

Dateless Comment

THE MILITARY NECESSITY, by Alfred de Vigny. Grove Press. $3.

The appearance, in a fine translation by Humphrey Hare, of the three stories which make up Alfred de Vigny's "Servitude et grandeur militaires" marks the rediscovery of a singular commentary on one aspect of society—military service. Dateless despite changes in the nature of conflict and conscription, Vigny's detailed anecdotes and particularly his preface to them strike deep into the same problem today. This truly modern mind saw the nexus between military and civil life when he wrote: "We cannot sufficiently forestall the time when the army is identified with the nation if we are ever to see the day when armies and wars exist no more, when the world consists of but one nation unanimous at last as regards its social structure—an event which should already have occurred long ago." To most readers Vigny is recalled as the dramatic and lyric poet, contemporary of Lamartine, Balzac, Hugo, and a host more present to us than he in the ambience of the late Empire and the Restoration. But in this work, as Edward Sackville-West has written, he reveals himself as "a man who had learnt that few things are really worth saying but that what must be said had better be said like this."

The stories are spare, compelling, and still believable today. The translator's enlightening introduction helps us examine intelligently a world the author explores with the detachment born only of intimate knowledge plus compassionate criticism. An important book for Americans at this time.

Indian Idyl

THE LIGHT IN THE FOREST. By Conrad Richter. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

A brief and touching idyl of Indian tribal culture in the early days of our history. The story is that of a white boy, adopted by the Delawares, who is forced to return to the civilized ideals and "restrained manner of existence" which repelled the first Americans. The tone is nostalgic rather than hortatory, but Mr. Richter has done such a good job in understanding and sympathizing with "either side" that he is open to the suspicion of being an artist.

Life in Harlem

SIMPLE TAKES A WIFE. By Langston Hughes. Simon and Schuster. $1.95.

These popular and entertaining sketches of Negro life in Harlem form an interesting contrast with Richard Wright's "The Outsider." Mr. Hughes is not unaware of the race problem either; it is really the central issue of his book, viewed here from the standpoint of the common man and with bitter laughter. But the animal pleasures and all too human follies of ordinary life, black or white, are also stressed—the binding cord of humanity which Wright temporarily at least has severed. One may regret only that Mr. Hughes has made these stories a little too popular and somewhat mechanical in execution.

Close to Horror

CHILDREN ARE BORN ON SUNDAY. By Jean Stafford. Harcourt, Brace. $3.

There is something here that is close to horror, and several of these stories flutter in the realm of madness. "The Interior Castle" is a remarkable description of pain. "The Maiden" is a brilliant account of a loving and affectionate German couple—the models of domestic bliss for an admiring circle of Americans in Heidelberg—whose marriage was consummated in a bath of blood. But this new volume of Miss Stafford's stories has greater range, as well as depth, than some of her previous work. She has come to balance the virtuosity of her talent by a consistent regard for those who have been exploited by the brutalities of civilization as well as by the aberrations of psychobiology. She has found —one hopes deeply it will continue—a wider framework for the ogres and succubi who hover around her pen. These are excellent tales.

A Negro Family

GO TELL IT ON THE MOUNTAIN. By James Baldwin. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

A mature and skilful first novel by a writer of talent. The story concerns the somewhat morbid relationships of the members of a Negro family who are gathered together in a religious sect. Determined on salvation, they are cast down by sin. Their tangled histories are unraveled very well indeed, and only the final impact of the novel is somewhat muffled. Mr. Baldwin has placed himself, along with Ralph Ellison, in the advanced path of Negro writing today; he is determined to break out of the "cage" of his material, which might also be viewed, however, as the source and spring of his art.

Music

B. H. Haggin

THOUGH Lincoln Kirstein thought it advisable to step before the curtain and justify the presentation of Lew Christensen's "Filling Station" by the interest he hoped it would have for the audience as a document in the early history of what became the New York City Ballet, the audience knew better than he and responded to the piece not with an interest in it as history but with delight in its moment-to-moment operation as a work of art. "Filling Station" takes its place with Loring's "Billy the Kid" and Robbins's "Fancy Free" as one of the enduring works, one of the classics of American ballet—brilliant in its observation, its dance invention, its organization. So brilliant and so completely successful that, as in the case of "Billy the Kid," one wonders why the eye and mind that produced it did not produce anything as good after it.

I was going to say as in the case of "Fancy Free" too; but Robbins produced several brilliant ballets for musical shows; and now he has given us "The Afternoon of a Faun," in which a keen perception about the people of the world bounded by the walls and mirrors of the dance studio is presented effectively in movement keyed to the scale and tone of Debussy's music.

In "Filling Station" young Jacques d'Amboise's brilliant dancing is exciting not only in itself but for what it promises; Janet Reed again demonstrates her superb gift for comedy; and there are excellent performances by Maule, Barnett, Bigelow, Zompakos, O'Brien, and the rest. And among the good things about "The Afternoon of a Faun" is how well it uses the special gifts of LeClercq and Moncion—how much it profits by the way each of them establishes her or himself as a powerful presence on a stage.

That, I might add, is something—the only thing—Tallchief doesn't do; and it makes the difference between her Swan Queen with its unbelievable perfection and beauty, and Danilova's with its projection of personal force and radiance.

MACDOWELL'S piano concerto No. 2, played well by Sanroma with the Eastman-Rochester Symphony under Hanson, is a gifted American's expertly made copy of a nineteenth-century European model. With Hanson's "Romantic" Symphony (Columbia).

Loeffler's "A Pagan Poem" has beautifully wrought details, but isn't a well-integrated piece. Rosenthal's performance with the Paris Philharmonic is good; but the extensive piano part is played on a poor-sounding instrument. With Scriabin's "Poem of Ecstasy" (Capitol).

I regret having to report that Howard Swanson's "Short Symphony," which got a New York Critics' Circle citation, makes no sense to me. Nor do I like what I do understand of the mixture of the traditional and the new in Meyer Kupferman's "Little Symphony." Good performances by Litschauer and the Vienna State Opera Orchestra (Vanguard).

I have to report also that John Vincent's Quartet No. 1, which for Virgil Thomson "sings and dances its happy way through four remarkably integrated movements," is to my ears diffuse and amorphous. Good performance by the American Art Quartet (Contemporary).

A big event is the Schneider Quartet's recording of Haydn's Opus 20 (Haydn Society). Of the works, Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are very fine; Nos. 4 and 5 are among the outstanding examples of the genre; and No. 6 is moderately engaging, though of lesser stature. As for the performances, one hears this time not only exciting life in all the parts but the beautifully integrated ensemble playing of a quartet of the first rank.

Playing of this caliber is also done by the New Music Quartet in two engaging works by minor composers of the eighteenth century: Stamitz's Quartet Opus 14 and Richter's Op. 5 No. 1 (Bartok).

The Paganini Quartet's performance of Beethoven's Opus 74 ("Harp") (on one RCA Victor record with the previously issued Opus 59 No. 3) hasn't the

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fluidity, sensitiveness, and integration of the recently issued Budapest Quartet performance, but its recorded sound is more beautiful.

In the fine pre-war Busch-Serkin Trio performance of Schubert's beautiful Trio Op. 100 Adolf Busch played with an agreeable tone that he doesn't have in the newly issued performance, and Serkin with a simplicity and fluidity that also are missing at times in the new performance, where slower tempos induce him to strain for bigness of utterance (Columbia).

I have heard Szigeti begin a recital with a tremulous, wiry tone that became steady and luminous as he warmed up; but I have never heard him produce sounds as shockingly unpleasant as the ones all the way through Beethoven's Sonata Op. 96; and since they are not the sounds that lend themselves to phrasing, the playing is without musical interest. In Schubert's Rondo Brilliant Opus 70 there is better playing of the violin and the music (Columbia).

Though Leonard Rose plays well in Franck's Sonata I find the work less effective on the cello than on the usual violin. Leonid Hambro's playing of the piano part isn't always clear. With Grieg's Cello Sonata Opus 36 (Columbia).

Record Notes

BEETHOVEN: Piano Concerto No. 2: Backhaus with Vienna Philharmonic under Krauss (London); good performance.

Piano Concerto No. 5: Gieseking with Philharmonic Orchestra under von Karajan (Columbia); fine, though lightweight performance.

Piano Sonatas Op. 2, No. 2; Op. 57 ("Appassionata"); Casadesus (Columbia); performance of the early sonata exaggeratedly dry; that of the "Appassionata" alternately violent and coy.

Piano Sonatas Op. 53 and Op 109: Serkin (Columbia); effective performance of Op. 109; but "Waldstein" shows Serkin's characteristic lapses of control.

Piano Sonata Op. 106 ("Hammerklavier"); Backhaus (London); mild, stolid performance that is fantastically inappropriate.

BRAHMS: Piano Concerto No. 2 Rubinstein with Boston Symphony under Munch (Victor); a high-powered performance which really doesn't take the music seriously.

Piano Quartet No. 2: Curzon with members of the Budapest Quartet (Columbia); excellent performance.

Symphony No. 2: Toscanini with the N. B. C. Symphony (Victor); superb performance.

GABRIELLI: Two Canzone for double string orchestra; Munchinger with the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra (London); pleasant music in a fine performance. (With Teleman's uninteresting Viola Concerto in G Major).

MENDELSSOHN: Overture, Nocturne, and Scherzo from "A Midsummer Night's Dream"; Van Beinum with the Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam (London); fine performance. (With Schubert's "Rosamunde" music.)

MOZART: String Quartet K. 458; Griller Quartet (London); fair performance. (With the fine early quartet K. 168.)

PALESTRINA: Supplicationes for men's voices; Harvard Glee Club under Woodworth (Cambridge); superb music; performance crudely inflected. (With other fine pieces by Byrd, Lassus, Victoria and others.)

PISTON: Quintet for Strings and Piano; Earl Wild with the Walden Quartet (WCFM); each movement begins attractively but fails to carry through any very impressive musical thinking; performance effective; string tone very dry and shrill. (With Martinu's uninteresting String Quartet No. 6.)

SCHUBERT: Sonata in A Minor ("Arpeggione"); Gendron (cello) and Francaix (piano) (London); good performance. (With Schumann's Fantasiestücke, Op. 73, and Drei Romanzen, Op. 94.)

STRAUSS: Ein Heldenleben; Dorati with Minneapolis Symphony (Mercury); routine performance.

Suite from "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme"; Krauss with Vienna Philharmonic (London); excellent performance.

WAGNER: Siegfried's Rhine Journey and Funeral Music from "Götterdämmerung"; Prelude and Liebestod from "Tristan"; Steinberg with the Pittsburgh Symphony (Capitol); fair preformance.

French Art Songs: Debussy, Ravel, Chabrier: Jansen (baritone), and Bonneau (piano), Rampal (flute), Gendron (cello) (London); attractively straightforward singing of the inconsequential Chabrier and Ravel songs, which proves inadequate to the powerful Debussy songs.

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Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

them, as I can remember. And I never heard of any of our white neighbors flogging Negroes who worked for them. There was no hate in the hearts of the whites "in our neck of the woods" for the Negroes. They were well provided for with houses about as comfortable as we had to live in, with wells of good drinking water. When their larders became scanty of food, they came and were supplied from our smoke-house with meat, lard, etc. and with corn from our crib for meal. When father hired Negroes by the day or week or by the job, they were fed of the bounties that we had, and plenty of it, of course at the servants' table in the kitchen. Our mother always saw that they had enough.

But looking back from the vantage-point of the present day, we can see that the Negroes were sadly neglected sixty years ago, even forty years ago. So far as we knew, they seemed to be satisfied with their lot; and the white folk seemed not to care much whether the Negro had an equal right to an education, or to the exercise of his privilege of the franchise. Indeed, remarkable changes have taken place in the Black Belt within the life span of some of us, and for the betterment of both the white and the Negro races.

Most Southern white people welcome the present trend for the betterment of the Negro race and are willing to go along progressively, in an orderly manner, to provide more adequate facilities and opportunities for the social, economic, moral, and spiritual improvement of these our neighbors and fellow-Americans. Truly, a new day is dawning in the deep South, for which more and more of the right-thinking people of both races are longing and working. But we who were "brought up" with the Negro would much appreciate kind consideration from those who were not so fortunate, or unfortunate, as we, when they speak or write concerning us in their eagerness to hurry the completion of the transformation, whatever that might be. The transformation must come about gradually.

Clinton, Miss. JESSE L. BOYD

Chaplin in New Orleans

Dear Sirs: Permit me to make one small correction in William Murray's excellent article, Chaplin and His Censors [*The Nation,* March 21]. It is true that in New Orleans the pressure of the American Legion caused RKO Orpheum Theater managers to ban "Limelight" after three days. The public reaction, however, caused an independent theater to bring it back, and it played to a packed house every night for three weeks.

The courage shown by the managers of the Avenue Theater in presenting this excellent film should inspire others to resist the pressure groups that try to impose their will upon our industries and institutions.

New Orleans FRANK E. SMITH

Task of Liberalism

Dear Sirs: The world will little note nor long remember the platitudes Eisenhower is feeding the people, but it cannot avoid the consequences of his actions for decades to come. It is rather for the liberals to hereby dedicate themselves to the supreme task of defending our vanishing civil liberties and public domain. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this, because we all have a vested interest in preserving this nation, so life, liberty, and the just distribution of property shall not vanish as phrases from our land.

I salute *The Nation* as one of the finest publications still extant in the United States. May you never weaken!

WILBUR L. JENKINS

Phoenix, Ariz.

A Student Speaks

Dear Sirs: I have just read your special issue (June 28, 1952) dealing with the problem of How Free Is Free? It was a magnificent issue. Nowhere else have I read a series of articles which so clearly and precisely defined the trend of the times. I needed something material to which I could turn to help me solve the problems confronting all intelligent thinking people regarding the "fear," the monster which threatens to choke free expression and thought. Your issue has helped me understand the "fear."

I am a freshman in college. In student-packed rooms, in the classrooms, on the college paths, everywhere, people speak of McCarthyism. Some admire it—the essence of disillusionment; many hate it. People speak of the red scare, of Jenner, or Velde. I have felt that I have not taken interest enough in the actions of these men. I know their names and their aims but have not developed strong opinions about their actions. However, after reading this issue of *The Nation,* the confused problems seem to have focused in my mind. I see the threat. I hate it now, because I see that if we allow the McCarthys to run wild in their investigations, people will not be able to browse through dusty books, people will not be able to write what they feel, to speak what they think; and these are the silent joys of life and to kill them is to kill a part of living . . .

Thank you, sirs, for this fine issue. It is a work to be set alongside "Areopagitica," and even the "Bill of Rights."

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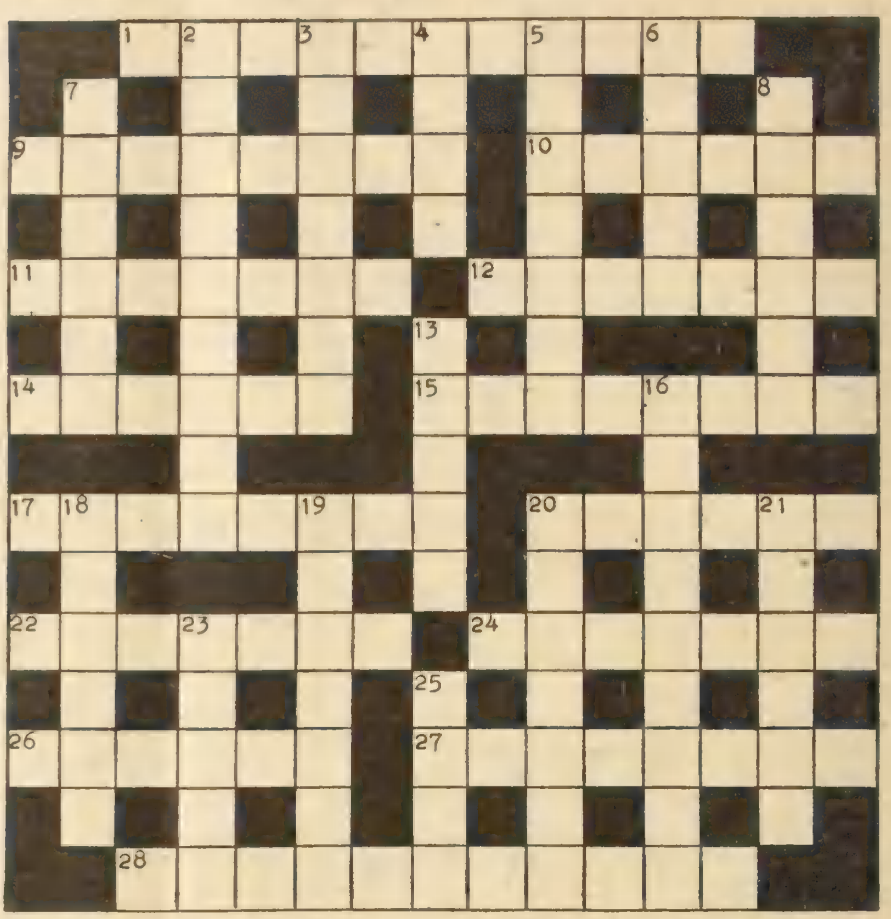
Crossword Puzzle No. 518

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 13 and 23 down. Implying the miracles of testament continue? (4, 7, 5, 5)
9 The determination of 1 is, in most cases. (8)
10 See 19 down.
11 Just a short day before the opening of the vessel. (7)
12 Alter screens in church perhaps. (7)
14 Redundant at bridge, unless you're trying to get around the city. (2-4)
15 Costume for musicians, perhaps. (8)
17 The power of a literary vehicle, described as wonderful. (3-5)
20 He's fit to be regarded with some awe. (6)
22 What a speleologist might be expected to do, on the surface? (7)
24 Billy-boy in later years? (7)
26 Hold it near, perhaps, as you might good counsel. (6)
27 Remembered what some people have done to officials? (8)
28 What rosemary is for. (11)

DOWN

2 This might show the character of the Chinese. (9)
3 Exaggeration made by a little child caught in falsehoods. (7)
4 Not even courage helps when they're against you. (4)
5 Longshoremen—and one might be 10. (7)
6 Tries incorrect formal procedures. (5)
7 and 8. You'll see it in black and white—it's advent is supposed to portend trouble. (6, 6)
13 See 1 across.
16 This sort of rate shouldn't be too high. (You might want to change it to locate I. B. M.) (9)
18 One dit-dit-dit, dah-dah-dah, dit-dit-dit is enough to get them to encircle criminals. (6)
19 and 10 across. Proposal to lower the taxes (at the same time looking for tax evaders)? (7, 6)
20 This enables some people to sail through *Mare Nostrum.* (7)
21 See 25 down.
23 See 1 across.
25 and 21. Make provisions for root sticks. (10)

~•~

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 517

ACROSS:—1 BELIEVE IT OR NOT; 8 ARMISTICE DAY; 10 KENILWORTH; 11 COWS; 13 AVAUNT; 14 TRACHEAL; 16 TRIGONAL; 17 BOBCAT; 19 IONS; 20 COMMANDANT; 22 SHORT-CHANGED; 23 DOUBLE FEATURES.

DOWN:—1 BLANK CARTRIDGE; 3 LAMENTATIONS; 3 EAST LONDON; 4 EDISON; 5 THEATERS; 6 REAM; 7 HORSE LATITUDES; 9 MONEYCHANGER; 12 ACCOUNTANT; 15 HAM ON RYE; 18 AMECHE; 21 CHUB.

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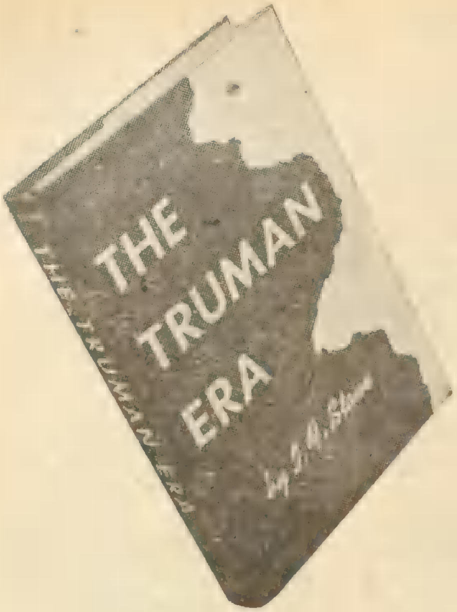

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NEW ANTI-ISRAEL POLICY?—J. A. DEL VAYO

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THE *Nation*

June 13, 1953
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Judge Charles E. Clark

Have We Misread the Constitution?

DISCUSSING WILLIAM CROSSKEY'S "POLITICS AND THE CONSTITUTION"

The Gideons Bible Case *W. H. Kilpatrick*

Republican Mink *Una F. Carter*

What Moroccans Want *Alexander Werth*

**EVERY
WEEK
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Around the U.S.A.

The Gideons Bible Case

New York

AT THE request of the editor I am giving herewith an account of my recent court testimony in the suit to declare illegal the Gideons' proposal to place Bibles in the public schools of Rutherford, New Jersey. The specific proposal of the Gideons was to give to each public-school child, unless his parents disapproved, a copy of the New Testament (King James version) bound with the Psalms and Proverbs.

I supported the contention of the complainant that for the public-school authorities to cooperate with the Gideons in their endeavor would violate the historic American principle of separation of church and state, as recently stated by the United States Supreme Court in the Everson case and reaffirmed in the McCollum case. The court said: "Neither a state nor the federal government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another."

Specifically, I asserted that such action by the public-school authorities in cooperation with the Gideons would constitute another instance of the Protestants' using the public schools to advance the Protestant religion against Roman Catholics, who reject the King James version of the Bible, against Jews, who reject the New Testament as opposed to their conception of religion, and also against those who reject any supernatural religion.

Because some may mistake my reason for opposing the Gideons' plan, let me explain that my name originated in Scotland and was brought to this country by a Presbyterian immigrant in the eighteenth century. Further, my father was a Baptist minister, as was his father before him, and it was out of this family background that I drew my belief in the separation of church and state, this being a strong Baptist doctrine.

Since 1910 the Gideons have been engaged in the public distribution of the King James Bible. The New York *Times* of August 22, 1949, carried a statement by a past president of the Gideons that they had placed "more than 3,000,000 Bibles in hotel rooms outside of New York City" and given "more than 4,200,000 copies of its special edition to school children throughout the country in the past three years."

That the intent of the Gideons is to teach their religion by these distributions of the Bible is clear from their published statements. Their 1948 constitution says that "the object of the Gideons is to win men and women for the Lord Jesus Christ." This aim is sought by, among other means, "placing the Bible—God's Holy Word—or portions thereof in hotels, hospitals, schools, institutions." That the Gideons mean to teach the Protestant Christian religion is clear from their choice of the King James version.

• Nothing is here implied against the Gideons for holding personally each to his conception of religion or for teaching it to his children in his home or Sunday school. The question is whether the action of the school board in cooperating with the Gideons to distribute their Bibles is an infringement upon the constitutional separation of church and state. The principal of a public school is an agent of the school board, and the United States Supreme Court has ruled that action by a school board is state action (*West Virgina State Board of Education* v. *Barnette,* 1943). The fact that the Gideons' New Testament is given only to pupils whose parents approve does not exonerate the authorities. Even so, the Gideons want the distribution as promising to further their aim of spreading the Protestant faith.

When I first went to school, in Georgia in 1878, the state public-school system was only five years old and public-school money sufficed for only three months of "free school." This free-school period was administered by a self-perpetuating board, or "academy," established in 1837, which during the remaining six months conducted a tuition school. It is not surprising that the school principal during the free term followed his usual custom of opening school with the reading of the Bible (King James version).

• These religious features of the newly established public school raised no question of the separation of church and state or of Protestant selfishness. They were simply community custom. In some places the local "academy" might be a Baptist or a Methodist institution, in which case a public school might be under the control of a specific church board. At that time the state constitution forbade appropriation of public funds for any sectarian purpose, but in Savannah in 1896-97 two Roman Catholic parochial schools were regularly included in the local school system. Certain Baptists, objecting to having public money support these parochial schools, took the matter to the courts, and the practice was henceforth forbidden. Then other persons pointed out the inconsistency of having a Baptist or Methodist board control a public school and had that practice also stopped. In such ways all over the country a clearer conception of the proper relationship of church and state in the matter of the public school began to make itself felt.

But even in 1953 these practices, stemming from the remote past of a unified Protestant point of view, still hold sway in various forms. In many public schools the Bible (King James version) is still read at the opening of the school day and in many the Lord's Prayer (Protestant version) is recited. Adult citizens are supposed to know what they do. If the disputed practice tends, even indirectly, to uphold the Protestant religion and if those who authorize it know this, or ought to under the given circumstances, then the practice is an instance of Protestant selfishness. WILLIAM HEARD KILPATRICK

DR. KILPATRICK is emeritus professor of the philosophy of education at Teachers College, Columbia.

Correction: Laurent B. Frantz, coauthor of the article Does Silence Mean Guilt? in last week's issue, was erroneously described in early copies off the press as law librarian of Duke University instead of Drake University.

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

End of the Beginning

No matter what lies ahead, the agreement in Korea is the best news since the Germans surrendered on June 6, 1945. The United Nations can rightly assert that aggression was defeated by the collective action of most of its members. Whether or not the cost was too high, history will eventually decide; and relatively few people will now bother to recall that the war might have ended in October, 1950, on terms as good as those now accepted, if General MacArthur and the ROKs had not started the ill-fated drive into North Korea and brought China into the conflict. But these considerations, as well as the acrimonious, seemingly endless truce talks, the months of stalling and haggling, will be shoved into the background by the overwhelming facts that men are no longer killing and dying and that the agreement when it came was one of compromise—a precedent of immense value to show that settlements with the Communists *can* be reached through negotiation and mutual concession. Skeptics should not forget that the final decision on prisoners of war represented the sacrifice by the Chinese and North Koreans of one of their most stubbornly held positions.

The Difficulties Ahead

This is not to say that the operation of the armistice or the political conference to follow will be easy. One has only to consider the stakes involved and the pitfalls surrounding President Eisenhower: the mounting nuisance value of the obdurate Syngman Rhee, the insistence of Republican Asia-firsters that Russia has won a cold-war victory in Korea, the prospect of a showdown at Bermuda with Britain and France on the necessity of dealing with Peking—not only in Korea but in the United Nations, and on the whole problem of peace in Asia wherever it arises. At this moment Syngman Rhee's capacity for dangerous mischief is as great as his incapacity to drive the Chinese out of Korea single-handed. He can do a lot to sabotage the truce and obstruct progress toward peace, knowing that the United States could hardly use force to bring its protégé and ally to terms. As these lines are written, it appears that he intends to exploit this possibility to the limit in spite of President Eisenhower's eloquent appeal for cooperation, the offer of a mutual-defense pact, and his pledge to use all available means to achieve Korea's unification.

All these difficulties are on "our side." But they bear directly on the greater difficulties that will arise as soon as the political negotiations with the Communists get under way. Fortunately those negotiations will not be conducted by American military men acting virtually on their own. The political conference will represent all the belligerents, and in spite of the hostages Mr. Eisenhower has distributed among his opponents, the Administration will have to regard the wishes of other powers with immense stakes in the Far East. The political settlement, when it comes, will inevitably reflect broader interests and a more varied play of forces. On the enemy side, the failure of the North Korean aggression and the terrible destruction of life and physical values that accompanied that failure should incline the Communist leaders to agree to a let-live peace—provided the United States permits wide discussion of Asian issues at the conference.

Cabinet on the Air

The script for the President's TV show last week was prepared by one of the leading public-relations firms in the country. It was a deft performance—smoothly written and well-paced—even if its "folksiness" was obviously contrived. It was also full of basic contradictions which added to its credibility as an authentic Republican document. "We're not going to regiment farms," said the President. But a minute later Secretary of Agriculture Benson was proposing to cut down agricultural surpluses through "programs from the grass roots that will prevent unreasonable supplies." Does Mr. Benson intend to achieve his objective by plowing under the wheat crop of every third Democrat, and call it "retributive justice" instead of "regimentation?" Then the President introduced Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, who discoursed charmingly on all the good things her new Department of Health, Welfare, and Education has in store for the country. But she forgot to mention that her first act as Secretary was to recommend budget cuts which practically destroyed the national municipal-health program and which affected the national education program so adversely that Commissioner of Education McGrath resigned in protest.

On the other hand, the President's brief statement on foreign affairs was impressive. "There's going to be no

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Munich," he said, "and at the same time there's going to be no risk of a general war." If not an inspired thought, it is at least a reassuring one. And the more we think about those who would inspire us these days, the more satisfied we are simply to be reassured.

Judge Goodman Declines

A complicated tax scandal has kept San Francisco in an uproar since May, 1951, when it first came to light. In San Francisco to investigate the matter, the House Judiciary subcommittee took the extraordinary step of serving a subpoena on Federal Judge Louis E. Goodman. Judge Goodman appeared but refused to answer questions concerning the courts on the ground that to do so would make the judiciary subservient to the legislative branch of the government. All seven of the Federal District Judges of Northern California in a signed statement presented to the subcommittee, expressed their unwillingness to testify "with respect to any judicial proceedings." "The Constitution," their letter said, "does not contemplate that such matters be reviewed by the legislative branch, but only by the appropriate appellate tribunals. The integrity of the federal courts, upon which liberty and life depend, require that such courts be maintained inviolate against the changing moods of public opinion."

Over the last four or five years, as we have pointed out from time to time, Congressional committees have been asserting by implication a power to review if not to reverse the decisions of federal judges. The San Francisco case is the latest manifestation of this tendency to make both the judicial and executive branches of the government subservient not merely to Congress but to particular committees. It is a dangerous trend.

Cleric on the Rampage

The Reverend Edward Lodge Curran, president of the International Catholic Truth Society and pastor of St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church in Brooklyn, in a fire-eating speech made, quite appropriately, to 1,800 city firemen at a communion breakfast on May 30, denounced the United Nations as "moth-eaten, disintegrated," urged support of the Bricker amendment, praised "that great American, great marine, and great Catholic, Senator Joe McCarthy," and wound up by telling his audience that "the day that Red China is admitted to the United Nations, the boys in Korea should throw down their arms and come home." There is one thing to be said of the go-it-aloners: they don't mince words. If the Reverend Mr. Curran speaks in this heady style at breakfast, what fine wild reckless words must he spew forth at luncheon or dinner meetings? He has long fancied himself as Secretary of State ex-officio, but we hadn't heard that he had taken over as commander-in-chief of the United Nations forces in Korea.

The Present Danger

II. McCarthy's Tactics

LAST week we called attention to some of the political factors that have paved the way for Joe McCarthy's march to power; the Senator, reports the National Committee for an Effective Congress, "is becoming a holder of effective power . . . a man who can get things done in government." In no small measure McCarthy's success to date has been based on a general misunderstanding of the real source of his strength.

A great deal has been written of course about McCarthy's tactics—his reckless attacks, his quick retreats, his use of the big lie—but what has been said somehow fails to get at the central issue. McCarthy's basic operational method was first developed, according to Miles McMillin of the Madison *Capital-Times,* by the elder La Follette. "Old Bob" would stake out a single issue, stamp it with his trademark, and then obstinately refuse to discuss anything else. The issue, of course, was selected with care. It always reflected some dominant popular concern. It was charged with emotion. And it was one on which La Follette's position could not be easily challenged or outflanked. Thus the opposition was forced to meet him on his own carefully chosen ground. No matter what the issues seemed to be at the outset, "La Folletteism" was the only issue on Election Day.

This, of course, is McCarthy's favorite gambit. He has selected—the story is that Father Edmund Walsh selected it for him—the dominant emotion-charged issue of communism. With exasperating consistency McCarthy refuses to discuss other issues; indeed, he insists that other issues have no meaning. Since he cannot be outflanked on the right and is quite indifferent to the "left," he has staked out a strong position. The dilemma the opposition faces is crudely suggested in a recent New York *Journal-American* editorial:

> We should like to ask the "liberals" a few questions.
>
> 1. Do you consider communism a danger in the United States? (If you don't so consider it, skip the remaining questions.)
>
> 2. If it is a danger, shouldn't it be exposed and removed?
>
> 3. If it should be exposed and removed, isn't that the rightful task of responsible legislative committees?

Baited by his outrageously provocative charges, McCarthy's opposition unthinkingly and uncritically says "yes" to question one, and then starts to argue with him about propositions two and three. But you cannot argue with McCarthy. Arguing with him is like arguing with a chronic anti-Semite; the anti-Semite invents new charges against the Jews as fast as the old ones are demolished.

McCarthy's exploitation of this basic tactic during the last two years has made him a national issue. It has forced his opposition to discuss *his* issue, in *his* terms, on *his* premises; in effect, he compels the opposition to collaborate with him in building his reputation and prestige. The outstanding collaborators are of course the newspapers. Having foolishly said "yes" to question one above, his opponents then find themselves forced to argue, first, that they are as violently opposed to communism as he is and then that their methods of fighting it are more effective than his. These are hard points to prove, but other and more substantial advantages accrue to McCarthy. For example, his unsavory background becomes quite immaterial. For if the domestic menace of communism is as great as he says it is, then it really does not matter that McCarthy is a bit uncouth or that he once accepted a large gratuity from the Lustron Corporation. Those who voted for him in Wisconsin last year knew all about his personal record—and they couldn't have cared less. In the same way, if he is right, his methods are apt to be regarded as unavoidable; you don't send a gentleman and scholar to clean out the toughs in the corner saloon. The "methods" of the mongoose may be unfair, but he kills the cobra.

THE MALANITES in South Africa use the same tactic. South Africa has more than its share of urgent social, economic, and political problems. But the Nationalists do not discuss problems; they discuss *apartheid,* a crazy scheme which the leader of the opposition Torch Commando accurately summed up as "the biggest political hoax in history." But the hoax works, and the reason was suggested in a London *Times* story (April 17) on the South African election: "The sentiment on this subject [*apartheid*] is the strongest permanent emotional force in South African politics; and the result of the election goes to show that a party offering a program of compromise is always at a disadvantage in that country." In short, where the struggle for power has been greatly intensified, a single emotion-charged issue can be most effective. People must be for or against it; they are forced to choose sides. Hitler's anti-Semitism was a similar hoax, and it worked for much the same reason. On a world scale communism is unmistakably a threatening reality; McCarthy's "menace of American communism" is a hoax. All the same, it is the force which holds the right-wing coalition together. As the *New Statesman and Nation* has pointed out (May 23), "it is a deep social malaise that finds the same outlet in anti-communism as that which so many Germans found in anti-Semitism." But fear and hatred of communism do not alone account for the potency of the issue. "By voting for McCarthy," reported Fred Sparks in a postmortem on last year's Wisconsin primary, "thousands felt that they were voting against Dean Acheson, against the draft of their sons, against the bleeding war in Korea, against the loss of China to the Reds, against excessive American involvement in far-off places."

It is a mistake, therefore, to keep the spotlight focused on McCarthy; this is what he wants his opposition to do. To let it appear that he is the issue is to foster the illusion that with his defeat the nightmare would end, but if McCarthy were to drop dead, the situation which he exploits so skilfully would still be with us. As long as the "anti-Communist crusade" remains a principal anti-recession strategy, McCarthy's ambitions neatly mesh with the larger objectives of important power-groupings.

Just as McCarthy's tactics provide an admirable "cover" for the objectives of the interest-groups that support him, so they divert attention from his miserable voting record. And here he is truly vulnerable. Huey Long was a demagogue of the left: wealth was to be shared, and every man was one day to be a king. But McCarthy has no social program, and his legislative achievements are nil. In its issue of October 17, 1952, the Madison *Capital-Times* urged Wisconsin farmers "to avoid being taken in by the biggest political confidence game in this generation" and warned them "to take their eyes off McCarthy's Communist bogyman and look at how he has been voting on measures that hit the farmers' pocket-book." Too long to quote here, the *Capital-Times* analysis of McCarthy's voting record on farm legislation should have turned out a landslide rural vote against him. To divert attention from this record, McCarthy could well have afforded to finance the personal attacks that were directed at him.

But while McCarthy's tactics cannot be successfully used by his opposition, he can exploit them with deadly effect. For he has possession of certain weapons which they lack. Should his critics start to press the inquiry into his personal affairs too energetically or become too vocal about his voting record—his most conspicuous vulnerability—he can always have them haled before the Congressional inquisition. "A religious war of this character, magnitude, and gravity," writes Lawrence Dennis in a recent issue of his newsletter, "needs a strategic concept, a Führer, expert inquisitors, and purges. . . . It is like the old Indian custom for purging an unpopular chief. [The Chief] would be charged with an unmentionable vice. If he admitted it, he was naturally condemned to death for being so vile. If he denied it, he was condemned to death for lying. You can't beat the game under a well-run inquisition."

But there are ways of beating McCarthy's game, and with these we will deal in next week's issue.

GRAB FOR THE ATOM

III. Safeguarding the Future . . *by Leland Olds*

THE new technology of the atomic age must be accompanied by the development of new institutions if its full possibilities for peace and plenty are to be realized. We must head off the drive to pour the new atomic wine into old institutional bottles. The story of the explosive power of atomic bombs may then be overshadowed by the story of the new national and international agencies under whose regulation man will progress toward dominion over the resources of the universe. The Atomic Energy Commission provides a prototype for such institutions, which will transcend without superseding the private-enterprise system and by undertaking great projects for the creation of new inexhaustible resources will be able to assure the continuance of the tremendous resource-consuming structure reared by private enterprise.

Forward steps in man's dominion over resources have always molded institutions. The gift of fire, domestication of animals, invention of the wheel, harnessing of steam, the dynamo—each has been reflected in the organization of human society as well as in its technology. Similarly, as the sociologist William Fielding Ogburn has pointed out, the social effects of the release of atomic fission "may be many, radical, and profound."

The atomic age comes at a critical moment. War's demands, superimposed on the vast peace-time demands of the so-called "advanced" nations, threaten their own high standards and also the hopes of other peoples to rise to higher levels of material progress. If we would guard the world from such a discouraging future we must foster the institutions that will open up a new era in the application of mind as the ultimate resource of the universe. So as Congress turns to consider amendment of the Atomic Energy Act, let us glance briefly at the agency it created to preside over the first stages of atomic development.

The evolution of the new institution began when the President of the United States used his war powers to initiate an unprecedented mobilization of scientific and industrial genius under the army's super-secret Manhattan Engineer District. But before the first atomic bomb

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THIS is the third and concluding article of a series by Leland Olds, former chairman of the Federal Power Commission and one of this country's foremost authorities on public power.

exploded, the peace-time implications of the new source of energy became apparent, and the army therefore appointed a committee on post-war policy. In December, 1944, the committee recommended consideration of a special government authority to control the funds and distribution of work in the atomic-energy field after the war. This authority, the committee held, should concern itself not merely with the development of weapons but with atomic power in general, including its peace-time applications.

THE ATOMIC Energy Act of 1946, product of long hearings before an unusually able committee of Congress, established such an authority in the Atomic Energy Commission. This commission is essentially a publicly financed corporation. In an important sense, the Tennessee Valley Authority was its prototype. Like the T. V. A., the A. E. C. is a new instrument of democracy, combining the flexibility of the corporate form with the responsibility of government in the field of public investment. Both have as a primary objective the more efficient use of energy resources to promote wider economic opportunity. The new institution, which inherited the government's interests, property, and facilities in the whole field of atomic development, offers tremendous possibilities for future peaceful conquests in the field of resources. The institutional dynamics of the T. V. A., which brought such great progress to the South, may be used on a vastly larger scale by the A. E. C. to bring progress to the world.

The Congressional declaration of purpose set the stage. The Atomic Energy Act was designed "to effectuate the declared policy of the people of the United States that, subject at all times to the paramount objective of assuring the common defense and security, the development and utilization of atomic energy shall, so far as practicable, be directed toward improving the public welfare, increasing the standard of living, strengthening free competition in private enterprise, and promoting world peace."

Surely this statement of purpose must stand. And there should be no misinterpretation of its reference to private enterprise. The emphasis is on strengthening *free competition.* In other words, it is the declared purpose of the American people that their control of atomic energy be used to arrest the monopolistic trends so pervasive in private enterprise today. Here is no ground for turning the development of atomic power over to private monopolies or for granting the right of exclusive patents in this field.

As for promoting world peace, what greater step could be taken than to use this new institution as a basis for the country's participation in a United Nations organization on the same model, which would work to eliminate the international conflicts over the world's limited energy resources? What greater evidence of friendship can we offer to peoples seeking release from poverty than to use this new institution to help them build a strong energy economy without those foreign-investment strings which Woodrow Wilson once termed the "modern form of conquest"?

THE COMMISSION set up to effectuate this purpose is essentially a five-man board of directors. A general manager serves as the corporation's chief administrative officer, responsible for the formulation of policies and programs by the commission's seven divisions—research, production, engineering, military applications, reactor development, biology, medicine, and raw materials. The Division of Reactor Development has primary responsibility for the application of atomic energy to development of electric power.

Under the law the commission's major programs are directed at (1) assisting and fostering private scientific research and development; (2) control of scientific and technical information and the dissemination of such information to encourage scientific progress; (3) sharing of information concerning practical industrial use of atomic energy on a reciprocal basis as soon as effective safeguards against its use for destructive purposes can be devised; (4) federally conducted research and development to assure adequate scientific and technical progress; and (5) government control of production, ownership, and use of fissionable material to assure the common defense and the greatest possible exploitation of the possibilities. The fields in which the commission is directed to foster research and development are broad. They include nuclear processes, the theory and production of atomic energy, the utilization of fissionable materials for medical, biological, health, or military purposes, and the utilization of these materials for all other purposes, including industrial activities.

The law provides that whenever in its opinion any industrial, commercial, or other non-military use has been sufficiently developed to be of practical value, the commission shall report to the President of the United States, stating its estimate of the social, political, economic, and international effects of such use and suggesting necessary or desirable legislation. The President is required to transmit the commission's report to Congress with his recommendations. This provision will unquestionably serve as the basis for the expected hearings before the Joint Congressional Committee.

The law provides further that after this report has been before Congress for a period of ninety days of active session the commission may license such manufacture and use, in accordance with the act. And here we come to the place where Congress gives effect to the anti-monopoly statement of purpose, for the licenses must be on a non-exclusive basis. If activities under any license might foster the growth of monopoly, unlawful competition, or any other trade position inimical to the entry of freely competitive enterprise into the field, the commission is directed to refuse a license.

The law provides also that if useful energy is developed in the production of fissionable material it may be used by the commission, transferred to other government agencies, or sold to public or private utilities under contracts providing for reasonable resale prices. A beginning is made here in bringing atomic energy under federal power policy.

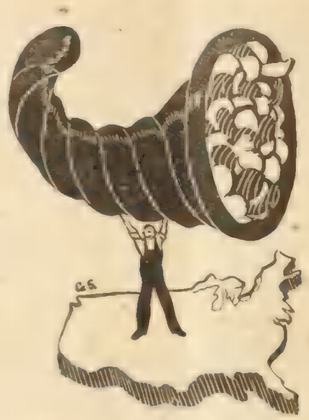
FINALLY, we come to a significant feature of this new institution. For the law specifically authorizes the commission to contract with public or private concerns; and in fact from the start its operations have been carried out largely by private industry. Great corporations like General Electric, Westinghouse, and Monsanto Chemical have been employed to design, construct, and operate the plants which produce the essential ingredients of the atomic industry. Altogether, it is estimated that some 5,000 firms are participating or have participated on this basis.

Thus the immense creative abilities of our private-enterprise system, our scientific institutions, and our universities have been brought together under the general guidance of the greatest scientists of the free world in what is essentially a vast cooperative public enterprise. Throughout, the emphasis is on progress, unhindered by the restrictions of private monopoly.

Today the Atomic Energy Commission is conducting its business, involving an investment greater than the combined assets of General Motors and United States Steel, with only about 7,500 employees on its pay roll. The rest of the 150,000 workers engaged in the work are on the pay rolls of private enterprise. Technically, the atomic-energy industry may be a government monopoly, but it is clearly one which can be expanded into private industry, provided controls related to the management of this part of the public domain are established.

SUCH A MOBILIZATION of the technical genius of the free world to bring a new resource to the point of use is beyond the capacity of a single corporation or group of corporations without the aid of government. It is, in fact, beyond the scope of private enterprise as a whole, in amount of capital required, in risk, and in the nature of the returns. A new institution like the Atomic Energy Commission is required to make possible such great cooperative effort. In historical perspective we may see this as the way in which democracy is adapting itself to a new technological age without sacrificing the values associated with private enterprise.

An understanding of the significance of such an institution is vital to our progress in the era which lies ahead. For we are dealing with something vastly larger than mere command of a supplementary fuel for production of electric power, crucial as that may be in our relations with other peoples. We are entering an age in which, under pressure of our tremendous industrialization, conventional resources are diminishing in the face of rising use. Today the United States is using some 50 per cent of the world output of mineral resources, its percentage rising to 66 per cent for oil. A nation of 150,000,000 people, we are tapping the resources of a score of nations for critical metals, even for the uranium to make our bombs and keep our nuclear fires burning. At the same time, if we are sincere in our Point IV professions, we shall be encouraging peoples numbering ten times our population to increase their demands upon these resources. And these peoples are becoming very conscious of the fact that the extraction of their natural resources to meet the needs of the Western world does not mean rising standards of living for themselves. In other words, it may be less important to outstrip the world in the production of atomic weapons than to develop institutions which can carry out a new dynamic conservation policy, one that conserves by creating resources.



Nearly fifty years ago Gifford Pinchot, the true father of conservation in this country, emphasized its significance in these words: "The conservation of natural resources . . . is the key to the safety and prosperity of the American people and all the people of the world for all time to come. . . . Moreover, conservation is the foundation for permanent peace among the nations and the most important foundation of all." A generation later, just six months before Pearl Harbor, Pinchot addressed the American Scientific Congress on "Conservation as a Foundation of Permanent Peace." The main point of his address was a proposal that "the nations of the Americas prepare now for an endeavor to bring all nations together, at the right moment, in a common effort for conserving the natural resources of the earth, and for assuring to each nation access to the raw materials it needs, without recourse to war." "No nation," Pinchot continued, "is self-sufficient in essential raw materials. The welfare of every nation depends upon access to raw materials which it lacks. Fair access to natural resources from other nations is therefore an indispensable condition of permanent peace." He suggested establishment of a commission representing all the American countries to work for this objective.

In our post-war world such a commission would be an agency of the United Nations. It might have three divisions—one responsible for conventional resources, one for atomic energy, and one to push the frontier of man's dominion over the resources of the universe to the point where fair access would no longer mean an apportionment from scarcity. This agency would encourage great programs for the development of limitless resources yet untapped, so that each nation could meet its needs without diminishing the shares of others.

TODAY the question is raised whether there will be enough source materials for our atomic-energy program. According to information released by the Atomic Energy Commission, we are now obtaining such fissionable raw materials from the Belgian Congo, Canada, and our own Colorado Plateau. Additional material is expected from South Africa, Australia, and other deposits in the United States. Further search in this country and abroad is considered likely to enlarge A. E. C. supplies.

But what of other nations? As Robert Maynard Hutchins, associate director of the Ford Foundation, recently remarked, the United States needs atomic energy least of all nations for peaceful purposes and thinks it needs it most for military purposes. "If it were not for the fact," Mr. Hutchins said, "that the United States, which regards atomic energy as a weapon, is the center of research and development in this field, atomic energy might be coming to the rescue of countries that are poor in energy and that are unlikely to reach a satisfactory standard of living unless they can find new resources of it." He mentioned India particularly as hardly likely to achieve industrialization on a large scale in the absence of discoveries of coal and oil or the exploitation of atomic energy.

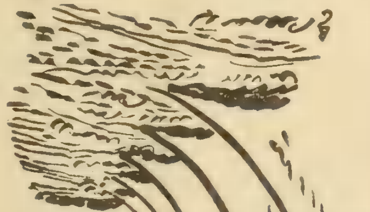
Similarly, the President's Materials Policy Commission found that Western Europe's continued economic progress is endangered by a particularly serious energy problem. Dependent upon coal as its chief source of energy, Western Europe is being forced more and more to dig coal from poorer seams at greater depths. This explains the interest of Great Britain, France, Norway, Holland, and Belgium in the development of nuclear power. The republics of Latin America are also eager for the benefits of the atomic age and for much the same reason. In general their fuel resources are of low grade and limited in amount. So, all told, nuclear energy can play a great part in the adjustment of nations to the new world order. But this will only be possible if we keep the control of our atomic program in the hands of our new governmental institution and so assure our effective participation in a United Nations atomic program designed to give the energy-poor nations an opportunity to share in our economic progress.

IN TERMS OF this approach the atomic-energy program must be recognized as just the first in a series of programs aimed at sustaining widely distributed advances in civilization. Such advances, if freed from the restrictions of monopoly, hold the promise of ending want everywhere in the world. But in the field of energy they must unlock much greater stores than the most optimistic estimates of the earth's uranium and thorium suggest are available.

The Congressional hearings which led up to the Atomic Energy Act are full of hints that science can meet the need. As Dr. Philip Morrison said, man will not live the same again for this advance; the changes which will come are sure and great beyond prediction. "When science learned to control mechanical and thermal energy," he said, "we had the early nineteenth-century maturing of the industrial way of life. When science learned control over electrical energy, we had the manifold changes which electricity brought to daily life and the structure of nations. When the chemists understood the nature of chemical energy, there was opened the way to new materials, to freedom from the restrictions of mine and farm, to the changes which chemistry is even today still bringing us. Now we have nuclear energy, based on a more profound insight into and control over matter itself."

Some conception of what this new age may bring is provided by the testimony of Dr. Alvin M. Weinberg, director of nuclear research at the A. E. C.'s Oak Ridge national laboratory. To him the increased production of radioactive carbon, now a by-product of the atomic program, offers greater possibility of providing the world with unlimited low-cost energy than the reactor piles which command so much attention. He said: "Just as plants synthesize sugar under the influence of sunlight, so many other chemical reactions—some of considerable importance industrially—can be made to proceed in the intense radiation field of a chain-reacting pile. . . . If man could duplicate this photosynthesis process [of manufacturing sugar out of carbon dioxide, water, and sunlight] first in the laboratory and then on an industrial scale, the bountifulness of the earth would be multiplied indefinitely. The world's fuel and food supply would be assured as long as the sun continues to emit light. . . . If as a result of our greatly increased production of radioactive carbon the riddle of photosynthesis is solved, that, and not power plants or atomic bombs, will stand as the greatest achievement of nuclear power."

Former President Conant of Harvard, now ambassador to Germany, saw the same vision in his crystal ball when he spoke at the Diamond Jubilee of the American Chemical Society. Looking ahead to the end of the century, he saw the era of liquid fossil fuels—oil and natural gas—coming to an end and worry about future coal supplies increasing. He saw atomic energy failing to live up to expectations as a way of lengthening the period in which man can tap the energy stored in the earth's crust. Solar energy, on the other hand, in his vision would have significance in 1975, when the American Chemical Society would be celebrating its 100th anniversary, and by the end of the century would be the dominating producer of industrial power.



THE NEW institutions of the atomic age, following the pattern of the Atomic Energy Commission, must be capable of undertaking such huge resource-creating projects, unlimited by the rules which govern investment decisions in the private-capital market. They must be able to finance enterprises offering tremendous gains to succeeding generations though not profits that can be translated into present dollars. They must hold the resources so created as the inalienable possession of the people.

Just beyond the horizon are such great achievements as these: (1) direct transformation of atomic energy into electric energy without the intervention of the steam boiler; (2) extension of the use of atomic fission to other elements than uranium and thorium, with resulting possibilities in the way of transmutation of matter; (3) ultimate control of the huge energy released by hydrogen fusion, the principle of the H-bomb; (4) utilization of the sun's energy through the photosynthesis process described above; (5) a revolution in food supply based on the same process; (6) harnessing of the internal energy of the earth, which Professor S. Devons, British authority on energy resources, places as intermediate between atomic and solar energy; and (7) large-scale low-cost desalting of sea water to provide irrigation for desert areas.

These possibilities can be realized if we build and maintain the necessary institutions. A peace-time budget equal to 10 per cent of what we are spending for war, if applied to such purposes by a great public agency like the Atomic Energy Commission employing the creative power of private enterprise, would mean the cooperative utilization of the only real resource which is inexhaustible —mind.

The great challenge to all of us is to understand the lines along which democratic society is advancing in the field of resources and to make sure that any proposals to amend the Atomic Energy Act will be weighed in terms of their effect upon the development of institutions adapted to the atomic age and to the preservation of this new sector of the public domain.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

New Anti-Israel Policy?

Paris

THOUGH its role in the Middle East has greatly diminished, France is following very attentively the developments in the Arab states. This is natural if only on account of their political and religious influence over the restless populations of Tunisia and Morocco and other Moslem sections of the French Union. Within the last few days a meeting of all French envoys to Arab countries was held at Beirut to review the entire situation.

From the beginning French diplomacy has been skeptical about the prospect of establishing MEDO (Middle East Defense Organization). Much earlier than Mr. Dulles, and before his recent extensive trip, the Quai d'Orsay had come to the same conclusion as the Secretary of State—that the creation of a Middle East defense organization would have to be postponed because the Arabs are "so engrossed with their quarrels with Israel and with Great Britain or France that they pay little heed to the menace of Soviet communism." But French observers are convinced that Washington has not given up its plans for Near and Middle East security and that what is happening now is a readjustment of previous ideas and tactics, following particularly Turkish advice.

It seems, in fact, that Ankara was the real center of interest in Mr. Dulles's visit to twelve countries. Historically, Turkey is in a favorable position to exercise its influence throughout that area. While it is true that the first explosions of Arab nationalist revolt against foreign rule, during the nineteenth and even well into the twentieth century, were directed against the Sultan-Caliph in Constantinople, these could not blot out four centuries of Turkish dominance. Since the beginning of the cold war Turkish diplomacy, intelligent and daring, has been questioning whether the process of nationalist break-up into a number of "sovereign" but politically immature states would prevent a counter-process, based on fear of Russia, toward a kind of new regional unity or organization that would support the military plans of the Atlantic coalition—much as the new Balkan alliance is designed to do.

Turkish diplomacy, which played so important a part in bringing the Balkan pact into existence, realizes of course that the problem of the Arab states is quite different. The three members of the Balkan pact—Greece, Turkey, and Yugoslavia—had already achieved more or less internal stability, Greece thanks to a permanent American "presence" which has been helpful not only in solving the country's financial difficulties but also in surmounting successive crises in the government itself. In the Arab states nothing was stable and nothing was strong. Even the two "iron men," Naguib of Egypt and Shisheikly of Syria, were having trouble keeping the extreme nationalists in line and avoiding irrevocable decisions which would produce a definitive break with the West. This was still more evident in the case of the weaker links of the Arab chain, such as Iraq. In the opinion of the Turks the most important thing to do at present is to try to concentrate Arab distrust and hate exclusively on the state of Israel, diverting it as far as possible from Britain and the United States. In their view Israel might also be brought into a Middle East defense system but at a later stage and not as the "protégé" of the United States.

IN ANKARA officials frankly told Mr. Dulles that Turkey had concluded that participation by the Arab states in any defense organization, on the model of NATO or of the projected European Defense Community, was most unlikely for the foreseeable future. They recommend elasticity, subtlety, and patience, a new approach aimed at appeasing the Arab countries by spending a lot of money there and by convincing them that the United States would never sacrifice them under pressure by the powerful forces in America engaged in the promotion and aid of the state of Israel. In his June 1 radio address Mr. Dulles pointed out that the tripartite declaration of 1950 in which the United States, Great Britain, and France guaranteed the frontiers and armistice lines of Israel failed "to reassure the Arabs." It did not surprise French observers when he declared that the United States must make clear its determination to stand "fully behind that declaration" in order to calm Arab fears of Israeli aggression.

Of course every diplomatic operation in the Middle East has to by-pass the obstacle of American-British rivalry in the area. Years ago French diplomacy might have engaged in a competition from which France could have benefited as a third factor. Today this barely submerged struggle only makes it more difficult for the French to avoid annoying the Americans by taking the side of the British and vice versa. French officials are worried by the dynamism behind the United States effort to assume leadership in the Middle East. They know that there is a point at which Great Britain must stand firm: it cannot abandon entirely its hold on Suez—the last strategic route in the defense of what is left of the old Empire.

An interesting aspect of the situation has been the behavior of the Russians. Contrary to what has often been charged, they are not carrying on inflammatory propaganda against Britain among the Arab nationalists. They probably prefer the presence of British military forces, which are there exclusively to protect British interests, to control by the United States, which would mean transforming the Middle East into a strong military base against the Soviet Union.

To sum up the story, what is expected here is a new approach by the United States to the problem of Mediterranean and Middle Eastern defense—a slower, more diplomatic approach, but by no means one that would mean abandonment of the idea of a Middle East defense organization or of American dominance in the area.

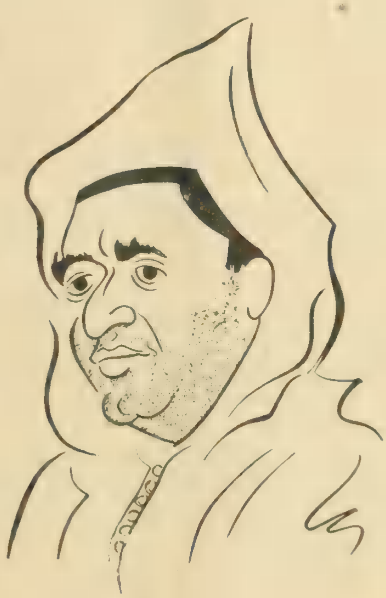
MOROCCO IN TURMOIL

II. What Moroccans Want . . *by Alexander Werth*

Casablanca

FROM the French in Morocco one hears a little of everything: approval of colonial exploitation in its most blatant form, insistence that it is France's sacred duty to the Arabs to allow them to benefit *gradually* from French culture and economic planning, the conviction that it is no earthly use looking too far ahead —"Heaven only knows what might not happen in the next ten years; we've got to keep the place under control and see that the 350,000 Frenchmen who have settled here come to no harm."

Up on the hill, in the beautiful quarter of Rabat, the administrative center of Morocco—a whole city of sumptuous white villas—I had numerous talks with French officials and found most of them a good deal more reasonable and less *simpliste* than the fire-eating M. Boniface of whom I wrote last week. They readily admitted French shortcomings. Native wages were of course too low, and the Residence was having to fight a stiff battle against the *réticence*—a lovely euphemism—of certain employers. Only 200,000 little Moroccans were at school instead of 1,500,000, but it took time to train teachers; the situation was much worse in Pakistan or Egypt or Iraq. Lots of young Moroccans ("sorry, I can't recall the exact figure") went to French *lycées*. It wasn't true that the French settlers had taken all the good land—they had taken just "ordinary" land and improved it, not more than 20 per cent of the arable land, anyway. The hardest of all problems was to get the small peasant to use modern methods of cultivation; the peasants bred too many inferior animals, which ate up everything, including young trees, but were not strong enough to pull a metal plow; hence the tendency to stick to the old wooden plow which cut the harvest in half—it was a vicious circle. But gradually they were learning, irrigation was making rapid progress, and the French officials were doing their utmost to increase output. Unfortunately, the Moroccans weren't used to administering anything —"a year or two ago we asked the local Moroccan authorities to organize the proper registration of births and deaths; after several months of complete muddle we had to take over, using the Moroccans merely as a screen."



Sidi Mohammed
Sultan of Morocco

Many Frenchmen went to a lot of trouble to explain why they could not agree to the Sultan's proposed reforms in municipal administration, legal procedure, and labor regulations. We really haven't the right, they said, to throw the Moroccan workers into the arms of Communists or trade-union extremists! "For my part," one important official remarked, "I think we should have company unions along Vichy lines." I noticed, indeed, on more than one occasion that Vichy was still considered a respectable tradition. The fellow who really started the the trouble—how often I heard Frenchmen here say it!—was President Roosevelt, who over the heads of the French authorities arranged a private meeting with the Sultan and put all sorts of crazy ideas into his head about the Atlantic Charter and Morocco's right to independence. The Moroccan nationalists and the people around the Sultan will tell you that, alas, the Americans aren't what they were in Roosevelt's day. It seems, indeed, true that the new American Administration is not encouraging Arab nationalism; one theory is that the Casablanca riots played into the hands of the French, giving them an excuse to scream about the menace of communism, which they alone were capable of checking.

The Sultan is in an awkward spot. He feels a prisoner of the French in Morocco and has repeatedly asked that French-Moroccan negotiations be transferred from Rabat to Paris, where he can rely on a good deal of support from public opinion. But the French government will not hear of it. Now the Sultan wants to go to France for a "rest cure." Whether his plan will be approved remains to be seen; the Residence has no desire for him to meet, say, M. Mauriac, or the more liberal type of politician like Edgar Faure, or even the repentant Robert Schuman.

The Sultan's line, so far as I could discover from conversations with his son, Prince Moulay Hassan, and others who know him well, was something like this: It would be disastrous if the French suddenly pulled out leaving the country without technicians, police, or administrative *cadres*. But a time limit to their rule should be fixed, say, twenty-five years. Meanwhile steps should be taken to train Moroccan *cadres*. French economic interests could be fully guaranteed. The French have proposed nothing except a few fragmentary reforms. Recognition of the principle of free elections and of freedom of assembly, association, and the press is regarded as a mere beginning.

The Sultan's greatest nightmare, I was told, was co-sovereignty—the root of the

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ALEXANDER WERTH is The Nation's *Paris correspondent. The first part of this article appeared last week.*

trouble in Tunisia. He was against Frenchmen, except as Moroccan citizens, sitting in any future parliament; nor did he favor a half-French, half-Moroccan government on the Tunisian model. He wanted an all-Moroccan government assisted by French technicians. He favored a reform of the judiciary with full "separation of powers"; this meant that the *caid* would no longer exercise the triple power of lawmaker, judge, and executor of his own decision. If independent judges were to be set up, the Sultan would abandon some of his own judicial prerogatives. (The French reply to this is that the country, with its complicated Arab and Berber machinery of justice, is not prepared for the application of a legal system largely based on French practice and the French code.) The Sultan was also in favor of complete trade-union freedom; the French will only consider trade unions with a half-French, half-Moroccan governing body, being particularly afraid of a replica of the Tunisian labor federation. At present the French are practically monopolizing the key positions in government, and, more important, are also aiming to perpetuate their presence in any "new" Moroccan institutions. The Sultan is trying not only to "colonize" present institutions but to open the door to the eventual ousting of the French from new ones.

In order to exert pressure on the Sultan the French have been encouraging certain conservative religious groups in Morocco who disapprove of the Sultan's "modernism"—for example, his daughters' abandonment of the veil. And they have incited el Glaoui, the aged Pasha of Marrakesh, and other tribal chiefs of the south, as well as a rather phony demagogue named Moulay Idriss who poses as a purer and more saintly pretender to the Sultan's throne, to make a lot of noise about the Sultan's "unorthodoxy." When Lord Mountbatten visited Morocco, the French made sure that he would attend a feast organized in his honor by el Glaoui and did not let him see the Sultan. At Marrakesh the sale of the Sultan's portraits is prohibited. The petition demanding the Sultan's deposition, signed by two-thirds of all the pashas and caids, obviously on instructions from the Moroccan French and their friends, is pretty ominous. The idea is that when enough such "spontaneous" demonstrations against the Sultan have been made, the French authorities will step in officially and "arbitrate" against him.

TOURISTS in Morocco love the Djemmaa-el-Fna, the great square of the native city of Marrakesh, which at nightfall is crowded with story-tellers, beggars, snake-charmers, acrobats, jugglers, pimps, open-air barbers, and pastry-cooks. Behind it the labyrinth of narrow lanes and miserable little shops, filled with crowds of veiled women, with donkeys and bicycles, is filthy and sordid in the extreme, and the large Jewish part of Marrakesh is even worse. "How do all the shopkeepers manage to live?" I asked one of the few "progressive" Moroccans I could find at Marrakesh. He told me a long story of almost unbelievable human degradation. The French were doing their little bit to help but not nearly as much as in the north, the "Sultan's part of Morocco." Here the French did not have to bother. The people were ignorant and passive. The caids and sheiks levied whatever they felt like levying on the peasantry ("no wonder a lot of them flock to the *bidonvilles* of Casablanca"). As long as there was no active opposition to the feudal order here in the south and as long as el Glaoui continued to rank as "France's best friend," there would be little hope of improved conditions.

This is the kind of thing against which the Moroccan nationalists have been rebelling. Lyautey's policy was to unify the country under the authority of the Sultan; the present French administrators stress the differences between the Arab part, which is loyal to the Sultan, and the Berber part, where the Sultan "is not really recognized." It has, indeed, been the French colonialists' policy to seek the support of the most reactionary elements in the country. Naturally, conditions are not the same everywhere. Around the very modern zinc and lead mines in the east, good houses have been built for the workers, and, for Morocco, good wages are paid.

The Istiqlal has more or less gone underground. As a nationalist movement it has no great leader enjoying the prestige of Bourguiba in Tunisia. The Sultan, without seeing eye to eye with it on everything—in theory at least the Istiqlal wants immediate independence—is openly sympathetic, but he has been pretty well "isolated." Of the party's six principal leaders three are in prison, one has been deported, and two are abroad—one in Egypt, the other in the United States. The French extremists claim that by hitting very hard in the Casablanca December riots they smashed the Istiqlal, the Communists, and the trade-union movement. Estimates of the number of Moroccans in prison vary from the French 400 to the Istiqlal's 4,000; but I rather think that the French figure applies to Casablanca alone, and as the *Figaro's* special inquiry suggested, the arrests were not confined to Casablanca.

Trade unionism is really at the center of the Moroccan conflict. The Moroccan trade-union federation is a branch of the C. G. T., which is controlled in France by the Communists. In Morocco the Istiqlal was gaining more and more control of the trade-union movement, and, according to Moroccans well on the inside, was planning to eliminate French and Moroccan Communists from the governing body of the federation and to substitute its own people. (As a result of the riots the February meeting at which this shift was to be accomplished never took place.) The Istiqlal also intended to apply for membership in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which is eminently "respectable" from the American point of view; the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. belong to it and so does the Tunisian federation. This was obviously the last thing the French authorities wanted. It looks as if they would even permit French Communists on the board to prevent the Moroccan trade unions from becoming "respectable" in American and Social Democratic eyes.

IF THE ISTIQLAL, as M. Boniface insisted, is "nothing," is "zero," why have so many people been put in prison? Why has the nationalist press been totally suppressed? Why are there no signs that the Istiqlal leaders will soon be given a fair trial? An important official told me the principal leaders would probably never be tried at all—it would be much "simpler" to keep them isolated "as long as necessary." Progressive opinion in Paris may have a word to say about this. Even in Morocco numerous Frenchmen—teachers, lawyers, doctors, and some business men—are becoming increasingly aware of the dangers of the "tough" methods used by men like Boniface and, albeit reluctantly, indorsed by General Guillaume, whose line seems to be that with a gradual improvement in the standard of living the people will cease to be unduly troublesome. The campaign conducted in France by Catholic intellectuals has made many Moroccan French revise their thinking.

Moroccan nationalists, no longer believing much in American support and even beginning to agree with the Sultan that it may have been a mistake to bring the question of Morocco before the U. N., are responding favorably to the still timid overtures of the more liberal French. What they want, of course, is an amnesty for the Moroccans now in prison, an improvement in the standard of living, accelerated health and education measures, abandonment by the French authorities of their attempts to undermine the Sultan's authority through the creation of artificial opposition "movements," and the resumption of serious negotiations for fundamental reforms between the Sultan and the French government—not, indeed, in the hothouse atmosphere of Rabat but in Paris. Nationalism may not have much influence yet in the feudal south, but among the shopkeepers of Fez and the proletariat of Casablanca it is very potent, and it is making rapid headway even in the *bled*. The country is not yet anti-French on the whole, not even after the Casablanca affair; where personal contacts between the French and the Moroccans are frequent, relations are usually not bad.

The French still have every chance of making life bearable for the natives, and of keeping a fairly large part of the cake. All the more intelligent officials in Paris know it; their great problem is how to overcome the excessive greed of the colonialists. So the bulk of Moroccans are looking for their salvation not to Washington but to Paris. Oddly enough, the man whose attitude has been most disappointing is President Auriol.

REPUBLICAN MINK

A Spry, Climbing Animal . . *by Una F. Carter*

Washington

SOCIETY in the national capital has returned to something resembling the glittering, extravagant practices of half a century ago. Society reporters give ecstatic descriptions of the "new tone" Republicans hosts and hostesses have brought to Washington after twenty years of the Democrats, and proclaim the "new era" to be the most elegant, formal, and expensive in at least a generation. To put the matter briefly, Alice Roosevelt Longworth, the Princess Alice of another Republican period, has quit wearing the slouch-brim hat she affected during the Truman Administration.

Bare shoulders, mutation mink, and champagne flowing from lighted fountains are commonplace. The "cave-dwellers," resident socialites who looked down their noses at Democratic party-giving, have come out of virtual retirement. Rank and protocol are taken more seriously than they have been in decades, white ties and calling cards have come back, and neophytes are busily thumbing the pages of the "green book," as Mrs. Carolyn Shaw's social list is known.

In former years Lent provided a breathing spell for capital hostesses. But many who used to observe the season went to parties this year even if they did not give them. Apparently they could not afford not to be seen. Even the Tafts, who have not entertained elaborately for several years, gave a tea at their Georgetown home for Mrs. Eisenhower. The Taft party, however, was a simple one by today's standards; according to Mrs. Taft it started small and just grew. Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce said the same of the dinner she gave for Speaker Martin, which ended up as one of the most dazzling events of the season.

Mrs. Luce's dinner and her Easter-week tea took place at a hotel. This illustrates a basic difference between the elegance of former years and that of the present. Though much distinguished and purposeful entertaining is still done at home, hotels and clubs form the setting of the most lavish parties, not the rococo mansions near Dupont and Sheridan Circle. The Shoreham, the Mayflower, and the Statler can provide the pomp, including gold table service, that in earlier days characterized functions at the Walsh, Leiter, and Medill mansions. The marble-fronted Medill house, once the home of Eleanor Patterson, now houses the sedate Washington Club, of which Mrs. Woodrow Wilson has been a member since she was Edith Galt. The Leiter and Walsh houses—the latter the girlhood home of the late Evelyn Walsh McLean—are now offices.

A particularly splendid affair was the "reception and buffet" at the Mayflower

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UNA F. CARTER, a former member of the White House staff, has long been a reporter of the Washington scene.

Hotel when Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo, boss of the Dominican Republic, swept into Washington—he was not made so welcome during the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. To call it a "reception and buffet," the Washington *Post* said, was an understatement: "Just listen to the main dishes that were served: pheasant en plumage, lobsters, salmon in aspic, roast Vermont turkeys, filet of beef, black beans, and roast lamb." There were "soft lights and banked ferns . . . champagne from lighted fountains . . . bouquet after bouquet of flowers . . . a buffet table fifty feet long . . . a raw bar with appetizers." Not the least of the spectacles was the presence of Trujillo's ten-year-old son, resplendent like his father in white tie and tails.

Foreign policy, of course, affects the popularity and social standing of the embassies—the once gay Soviet embassy resembles a mausoleum today—and for some time the British and French diplomatic staffs have been at the top of the heap. Embassies that were dark during the war are once again in favor; guests at the Japanese embassy, for instance, are "enchanted" with the style that marks small parties there. The visit of Chancellor Adenauer brought the old German embassy back into the social spotlight. To honor him the chargé d'affaires invited 2,000 to a reception. The engraved invitations bore the German eagle in gold.

The calendars of the White House and the Cabinet wives are being scanned with great expectations. The First Lady has not yet selected a social secretary, but there will be disappointment in Washington if next winter's White House social season is not the most formal and stately in a generation. The Cabinet ladies have not cut a spectacular swathe—some are criticized for not being more chic and photogenic—but most of them are already finding the pace in Washington pretty rigorous compared to the quiet lives they lived back home. An interview with Mrs. Wilson was headed "What's Good for Erwin Is Good for Mrs. Wilson," which may presage the kind of social life she will lead.

In anticipation of the big times ahead Washington society has engaged space at leading hotels and clubs far in advance. The Presidential room at the Statler, which can seat around 600, has bookings three years ahead.

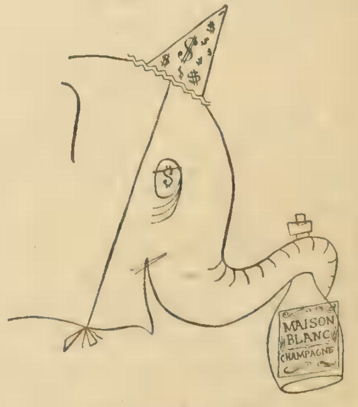
THE AVERAGE Washingtonian is as much interested in who will be the town's number one hostess as in who will be the next woman ambassador. Mrs. Morris Cafritz, once Mrs. Perle Mesta's chief rival, achieved a coup in bagging most of the Cabinet for a post-Inaugural party and was among the first to entertain Vice-President Nixon. Still, there are those who think the social crown may rest more becomingly on the staunch Republican head of Mrs. Robert Low Bacon or Mrs. Truxton Beale of Lafayette Square, to whose house the diplomats have been said to "go for a good time after the dismal routine of shaking hands with the President at a White House reception." Mrs. Robert Guggenheim is a younger contender, and her husband has the necessary financial requirements. The former ambassador to the Soviet Union and Mrs. Joseph Davies, whose parties were famous during Democratic administrations, are likely to hold their own.

Relative newcomers are among the topflight party givers. Bazie McCormick Tankersley, daughter of the late Ruth Hanna McCormick and niece of Colonel Robert R. McCormick, has taken to entertaining on a lavish scale since she gave up the editorship of the Washington *Times-Herald*, sister paper of the Chicago *Tribune*. For Colonel McCormick's convenience the *Times-Herald* has bought an imposing house in the vicinity of the French embassy, installed an elevator, dubbed the mansion a "guest house," and made it available to visiting V. I. P.'s of the Colonel's faith. He is expected to use it more than ever now.

Two institutions of Washington society are the club and the "finishing school." The newest of the clubs is sponsored by a group of Republicans incorporated as Capitol Hill Associates. Sometime before the election this group bought up a block across the street from the old House Office Building and remodeled one of the houses to provide party space, a cocktail lounge, and guest rooms. Republicans with $1,000 to spare—that is, the first 5,000 who wish to do so—may become life members. Regular annual dues are only $50, a fraction of the cost of belonging to the Sulgrave Club, where Senator McCarthy and Drew Pearson once briefly engaged in fisticuffs.

"Finishing schools" are enjoying a flashy success. Mrs. Agnes McCall Parker's School of Personality Development was recently featured on Edward R. Murrow's Sunday TV show. Mrs. Gladstone Williams operates the Southeastern University Finishing School. For $100 either will take in tow the timid wife of a bureau chief, a gauche Congressman, or even a second secretary from Embassy Row, and in three months' time inbue the awkward tyro with the rules of etiquette necessary to social success. The widow of a Wilson Cabinet officer, herself a grande dame of Washington society, was invited to give a talk at one of the schools on "how to maintain a social position in Washington."

Washington society, such a talk might explain, is different from that of any other American city, or even any other capital in the world. Position is dictated by government rank and political affiliation rather than by birth or money. Money helps, but today the surest key to social acceptance is belief in the old-fashioned virtues of the Taft vintage—William Howard Taft, preferably.



Drawings by Arthur Collins

BOOKS

Have We Misread the Constitution?

POLITICS AND THE CONSTITUTION IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By William Winslow Crosskey. University of Chicago Press. Two Volumes. $20.

By Charles E. Clark

PROFESSOR CROSSKEY'S new book on the Constitution is an exciting work. It is exciting for a reason as unique as it is admirable with respect to this type of book, namely, the intellectual punch it delivers. We are accustomed to stately works ringing the now accepted changes of reverence to the Constitution in its modern guise as fashioning a union of diverse, almost warring, states. Occasionally we do find specific criticism of the creaking governmental structure which results and some despairing hope for change in the direction of modern efficiency. But this opus is something quite different and beyond our experience. For it is a new history, the fruit of nearly two decades of patient research, which presents the direct challenge that the original plan and intent of the Constitution was the creation of a simply conceived national government. A possibility of simplicity in place of infinite complexity, of effective functional action instead of near-paralysis amid competing sovereignties, is surely alluring. And with proof so detailed and withal so persuasive as here afforded, we must hail this as a major scholastic effort of our times.

The feat of scholarship is perhaps the more remarkable when we come to see that the author's main thesis rests upon an utterly simple approach: interpreting the letter of the great document primarily in accordance with eighteenth-century views of language, form, and substance. With propriety he calls the resulting panorama A Unitary View of the National Governing Powers. Emerging fully as clear cut are his correlative and supporting theses. Of these, the two he singles out for the greatest stress are The National Power over Commerce and The National Judicial Powers. These, too, a reviewer may pinpoint to illustrate the author's method and approach.

First, as background we must note the infinite pains taken to recreate a vocabulary which appropriately mirrors the eighteenth-century mind operating in the constitutional framework. Thus we have an extensive catalogue of all manner of usage in pre-convention days of the term "commerce," showing, indeed, its broad inclusiveness. The same process is employed as to the other terms of the constitutional grant over commerce; and the pre-constitution usage is supported by the contemporary discussions centering around the making of the Constitution and the notable debate which preceded its adoption in the states. This leads directly to the constitutional interpretation, in terms generally of strong governmental powers, which prevailed originally and which has suffered a gradual decline to the weaker governmental entity we now know.

IT IS AGAINST this tapestry, so fully displayed before the reader's eye, that the famous clauses undergo a revitalization of meaning and take on new dynamism. Consider the first power listed, that of the legislature, and the first general statement of its authority beyond the power to tax and to borrow money, to wit, the power "To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes." The middle phrase has suffered a debasement down to our modern concept of power over only "interstate commerce," famous words of modern times, but unknown to the man of 1787 and dating apparently from the middle of the last century. Others of the constitutional words have also suffered sea change by shrinkage: "among" becomes "between"; the states are now mere territorial subdivisions between which some physical movement has become visualized; and "commerce" itself has been narrowed to mean only a special kind of business enterprise. Hence the phrase now is reduced to permitting some limited control over this restricted form of enterprise only when it actually and visibly moves "from the territory of one of our states to that of another." But under our author's compelling exegesis the phrase comes to life as including all matters of trade or business activity had among *or within* the states all over the country and supports and justifies the widest Congressional supervision of the affairs of men considered as people of a single union. Thus, for example, we should not need to await the tedious and only partial accomplishment of the strongly urged uniform commercial acts—with a uniform law of divorce not even dared—to secure the benefits of free commerce subject to like law throughout the states. Instead, Congress is summoned, even in the dedication of the book, "to claim and exercise for the common good of the country the powers justly belonging to it under the Constitution," including that of formulating just such commercial codes and general social laws as are here contemplated.

A similar demonstration leads to the conclusion—further discussed below—that the original constitutional intent was to create a single national judicial system, with the Supreme Court at the apex of all courts, state and federal. Briefer treatment sets forth the interrelationship with the commerce clause of other provisions of Article I, notably the imports-and-exports, ex-post-facto, and contracts clauses.

To do even partial justice to the demonstration, some brief reference must be made to certain other features of the supporting argument. Thus it is held that accepted rules of eighteenth-century approach to state documents require recognition of the custom to state an intent as an inclusive generality, followed by an enumeration of details of an informative but not exclusive character. Hence the enumeration of the powers of Congress—now made the bulwark for the limiting interpretation of the Constitution—is held not to subtract just the

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CHARLES E. CLARK, noted legal scholar and former dean of the Yale Law School, is now judge of the United States Court of Appeals, Second Circuit. A greatly expanded version of this review will appear in the autumn, 1953, issue of the University of Chicago Law Review *as part of a symposium on Professor Crosskey's book.*

specified powers from the states. Rather it is addressed primarily to a different dichotomy, that between legislative and executive powers in the one unitary governmental system set up; the balance here inclined toward the legislature, an emphasis needed if the historic power of the royal prerogative was to be lessened and the dangerous weakness of the earlier Congress to be corrected. Finally to be dissected is the famous Tenth Amendment, reserving to the states or the people the "Powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States." Here the solution is that made, among others, and again from an eighteenth-century background, by no less a person than James Kent in a decision in New York in 1812, to the effect that the powers not exclusively transferred to the United States or prohibited to the states *may still be exercised* by the latter, as well as by the people.

EVEN THIS inadequate summary shows how revolutionary this thesis is to an age accustomed to see the states successfully fighting the national government on all stages, from control of precious national resources to exercise of taxing and regulatory powers in many forms and guises. Does the author adequately prove his case? Only a historian of quite a degree of sophistication can judge with finality and as to details. But for the ordinary reader and patriotic citizen, anxious for his government to exercise effective leadership in the global role now thrust upon it, Professor Crosskey surely proves enough to require a fresh approach in our constitutional thinking. For at the very least he does demonstrate beyond what seems to me the possibility of doubt (1) that an exceedingly powerful argument can be made for a widespread eighteenth-century intent or desire for a stronger central government than we have now evolved, (2) that the constitutional language is much more apt to sustain such an intent than our juristic thought now concedes, (3) that considerable early thought, including Supreme Court decisions, so interpreted the infant Constitution, and (4) that exigencies of political strife shaped and molded the great charter to its present form.

Although I suspect the contrary will be the case, the last of these points I have stressed ought not to come as a shock or even as a surprise to a generation accustomed to a realistic approach to law and legal actions. We know that contracts and legal documents generally may be variously interpreted against different backgrounds, particularly where new circumstances bring new problems not appreciated in the original bond. So even the words of a written Constitution may acquire quite a different significance as the years pass. And the reasons why the Jeffersonians, representing broadly the masses as against the propertied classes, should have feared the power of a strong government, should have demanded a Bill of Rights and all the rest, seem now but a natural commonplace of the time. That the states, in the vacuum of power which the struggle tended to create, should be the obvious but rather unintended beneficiaries is also but a natural, even if chance, result. But here the author has seemingly courted opposition by the truculence with which he presents his views and the virulence of his condemnation of the politicians. Madison's star has perhaps dimmed, since his obvious changes of opinion to correspond with his politics do not evoke sympathy. But Jefferson is still a mighty force; condemnation of his actions even to the point of rehabilitating the Sedition Act was hardly necessary. It is likely to stimulate reactions such as those of one professorial reviewer who betrayed an emotional investment in the constitutional status quo curious to behold; he even suggested the unworthiness of a university press which would stoop to publish this original new work!

In truth the author's combativeness here may appear surprising; for except in some matters of degree the difference in party spirit and program of the era is well accepted. But the author does carry it farther than is customary. He has both Jefferson and Madison as early nationalists who departed from the faith for reasons political, while Marshall is shown fighting merely a rear-guard and constantly losing struggle, full of compromises, turns, and twists, to preserve a semblance of strength to the central government. So personal does he make this struggle and the motivations of the distinguished protagonists that many are likely to be turned away from his important thesis. Having known the author in all his forthrightness and obduracy from his student days, I can, I think, understand how his own conception of truth would not permit him to yield even the proverbial ell to the humanness of politicians. If the great X was that kind of petty heel, it must be so stated. Moreover, such a sense of personal involvement in long-ago battles was doubtless necessary to sustain research so ex-

The Book and Its Author

This is a book with an interesting history. William W. Crosskey and Robert M. Hutchins were students together at the Yale Law School. Impressed by Mr. Crosskey's qualities, Hutchins kept him steadily in mind in later years as a possible law-school instructor. After graduation, Mr. Crosskey served as legal secretary to Chief Justice Taft. Then he became a Wall Street lawyer, associated at different times with two of the great financial firms. Someone said of him that at the time he was "the only man in Wall Street with any regard for private property."

In 1933 the New Dealers passed the Securities Act and in the following year the Securities Exchange Act. Both statutes became Mr. Crosskey's particular care in the firm with which he was associated. What he calls "their complicated scheme of incidence" quickened an earlier law-school interest in the commerce clause and he read, for the first time, the entire report of *Gibbons* v. *Ogden*. Struck by Daniel Webster's primary argument, which was hard to reconcile with existing interpretations of the commerce clause, he began to reexamine the sources. In the meantime Mr. Hutchins had succeeded in luring him from Wall Street to the law faculty of the University of Chicago. There, in January, 1937, he began writing what he thought would be a *Law Review* article on the commerce power; fifteen years later the article had grown into the present massive work, which promises to be one of the most influential, widely discussed studies of the Constitution since Charles Beard's "Economic Interpretation of the Constitution" appeared in 1913.

haustive for so many years with so little of definite encouragement from any source except one's own inner strength of character. Actually of course politicians and statesmen are neither so admirable nor so despicable as contemporaries and posterity love to make them. They can and often do operate from motives far from sublime, even those which are petty and vengeful; in short, they cannot avoid acting like human beings. And yet they do represent movements and trends which must come to the fore, if not through one group of protagonists then through another. There is an inevitability about conflict and change in affairs governmental which we must accept and expect.

But nothing so pusillanimous as this appeals to our author. Here is one person at least who is not inhibited by idol worship in an area where that has become an occupational disease and who, to use the apt Americanism, sticks his neck out to the utmost limit on all matters in which he profoundly believes. Thus I can think of no other instance of an author not only making his own detailed personal Index but carrying his argument over into it. Further, the book contains many an extensive deduction or assumption advanced boldly to fill gaps in factual material and to supply motivations. This is the kind of book it is; and even though I would have toned down some of the truculence I find something attractive in the forthrightness of the slashing attack. I can foresee that scholars will fall on many of the assumptions with delight and will demolish at least some. But except for surface reactions, that cannot demolish the book itself or refute the author's central ideas. Crosskey may not have succeeded in getting himself liked; but he cannot be ignored. After this no book on constitutional history or meaning can afford to overlook his researches.

HENCE this is glorious material for the professional historian, be his sympathies for or against the thesis presented. But I suggest it is much more than this; it is in fact a must for lawyers, political scientists, and plain ordinary citizens. For it brings up insistently the issue of the kind of government needed not merely for 1787 but also for 1953. I realize that the first reaction to the author's argument by the lay reader is likely to be: So what? After all, the court, responding to pressures over a century and a half, has construed the Constitution as it has; and the people have surely accepted the result, nay, are belligerent against any—outward—change. So it will be said: Let's leave to the students these faraway battles, while we go about our business of returning just as much power to the states as the pressure of world and local events will permit. The trouble is, however, that the militant advocates of the status quo have been able to seize an advantage which is not rightfully theirs. They have claimed all the support of the sacred document itself to use against those upstarts who assert a national power as a matter of right and necessity. Against such a heavy burden the forces of centralized efficiency can make only difficult headway without vicarious support from those twin forces of evil, to wit, war or depression. Except when those forces make the need overwhelming, we must be bound to a government the more inactive, that is, the more unobtrusive, the better. American genius can be expended to perfecting the automobile, discovering new labor devices for farm, factory, and home, and uncovering the atom bomb. Only in matters governmental must it remain bound by chains of the past.

So the great function of a book such as this is to show that these chains are hardly real and, in any event, are comparatively recent and man-made, to be unmade in like fashion if the will exists. In short, the purpose of history is to free man from the shackles of pseudo-history. We should be masters of our fate governmentally as much as physically, institution-wise as much as gadget-wise. And the days of planned experimentation in new ways of living together should definitely not be over. For if we do not take active measures with intelligent effort, the change is going to take place in any event imperceptibly and in ways we not only may not expect but certainly do not want. Such a book as this teaches overwhelmingly that change is coming in any event, no matter how unchanging may seem our governmental charter and its basic exposition.

Before such a bold spirit and so sublime a confidence I can only bow in admiration. Were the making of the government to be done over, I can hardly believe that it would not be along lines

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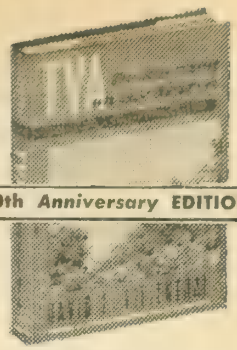

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Crosskey advocates as still the true ones. I cannot subscribe to the view that the only way to freedom is via an inefficient and thereby hopelessly weak government. I do not believe man is so little master of his fate that only by putting stones in his way may he be trusted to walk at all. I believe that an effective government which can be made responsive to the will of its constituents is a necessity for survival. But even so, I cannot see signs that we are mature enough to accept the challenge. Yet new threats of war, new depths of depression may in time lead us to a new orientation of purpose and objectives whereby "We, the People of the United States," may act "to form a more perfect Union," to "establish Justice," and to "promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity." When that time comes I cannot but believe that devoted attempts such as this to ascertain what was originally purposed and how results fell short of objectives will play a large part in shaping our heavenly city of the future.

New Books in Brief

Minor Leonardo

CARDANO: THE GAMBLING SCHOLAR. By Oystein Ore. With a Translation from the Latin of Cardano's "Book on Games of Chance" by Sydney Henry Gould. Princeton. $4.

Despite the absence of any attempt at popularization, this sketch of a minor Leonardo of the early sixteenth century makes curious and interesting reading. A physician by profession, Cardano followed the Renaissance pattern by taking all knowledge as his province and wrote voluminously on a great variety of subjects. He also engaged in the public disputations which were so important a part of the intellectual life of the times, quarreled bitterly with his contemporaries, was perhaps a bit of a charlatan on occasion, and certainly blew his own horn with typical Renaissance abandon. His only son was executed as a wife poisoner; he himself was once haled before the Inquisition; and he wrote about gambling both because he was a mathematician and because he liked the games —especially Primero, an early version of poker. Professor Ore, who is Sterling professor of mathematics at Yale, thinks that one of Cardano's works has never been properly recognized for what it is —namely, the first important treatise on probability.

Socialism in America

THE FORGING OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM. By Howard H. Quint. South Carolina. $6.

This careful, scholarly essay examines the numerous ideas and movements which merged in the American Socialist Party, formed in 1901—among them, Christian Socialism, Marxism, de Leonism, and the vision of Edward Bellamy. It is of course no substitute for Princeton University's two-volume "Socialism in American Life." Mr. Quint has limited himself to a sixteen-year period,

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reported more events than he has evaluated, and very inadequately indicated the impact of socialist movements upon American intellectual and political life. Perhaps his book is most valuable in showing how varied socialist ideas have been in America and how remarkably indigenous in American life.

Process of Civilization

THE PRIMITIVE WORLD AND ITS TRANSFORMATIONS. By Robert Redfield. Cornell. $3.50.

In this book the author considers certain changes in the life of man in society which have been brought about by the advent of civilization, and shows that after the rise of cities men became something they had not been before. In tracing the passage from precivilized to civilized life as a continuous process of breaking down and rebuilding the moral order, the author most stimulatingly manages to question some of the fundamental positions taken by anthropologists—principally the idea that progress cannot be scientifically recognized and that the weighing of cultural values has no place in scientific anthropology. The main theme of the book is the gradual development in men of some measure of control over their own moral evolution. Dr. Redfield tells the story well.

On and Off Broadway

WITH A QUIET HEART. An Autobiography by Eva Le Gallienne. Viking. $4.50.

A continuation of Miss Le Gallienne's autobiography published twenty years after the first instalment. "At 33" carried her into the Civic Repertory adventure; the present volume begins with the accident which nearly cost her life, describes her comeback, and goes on to her second career on and off Broadway. Like many other actresses Miss Le Gallienne has an almost monomaniacal passion for the theater, but unlike most she has always preferred to swim against the current. Manager as well as performer, she generally picked plays, whether standard or new, which most producers would have called "non-commercial," and she always had in mind a kind of theater a bit outside of "show business." Though the Civic Repertory finally succumbed, it was probably the most successful repertory enterprise of twentieth-century America, and it left its mark. We hardly need to be told that she is a person not easily discouraged, but her concluding sentence goes a good deal farther: "I have enjoyed the past, I find the present good, and I look to the future with a quiet heart."

Theater

Harold Clurman

Tel Aviv

ON MY way to Israel—where I have come to direct Shaw's "Caesar and Cleopatra" for the Habimah company—I stopped off in Paris for six days. I went to the theater five times. There would be little justification on this basis to generalize on the present state of the French theater were it not for the fact that three years' residence in the early twenties and frequent return visits to the city which someone has called "the capital of nostalgia" have made me specially aware of theatrical activities there.

There is not much need to generalize anyhow. Most of the facts speak for themselves: there were forty-two "attractions" on the boards in Paris the week of May 11 to 17—exclusive of the productions of the four national theaters, the two opera houses, and the two branches of the Comédie Française with its extensive repertoire of classic and modern plays.

The French complain more bitterly than we do of the high cost of mounting plays, although they do not seem to mind that the physical production of their plays almost everywhere except at the Comédie Française and with Barrault's now absent company is from our standpoint shamefully flimsy. When Irwin Shaw's "The Gentle People" was done in New York in 1939 with some of Boris Aronson's finest settings—and an excellent cast—its reception was rather mild; in Paris the play is a

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success in a production one could only accept at one of our least ambitious off-Broadway performances with a cast that ranges from a lively adequacy to a vehemently colorful crudity.

The direction of most productions in Paris today is of a rather slapdash sort, and the acting generally shows more scenic ebullience than finesse or depth. The virtue of the French theater lies in the wide range of its plays—however carelessly handled—together with the thematic maturity and the literary competence of many of them. The French theater is unmistakably ailing—materially and artistically—but even in this condition it gives many evidences of its rich tradition and the possibility of an eventual renewal.

The best theater in Paris is the Comédie Française, where the productions nearly always are done with a certain polish, and where the casts reveal careful training as well as the cosmetic exuberance that characterizes almost everything on the French stage. The production of "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme" which I saw at the Comédie was extremely handsome, set in a sumptuous courtly manner—for though Molière was a champion of the middle class, his plays had to be fit for a king—with a cast superbly at ease in Molière's comedy style.

I saw a revival of Giraudoux's early play "Siegfried," which has many passages of ingratiating writing but which today seems dramatically feeble, though the French still find it entertaining because it celebrates how delightfully different they are from the Germans. The plot of "Siegfried" is hardly commensurate with the play's length, but the French audience is peculiar in this—that they are held by good talk, which in the theater means good writing, in a way that would astonish an American audience. Since good writing as such is much more frequent in the French theater than in ours, it is less difficult for the French author to turn out what the Parisians will consider a satisfactory play than it is for an American author to do the same for his audience.

The smash hit of Paris at the moment is "L'Heure Eblouissante" ("The Dazzling Hour") a French adaptation of an Italian play. Since it is to be done in New York next season, I shall not dwell on it now, except to say that it is a kind of bedroom variation on a Pirandello theme in which the town's trollop, under special circumstances, proves herself a devoted housewife, while the town's most steadfast spouse reveals unexpectedly wayward proclivities. The play is badly directed—but no one seems to care—and Pierre Blanchar, the "name" actor of the show, who is a poor comedian, plays the part of a fatuous husband fatuously. But the two women—a very pretty newcomer named Jeanne Moreau and the better-known Suzy Flon, a piquantly intelligent actress for more serious plays—in addition to a jovial character actor as the town mayor are enough to make the racy plot meat for the Parisians.

I left Paris with the conviction, by no means new with me—that there is nothing wrong with the American theater except its economic disorganization, which is disastrous. Considering how new a thing the American theater is—actually less than a hundred years old—it has shown immense vitality, and its potential is second to none in the world today. The famous Barrault company, for example, is far less gifted than was the Theater Guild acting company in the twenties or the Group Theater acting company in the thirties. Our best playwrights have no reason to blush in any comparison with contemporary French dramatists.

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Music

B. H. Haggin

STRAVINSKY'S "Oedipus Rex" when I last heard it twenty years ago seemed to me as ugly and arid as his other neo-classical works did at that time. Listening to the recorded performance on Columbia ML-4644 now, I hear mastery and precision in the use of means for ends that are tremendously powerful and moving—not only in the choruses but in the arias, whose styles are manipulated to achieve not the melodic beauty they achieved originally but a harshly austere and monumental utterance suited to this drama of man pursued and destroyed by implacable destiny.

In the powerful performance conducted by Stravinsky the Oedipus is Peter Pears, whose tenor voice has lost its ease in its upper range and its steadiness throughout; the Jocasta is Martha Mödl, whose mezzo-soprano is occasionally tremulous; and the Creon and Messenger are Heinz Rehfuss, whose baritone is a little rough; but the bass of Otto von Rohr (Tiresias) and tenor of Helmut Krebs (Shepherd) are very fine; and so are the chorus and orchestra of the Cologne Radio.

This is a work for which one needs the words; and what Columbia provides instead is authoritative but tortuous comment by Robert Craft on the history and nature of the work and details of the music.

London LL-731 offers four German sacred songs (1629-1700), of which the first and third are especially beautiful; three such songs by C. P. E. Bach (1714-1788), of which the first and last are extraordinarily powerful in harmonic progression and expressive effect; seven Italian monodies (1609-1634), most of them good; and five charming songs by Alessandro Scarlatti (1659-1725)—all sung superbly by Souzay, with excessively dainty piano accompaniments by Jacqueline Bonneau. Again historical information instead of texts, and not even the titles of the Italian songs.

On London LS-730 Souzay sings Mozart's uninteresting aria "Mentre ti lascia, o figlia," and some fine arias by Scarlatti, Lully, Gluck, and Rameau. The Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra plays well under Cornman. Again historical information instead of texts.

With pleasant Elizabethan love songs and instrumental pieces Lyrichord LL-37 offers two especially fine songs by Dowland, "Weep You No More, Sad Fountaines" and "Sorrow, Sorrow, Stay," and an extraordinary piece by Gibbons, "The Lord of Salisbury His Pavin." Superb singing of his kind by Cuenod, and good harpsichord performances by Chiasson.

EMS 219 offers some fine Spanish vocal music from the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, beautifully sung by Pro Musica Antiqua under Cape. There are also instrumental pieces which are made unattractive for me by the sounds of some of the old instruments that are used.

The charming madrigals in Banchieri's "Festino" (1608) on Esoteric ES-516 are sung very well by the Primavera Singers under Noah Greenberg, with interludes of pleasant instrumental pieces by Banchieri and other composers that are played well on the virginals by Blanche Winogron.

Esoteric ES-517 offers a fine Sonata by Rosenmüller (1619-1684), Couperin's pleasant "Le Parnasse," and Frescobaldi's Five Canzoni per Sonar, which I don't care for—all played well by the Harpsichord Quartet.

The moving "Erbarme dich" from Bach's St. Matthew Passion, the lovely *Zeffiretti Lusinghieri* from Mozart's "Idomeneo," and his uninteresting "Ch'io mi scordi di te" K.505 are sung beautifully by Tourel with superb orchestral accompaniments by the Perpignan Festival Orchestra under Casals. Beethoven's early Variations on a Theme from Handel's "Judas Maccabaeus," on the same record (Columbia ML-4640), are quite mechanical at first, but more interesting later on; the performance offers the usual magnificence of Casals's playing, and playing by Serkin that is unusual in its energy and life.

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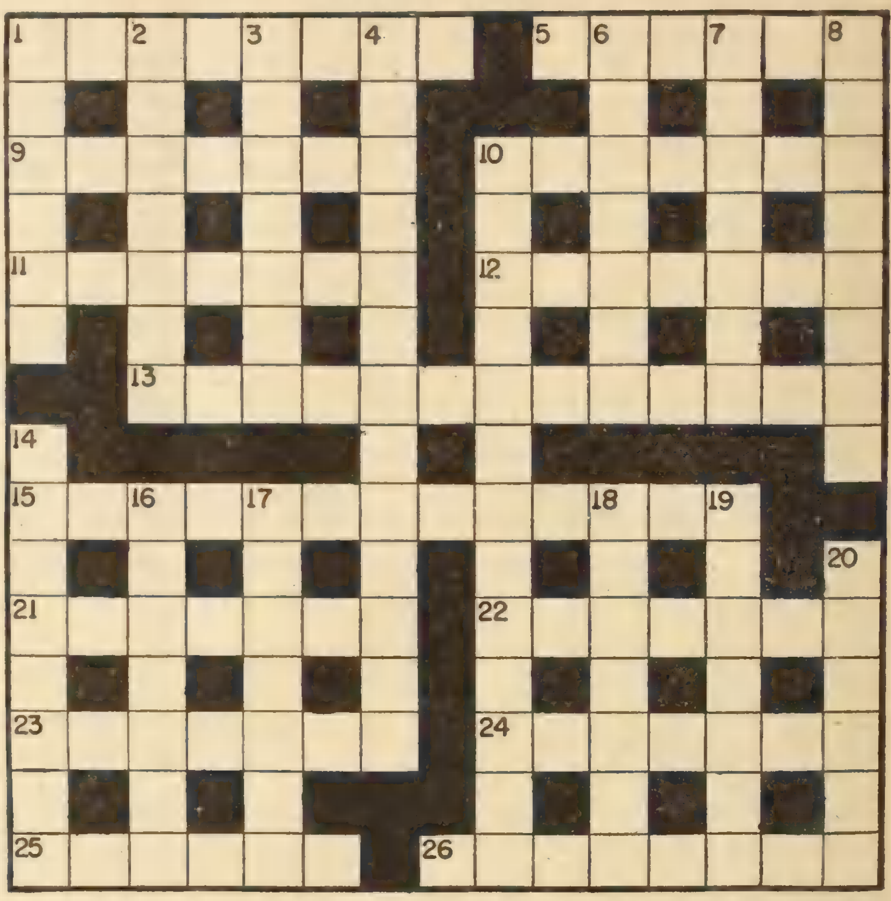
Crossword Puzzle No. 519

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Invent plot, perhaps. (8)
5 Deliberately annoyed it with a form of run around? (6)
9 Racine's method of dispatch? (7)
10 Ornamented belt, worn diagonally from shoulder to hip. (7)
11 Ventilates the joint. (Flies about, no doubt!) (7)
12 With a first of the last, this emperor wouldn't be the first of 10 across. (7)
13 Bill seems to be killed by it, but not as an inside job. (6, 4, 3)
15 Polish problem solved by application on their part. (9, 4)
21 Get madder than anybody? It's against all rules! (7)
22 Ravel? He composed "Seaport on the Seine." (2, 5)
23 Strike with a radical following (implying strong underground connections). (7)
24 The one of these called Death is 10 down. (7)
25 The dealer has this hand left to him. (6)
26 Macbeth suggested that the stuff'd bosom be. (8)

DOWN

1 This gets around the same kind of thing as 14. (6)
2 Ours is usually recommended by the maker. (7)
3 Hurried to one's beloved out west, perhaps. (7)
4 Not the head of a gambling or dope ring, though he might succeed in the top position. (4-9)
6 Like the "y" of "yield," I would make it like a great mansion. (7)
7 Ripped bustle, creating quite a storm. (7)
8 Truth will the verse, according to Byron. (8)
10 Under the main top? (5, 3, 5)
14 No winner of course in Berkshire? (It looks more like a dog!) (5, 3)
16 The argonaut, for example, should suggest the standing members of a male quartet. (7)
17 Little Mermen, about which Haydn wrote? (7)
18 She said pansies were for thoughts. (7)
19 When the stove is shaken, red bodies result. (7)
20 Experienced, with the right foot in line? (6)

~•~

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 518

ACROSS:—1, 13 and 23 down WILL WONDERS NEVER CEASE; 9 ATTESTED; 11 FRIGATE; 12 CENSERS; 14 BY-PASS; 15 ENSEMBLE; 17 ONE-HORSE; 20 FETISH; 22 CONCAVE; 24 CLUBMAN; 26 RETAIN; 27 RECALLED; 28 REMEMBRANCE.

DOWN:—2 IDEOGRAPH; 3 LITOTES; 4 ODDS; 5 DOCKERS; 6 RITES; 7 and 8 STORMY PETREL; 16 METABOLIC; 18 NOOSES; 19 and 10 REVENUE CUTTER; 20 FELUCCA; 25 and 21 GRUBSTAKES.

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Society of Friends of Music, and Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, Elisabeth Höngen, Julius Patzak, and Hans Hotter. Much of the work is paced ineffectively; and the sound of orchestra and chorus dubbed from the 78 rpm records ranges from acceptable to poor.

London offers Brahms's engaging Variations on a Theme of Haydn, paced effectively by van Beinum and played by the superb Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra with its usual refinement of tone and execution. The violin sound is clear but could be more lustrous. The record also has the Academic Festival and Tragic Overtures.

Beethoven's Septet Opus 20 is a piece I used to find uninteresting, until I heard it with the life imparted to it by the animation and phrasing of Toscanini's performances. He plays it with an increased number of strings to provide the proper balance with clarinet, bassoon, and horn that he thinks the original lacks; and his most recent performance—with dazzling playing by the NBC Symphony strings and a few breathtaking phrases by the solo horn—is superbly reproduced by the RCA Victor record. On the reverse side is Cherubini's Symphony in D, which even Toscanini's performance doesn't make interesting.

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A native of Springfield, Mass., Wilson took his M.A. at Clark University, his Ph.D. at Wisconsin, and an unofficial degree in practical politics serving with the War Production Board and the Office of Price Administration during war years.

Wilson's past contributions to *The Nation*—articles and book reviews—have been outstanding examples of the "humanistic approach" to problems of government and political theory. He is now preparing for *The Nation* a series on that new American phenomenon: Government by Hucksters. It will be a study of the politicians' publicity men who have become the tail that wags the dog. . . .

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A Review of Sherwood Anderson's "Letters"

**EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865**

Letters

Catholics and the Fifth Amendment

Dear Sirs: If McCarthy, Jenner, Velde, Jackson, and their kind have the idea that the Fifth Amendment benefits only alleged Communists, they are mistaken. When James Madison wrote the Fifth Amendment more than 160 years ago, there were plenty of Catholics. It was the priests, ministers, and citizens of differing politics who demanded the protection of English common law: "No person shall be compelled to bear witness against himself."

Today, if I as a Catholic were summoned to a hearing in an anti-Catholic area and asked whether I was a Catholic, I would refuse to answer, since the question pries into my right to belief and conscience, and primarily since it could subject me to persecution and prosecution.

Lest we forget, whenever any group of dissidents has been persecuted, we Catholics have never been overlooked.

Let's face it, the Fifth Amendment is for the Protestant as well as the Catholic, for the anti-Communist as well as the Communist, for the Republican as well as the Prohibitionist. In my book, it is basic horse sense that I must recognize the right of anyone and everyone to use the Fifth Amendment, without penalty or stigma, for if I do not, I open the door to the destruction of my own rights—and that is against the law of God and man.

Hollywood, Cal. JOHN HEALY

Hangman's Noose

Dear Sirs: The world of the idiot boy is taking shape under the whip lash of the phony Paul Revere McCarthy. Some day when he is smiling in his coffin I hope that a bright lantern is hung in the belfry so that the dumb-driven cattle can see the biggest and foulest blotch on American history. While McCarthy is leading the chase of Communists he is letting the fascist wolves and America Firsters get away.

I hate tyranny in any form, whether it be communism, capitalism, fascism, or McCarthyism. All of them are swinging the hangman's noose over the heads of free men. Unless free men wake up and fight back they will die and be buried in the shallow graves of suspicion and doubt. "Those who won our independence believed that the final end of the state was to make men free to develop their faculties. They believed that freedom to think as you will and to speak as you think are means indispensable to the discovery and spread of political truth," said Justice Louis D. Brandeis.

Here in Texas the state legislature is busy drafting a law that would stamp the words "written by Communists" on every book that did not agree with the Texas ideas of freedom and free speech. It seems strange indeed that the lawmakers should be so concerned over what people read, while they ignore the vital necessity of passing other laws.

Houston, Tex. BILL STALNAKER

Disheartening Essays

Dear Sirs: This is a rather delayed reaction to the articles headed Six Young Authors in Search in your issue of May 2. They formed one of the most disheartening series of essays on literature that I have ever read. The most unfortunate one, of course, was the one by James Jones, who shows little knowledge of the Elizabethan Age. But he knows so little of so many things. He just thinks, guesses, supposes, and hopes. His knowledge of "neurosis" seems extremely slight. In his own words, he has yet to grow up.

Jefferson Young says we must always be aware that God is love and the birdies sing. That's nice, but it's a *real* world that we live in. The convictions of Maude Hutchins, if widely adopted, would be terrifying if not sterilizing. She is content to stay on the sidelines and look at life passing by. At least I get that impression from her essay. She seems to advocate total non-commitment. "Unimportant as subject matter is," she reluctantly admits, "there has to be one."

I find little substance in the remaining essays and too much rhetoric, particularly in Leonard Bishop's. Styron's was a terrific letdown from what one might expect of a man with his abilities. John Griffin points out that writers have been withdrawing from the life scene but rationalizes this movement.

As for my opinion on the state of writing today, may I refer to an essay by Albert J. Guérard in Volume III of "New World Writing"? The essay is entitled The Ivory Tower and the Dust Bowl. Mr. Guérard says: ". . . it seems clear enough that some of the best American novelists, young and old, decline to write realistic novels about the public crises of our time." And he adds later in the article: "The *malaise* is seldom expressed frankly, however. It is more common to say that the novelist is failing in his responsibility to the modern world. Withdrawn to some private world of guilt or fantasy, he fails to document contemporary society."

New York BERNARD LANDIS

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VITA KAUFMAN, Secretary
New York

X-Rays vs. Smoking

Dear Sirs: A college professor once told us that members of all the college departments used the swimming pool except the bacteriologists. They were specialists and knew the dangers. Similarly, Alton Ochsner shows in his article on Smoking and Lung Cancer [May 23] that he is a specialist. In his conclusion he suggests that heavy smokers should have chest X-rays at least every six months and preferably every three months. The use of X-rays has so increased that an X-ray specialist might be more afraid of the damage from their continued use than Dr. Ochsner is of the damage from smoking.

HERBERT POMERANCE
Oak Ridge, Tenn.

Volume 176, Number 25
New York, Saturday, June 20, 1953

AUG 19

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Embarrassment of Deeds

We asked for deeds and now we are getting them. Not necessarily the ones we wanted, but deeds just the same; and they are creating a problem in Washington. For those the Russians have performed in the past few weeks have been either desirable in themselves or at least reasonable, and well calculated to confuse further a foreign policy already heading in several directions at once; also to beguile our allies and reduce the pressures for cold-war and pro-American policies (*vide* Italy).

A quick report of the variegated deeds so far chalked up may help make the point: Most immediately important, the concessions on prisoners of war which made possible the truce settlement in Korea. The freeing of William Oatis. The soft-pedaling of the Hate-America campaign in the Soviet Union and among the satellites. Moscow's agreement to grant exit visas to the Russian wives of two American citizens and the daughters of an American woman divorced from a Russian. The easing of news and travel restrictions in Russia and between Russia and the rest of the world. The wide amnesty for prisoners in the Soviet Union. Moscow's improved relations and the agreement to exchange ambassadors with Yugoslavia. Communist overtures to Socialist and labor organizations in the West, suggesting a revival of "popular frontism." Successful Russian attempts to step up cross-curtain trade with the West; trade agreements negotiated with Argentina, Iran, France, Japan, and others. Moscow's offer to recognize Turkish control over Kars and Ardahan, in exchange for support of the Russian request for an international meeting to revise the Montreux Convention of 1936 governing the Dardanelles. Soviet rejection of renewed meetings of the Four Power Deputy Foreign Ministers on the Austrian treaty, quickly followed by many conciliatory moves toward Austria itself.

Do We Want to Bargain?

Without question, the most consequential of all Moscow's latest "deeds" has been the drastic revamping of its policy in East Germany. Following the removal of General Chuikov and his succession by a civilian High Commissioner, Vladimir Semyenov, a whole series of measures has been put through reducing, in some cases almost abandoning, the collective controls over farming and industry and many of the restrictions on religious and educational freedom and on movements both ways across the West German frontier. Most significant and startling of all is the reduction of the East Germany security police force (*i. e.*, army).

Were it not for the self-defeating cross purposes in the State Department and White House, Washington could with magnificent propaganda effect take credit for the sweeping shift in Russian policy. They could claim that we forced Moscow to make one concession after another, even winning an official acknowledgement of mistakes made in Germany. Instead scarcely a note of satisfaction has seeped out of Washington. The official statements—echoed in the press—treat the whole business as a nefarious scheme to lure the West into lowering its defenses and weakening its alliance.

Certainly it looks as if Moscow wants to produce both those effects. But is that so alarming? To call off your own tough and provocative behavior in order to get the enemy to call off his preparations to fight would seem a legitimate way at arriving at a point where you could deal with him; if you want a deal, that is. Signs multiply that Moscow does want a deal and that Washington does not.

Who Sentenced the Rosenbergs?

The Nation, which several times has raised its voice in behalf of clemency for the Rosenbergs, again urged it in a telegram to the President early this week. As these lines are written, their final hour is drawing near. What useful purpose do their deaths serve? If they have been spies, do we fear—if we let them live—that they will continue to spy from their prison cells? Does anyone think that their deaths will deter espionage agents anywhere who habitually live with death? If the British permitted Fuchs to live—the scientist who had infinitely greater capacity for espionage than ever the Rosenbergs displayed—what is it that impels us to the utmost savage reprisal?

We wonder whether future historians will say that it was not the courts but McCarthyism which sentenced the Rosenbergs to death. Judges and juries both are inevitably products of their times. "No human justice is exempt from error," *Le Monde* of Paris wrote recently of the case. "The Americans know it, but their natural opti-

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Mary Simon	*Advertising Manager*

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton

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mism supports their unshakeable faith in their institutions. It is perhaps this confidence which prevented their press from reacting to the Rosenberg case. But this disconcerting silence may have another explanation in the political climate of the trial. The fear of being accused of pro-Communist sympathy by some McCarthy has become stronger than the fear of communism itself. . . ."

We can only hope that through some last-minute reprieve, the Rosenbergs will still be alive when these lines are read.

Prizes for Courage

Like most things courage is more valuable when it is relatively scarce. At a time like the present it is particularly worth searching out and honoring it. That is what the Sidney Hillman Foundation did in making its annual awards for 1952. Three prizes went to North Carolina newspapermen for their effective work in uncovering Ku Klux Klan activities in the state. The winners were Jay Jenkins of the Raleigh *News and Observer,* Willard Cole of the Whiteville *News Reporter,* and W. Horace Carter of the Tabor City *Tribune.* Each spoke, modestly and well, at the luncheon last week at the Biltmore Hotel in New York where the awards were given, but it was left to the chief speaker, Jonathan Daniels, editor of the *News and Observer,* to point out how much easier it is to fight the Klan from a comfortable distance than right at home where your next door neighbor and the storekeeper down the street may be Klansmen. He added, however, that the Klan spirit is close to us all "whether it operates in the Klavern or in the Senate."

Winners of other prizes were Irving Fagan of the Labor Press Associated who received the Charles W. Ervin Award in labor journalism for his writing, particularly in the field of civil liberties, and Herbert Block (Herblock) whose magnificent cartoons in the Washington *Post* have become famous—and been freely reproduced—throughout the country.

The Christmas Tie Club

Henry W. Grunewald, the not-so-mysterious "Dutchman" of the Washington tax scandals, was indicted some time back on thirty-one contempt of Congress counts after he had refused to give a committee so much as his full name, not to mention details of his notably profitable bipartisan lobbying activities. Coming up for sentence on March 17, he was ordered by Judge Alexander Holtzoff to reappear before the committee, and the matter of passing sentence was deferred. The headlines, of course, created the impression that Grunewald had experienced a change of heart and intended to purge the contempt. But while he did give some additional information, the committee reported back to the judge that the witness was still evasive. Once again sentence was deferred, this time on the plea that Grunewald was suffering from a heart ailment. The headlines now read: "Jailing of Grunewald Depends on Health." But the medical report suggested that a jail sentence might have "a salutary effect on his heart and vascular disease." Undaunted, Judge Holtzoff then came up with the ingenious theory that Grunewald was entitled to leniency because he had relied upon "advice of counsel" in exhibiting an attitude of "sheer defiance"—the phrase is the judge's—to the committee. Accordingly Grunewald was fined $1,000, given a ninety-day jail sentence (suspended), and placed on one year's probation.

We are neither shocked nor surprised at the news which has just come to light that Judge Holtzoff belonged to the "Christmas Tie Club" of judges and other Washington officials who received handpainted neckties from the "Dutchman" every yuletide; in our book men who wear handpainted ties are likely to accept gratuities or worse. We merely note that political offenders have drawn sentences ranging from six months to one year (the maximum) in jail for their refusal to answer questions before Congressional committees. But then, of course, they never gave away handpainted ties.

Books Are for Burning

While Maury Maverick, Jr., is trying to put out a book fire in Texas's capital (see page 525), his distinguished father, the former Congressman, is busy at the same job in San Antonio. The San Antonio affair has what a few years ago might have been termed comic overtones. Mrs. Myrtle G. Hance, organizer of the San Antonio Minute Women, began things by scanning the city's library shelves and listing all books by authors who had been named in Congressional-committee hearings as Communists or as members of alleged subversive organizations. Her list included some 600 titles, among them Einstein's "Theory of Relativity," Thomas Mann's "Joseph in Egypt," Louis Untermeyer's "Treasury of American and British Poetry," and Dorothy Canfield Fisher's "Fables for Parents." Also included was "The Canterbury Tales" because it was illustrated by Rockwell Kent.

Armed with this invaluable list Mayor Jack White, whose wife—according to the New York *Times*—is a member of the Minute Women, suggested that the City Council "consider branding all Communist-written volumes in the library as such." But the then Acting City Manager, Wylie Johnson, thought branding wasn't good enough and demanded that the books be burned, presumably with their authors.

The city's fifteen-man Library Board vigorously protested this cultural blood-thirstiness, and is being supported by an organization called the American Activities Committee headed by ex-Congressman Maverick and Mrs. Marie Sien Halfpenny, a writer. To date the books are still on the library shelves, unbranded and unburned.

After the Truce

OF GROWING importance is the United States attitude toward the agenda of the political conference to begin within ninety days after the Korean armistice is signed. Will the Eisenhower Administration insist on confining that conference to Korean questions? Or will it agree that it shall cover major Far Eastern problems like seating Communist China in the United Nations, the future of Formosa, and Indo-China's fate? The choice arose in February, 1952, during the armistice talks. The United Nations and the Communists then agreed that the political discussions should deal with withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea, a settlement of the Korean question, "et cetera." To the Communists that little "et cetera" was a big word. It might turn the post-armistice meeting into historic negotiations for a Far Eastern accommodation. But the United States lodged a reservation declaring that "et cetera" should not be construed as applying to questions outside Korea.

So the Truman Administration decided to limit the political conference entirely to Korean issues.

After the new management moved into the White House, there were signs suggesting that the Eisenhower-Dulles team was willing to enlarge the future conference's scope to encompass more sweeping Asian problems. A fortnight after his inauguration, in his State of the Union message, President Eisenhower said of the Korean war:

> It is clearly a part of the same calculated assault that the aggressor is simultaneously pressing in Indo-China and in Malaya and of the strategic situation that embraces the island of Formosa and the Chinese Nationalist forces there. The working out of any military solution to the Korean war will inevitably affect all those areas.

These words implied a belief that a Korean settlement was feasible only within the larger framework of a conference dealing with Indo-China, Malaya, and Formosa.

The same topic arose at Dulles' famed April 6 dinner with eighteen journalists in a private room at a Washington hotel. There the Secretary of State also hinted that the United States would not insist on limiting the coming political conference to Korean affairs. But in the past few days apparently frightened of its own courage, the State Department has retreated to the Truman-Acheson position. Dulles intends to demand that the political conference, which the Panmunjom truce makes mandatory, shall confine itself to Korean questions. The reason given has an air of plausibility until it is more closely inspected.

The State Department argues that a conference on Korea and a conference on broader East Asian affairs would call for two different groups of participants. The former would discuss removal of foreign troops from Korea and free elections, presumably under U. N. supervision, with a view to choosing a parliament and government for a unified Korea. The conferees would probably consist of a selected panel of Korean war belligerents. But if there were also to be a conference on general Far Eastern problems, the Administration now says, a number of other nations with a legitimate interest in those problems would be entitled to sit at the table. Supposing the seating of Red China at the United Nations, the disposition of Formosa, an Indo-China settlement, and Malaya were to be on the agenda. Then Dulles would expect the roster of participants to be extended to Japan, Nationalist China, the three associated states of Indo-China, India, Pakistan, Burma, the Philippines, Indonesia, and perhaps Ceylon, none of which would attend negotiations restricted to Korea.

In the context of that argument, what is the Eisenhower formula? Though not yet finally decided, it promises to be this: that there shall first be a conference exclusively on Korean problems. *Provided this proves fruitful,* the United States would consent to a second, larger conference on major outstanding Asian questions. And herein lies the joker.

Under the Eisenhower formula, the most significant subject to be discussed at the political conference will be Korea's unification. Fulfilment of that aim has eluded the world since 1946. Is it any more likely to be achieved today? While the United Nations and the Communists both want a unified Korea, their respective recipes are obviously incompatible. The United Nations will never acquiesce in a Korea unified under Communist rule; on the other hand the Chinese and Russians will never accept a single Korea under American tutelage.

SO THIS political conference, with Korea's unification at the end of the rainbow, could continue into infinity. To make a fruitful result of such a negotiation the condition for holding another conference on broader Asian problems would be to adjourn sine die the opening of that second conference. Peking and Moscow would be justified in flinging back at the United Nations the demand its negotiators have made so often in connection with repatriation of war prisoners. "There must be a cut-off date at the political conference on Korea," the Reds could insist. "After that, the meeting on broader Asian problems would start."

The truth is that the Eisenhower Administration wants at almost any price to avoid a general Far Eastern conference, just as it is trying to avert a Big Four meeting with the Russians after Bermuda. In either case some of our allies would be pulling Uncle Sam's beard in one direction while Congress would be tugging his coattails in the other. India, Indonesia, and Burma, with considerable support from Britain and elsewhere, would favor drawing Communist China into the United Nations. Yet the thought of moving that way gives Eisenhower, Dulles, & Co. nightmarish fears of Congressional retribution. Is it necessary for the Administration to be quite that allergic to Congress?

President Eisenhower's horse-trade with nine reactionary G. O. P. Senators and Congressmen the other day was a memorable illustration of how not to conduct foreign policy. Senator Styles Bridges, the New Hampshire Republican, led the group that tacked a rider to an appropriations bill. The rider would have cut off United States financial support for the United Nations if Communist China were admitted.

INSTEAD OF denouncing the action as an outrageous blackmail stunt, Mr. Eisenhower made a deal with its authors. They abandoned the rider. In return, the President gave three pledges to these G. O. P. diehards:

1. He promised his Administration would resist Communist China's entry into the U. N.
2. He assured them the United States would lead the opposition to the Peking government's admission.
3. He gave his word that he would explore the possibility of using the veto in the Security Council to keep Red China out.

He thereby committed himself to a course the wisdom of which Britain, India, and perhaps a majority of the United Nations are ready to challenge. He deprived the United States of a valuable asset in future negotiations with Communist China and the Soviet Union. He accentuated what is probably the most damaging difference between America and its allies.

Is President Eisenhower's position so weak that he had to bend his knee to the old stuffies of his party? On a more recent occasion, he showed more strength—and won. Almost overnight Senator Knowland, old-time pal of Chiang Kai-shek, changed from a staunch opponent of the Korean truce to one of its outspoken supporters. There are reports from California that Knowland's price for this switch included a promise of the Senate leadership to succeed Taft and complete control of California's patronage, edging out Vice-President Nixon and Lieutenant-Governor Knight. If these reports are true, Eisenhower paid in small domestic coin to win support for major international policy.

There is no need for Mr. Eisenhower to continue to cringe before the old guard. He could still countermand the move to limit the agenda of the coming political conference. After all, as late as April 23, the President declared at a press conference that there can be no real peace in Korea that ignores the broader problems in Asia.

[*The concluding editorial of our series on The Present Danger will appear next week.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

J. Alvarez del Vayo

Not So Neo-Fascist

Rome

AMERICAN foreign policy—at least what is known of it in Italy—has received a smashing defeat at the polls here. Despite Washington's overt support, the $1,500,000,000 in American aid which has poured into this country since 1948, the "good advice" received by Italian voters from letter-writing friends and relatives in America, and the intervention of Madam Ambassador Luce, Premier de Gasperi's center coalition dropped in popular vote from 63 per cent in 1948 to 49.8 per cent. So slim is De Gasperi's majority in the new Parliament that a handful of defections or absences could endanger Italian support for such American-favored projects as the European army, European integration, and the Atlantic Pact.

What the center lost, the wings—both right and left—gained. De Gasperi's coalition lost a total of 67 seats in the Chamber of Deputies. The Communists and Nenni Socialists gained 25 seats between them, the Monarchists increased their seats by 26, and the neo-Fascist Italian Social Movement (M. S. I.), by 23. While the Communists and left-wing Socialists remain the government's chief opposition with 37 per cent of the seats, the extreme right emerges as the fastest growing segment of the Italian voting population.

The election campaign was of extraordinary interest. Some may have thought that the new electoral law would rob the vote in advance of any excitement; in the end, because of De Gasperi's failure to garner a majority of the popular vote, it availed its authors nothing. Possibly the Prime Minister foresaw this danger. In spite of the fact that he is ten years older than President Eisenhower he conducted a most strenuous campaign; in three weeks he appeared at all the important meetings from the Trentino to Sicily and delivered more than fifty speeches.

He knew that this time his battle was a different and more complicated one than in previous elections. I am not now referring to various American blunders, such as Ambassador Luce's speech at Milan serving notice that there would be no more American aid if Italy swung right or left or the more serious effect of the statement attributed to Frederick Crawford, Mr. Stassen's assistant, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that Italy required no further economic aid except offshore procurement orders and that its "troubles . . . may be summed up as coming from government ownership, monopoly, corruption, and a bad tax system." Of course right and left made good use of both incidents against De Gasperi.

BUT THE CAUSE of the government's major difficulties in the campaign was more profound. The elections were a mirror of the problems that face the Atlantic coalition today all over Europe. In previous elections De Gasperi and his allies had a strong argument with which to rally support: the specter of a Russian general assault against Europe, helped by the Communist Party in each country. In 1948 the headlines alone made propaganda for the Christian Democrats: the press was filled with the Berlin blockade, rumors of Russian troop movements against Yugoslavia, the Prague coup, all the other supposed symptoms of coming Soviet aggression. By contrast the headlines on the eve of last Sunday's elections were "Commonwealth Prime Ministers Support Churchill's Plan for a Big Four Conference"; "Truce in Korea Seems Imminent"; "New Trade Agreements Between East and West." Even less than in France, if that is possible, does one find here any apprehension of Russian attack—either tomorrow or in a more remote future. Thus one of De Gasperi's most effective electoral weapons had lost its edge. Togliatti ended the campaign of the Communists by playing up in his last speech in Rome, on June 5, the "guerra alla miseria," but in the main the leftists—as did De Gasperi—made foreign policy the principal issue.

But if the centrists had been deprived of their old weapons against the left, it was also harder this time for them to fight the right. Since the last general elections fascism has been made almost respectable by certain actions and words of Western leadership. Former Fascists have been embraced. The Italian neo-Fascists capitalized, for instance, on the friendliness shown to Franco by Washington. The fight against fascism has been ridiculed by those, some of them liberals, who are convinced that there is only one problem—to smash the Communists and Russia. So it is no wonder that in the land of fascism's birth the right as a whole is reviving. The fact is the Italian right offers many nuances; there are evident differences of approach, for instance, between the Monarchists, who have no enthusiasm for the excessive state interference of the days of Il Duce, and the neo-Fascists, some of whose groups in the north, the seat of the "Republic of Salò" which Mussolini set up in the last months of the war, are pretty wild.

The National Monarchist Party, generously financed by M. Lauro, a prosperous shipowner from Naples, carried on an energetic campaign in the central and southern provinces of Italy, where among certain classes a sentimental nostalgia for the monarchy still exists. The neo-Fascists had the advantage of an aggressive leader in De Marsanich, surrounded by men of considerable Fascist audacity, such as Almirante, Roberti, Mieville, Michelini, and Formichetta. They played whatever tune the audience wanted to hear: where it was popular, they discreetly evoked the memory of Mussolini; where it was better to appear quite "neo" they presented themselves as free and clear of any damaging political heritage. But behind them are the old stalwarts of the party, the most famous being Marshal Graziani and Prince Valeno Borghese, who exploit their war-time records.

COLD WAR'S END

Time for Diplomacy . . *by Frederick L. Schuman*

HALF a dozen years ago an American diplomat, who shall here remain nameless, opened a round-table discussion at the National War College with the comment: "The problem we face is old. Russian troops have been in Central Europe before. They have always had to be driven out. They are there again. They have to be driven out." A historian interrupted: "Mr. Chairman, *when* have Russian troops ever been driven out of Central Europe? They have been there many times—ever since the Russians first took Berlin in 1760. But they have never been driven out. They have always withdrawn by agreement among the powers." The Chairman could think of no instance. "Well . . . but the problem is still the same." Obviously, it is not. Diplomacy and war are quite different procedures for accomplishing political objectives. Americans in 1953 must relearn the uses of diplomacy—or fail utterly to meet their responsibilities.

Sir Henry Wotton's definition of an ambassador as "an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country" mirrors the current evaluation of the diplomatic art more accurately than the wiser words of Edmund Burke: "All government, indeed every human benefit and enjoyment, every virtue and every prudent act, is founded on compromise and barter." Horse-trading is a Yankee tradition. Yet America's emergence as leader of the free world has coincided, incongruously, with a debasement of the diplomatic function to the lowest point it has ever occupied in public esteem.

Problems of power among sovereignties can be dealt with only by fighting or by bargaining. The problems we face will not be fought over, for reasons to be suggested presently. They must therefore be bargained over. Bargaining is of the essence of the ancient and once honorable science of negotiation, which many Americans now view with contempt and suspicion.

On the eve of the tripartite conference in Bermuda, and for months and years beyond, Americans are challenged to reassess their distrust of diplomacy and to revive their skills at barter. The paradox of the Great Republic, summoned to negotiate and paralyzed by fear of all negotiation, must be resolved. For in this case at least Spengler's dictum is valid: "We have not the freedom to reach to this or to that but the freedom to do the necessary or to do nothing. And a task that historic necessity has set *will* be accomplished—with the individual or against him."

WHAT CAN safely be bargained about? Churchill recently asserted that he did not believe that "the most serious problem of combining the security of Russia with the freedom and security of Western Europe is insoluble." If not, how? Said Sir Winston, June 5, 1946: "It is better to have a world united than a world divided; but it is also better to have a world divided than a world destroyed." And on January 23, 1948: "The best chance of preventing war is to bring matters to a head and come to a settlement with the Soviet government before it is too late. . . . The best chance is, by formal diplomatic processes with all their privacy and gravity, to arrive at a lasting settlement." The time is now. Bermuda will be followed by other parleys and by a settlement. On what terms? These crucial questions admit of no simple answers. But something relevant may be said as to a method of finding answers.

Our skepticism at the uses of negotiation—in no way mitigated by the pleas of George F. Kennan, Hans J. Morgenthau, James P. Warburg, D. F. Fleming, and other lonely voices—has been paralleled, until recently, by the Byzantine obstructionism of Stalinist diplomacy. Washington and Moscow alike have long regarded diplomacy as a trap. The source of doubt is the agony produced by the "diplomacy" of the 1930's and the analogue which holds that world politics in the 1950's is comparable to the 1930's. Democrats and Communists alike successively "appeased" fascists on the assumption that, at best, the problems of power posed by fascism could be resolved by compromise or that, at worst, the fascist Caesars would attack the "other" side and leave "our" side in peace.

The assumption was tragic. Fascism, once in power in Rome, Berlin, and Tokyo, confronted both Freeland and Marxland with an irreconcilable conflict, leaving no choice but to crush fascism by force or to be crushed by fascist force. The mad "diplomacy" of 1931-41 destroyed the world balance of power and gave the Caesars an apparent preponderance which they used to essay the conquest of the globe. In the frustration of the enterprise twenty million human beings died by violence. The survivors concluded, understandably but wrongly, that all diplomacy is "appeasement," that all appeasement is fatal, and that the new problems of power between democracy and communism again confront us with an irreconcilable conflict. This logic, if persisted in, would have led to World War III, waged as an atomic "holy war" of mass extermination, with no victors and no end save a peace of exhaustion among demented refugees.

Happily, the analogy is false. No such prospect is even remotely probable. Democratic and Communist power holders in great states have achieved a modus vivendi in the same world for thirty-six years, however reluctantly, and have cooperated for common purposes more often than they have indulged in efforts at mutual annihilation. What is far more decisive is the circumstance that Marxland and Freeland, thanks to Western

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FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, professor of political science at Williams College, is among the most distinguished of American political analysts. His latest book is "The Commonwealth of Man" (1952).

rearmament, Russian industrialization, and the Chinese revolution, have achieved a global equilibrium and stalemate, which is the macrocosm of the military deadlock in Korea.

Neither antagonist enjoys clear military superiority over the other. Neither can devise any plausible strategy of victory in World War III. Policy-makers of great powers, even if mad or criminal, never risk total war if they are unable to persuade themselves that victory is possible. Now and in all the years ahead policy-makers in Washington and in Moscow, whether sober with responsibility or drunk with power, cannot entertain any such illusion. Since no victory can be won by fighting, bargaining for a "settlement" is inevitable.

THE SOURCE of "peace" in the cold war supplies the test of diplomacy in the negotiations to come. We have an absence of global and total hostilities for one reason only—an equipoise of fighting capacity between the two coalitions so contrived, with no one wishing it so, that no power holders in either bloc can afford to gamble on victory in the event of ordeal by violence. Therefore, over and again, each side has recoiled from making demands on the other, supported by threats of force, for components of power which the other would be obliged to resist by force. Korea is no exception, since the Truman Administration in January, 1950, led the world to believe that America would not defend Korea. By all present prospects this global stalemate will persist indefinitely, with neither side capable of attaining a credible margin of superiority.

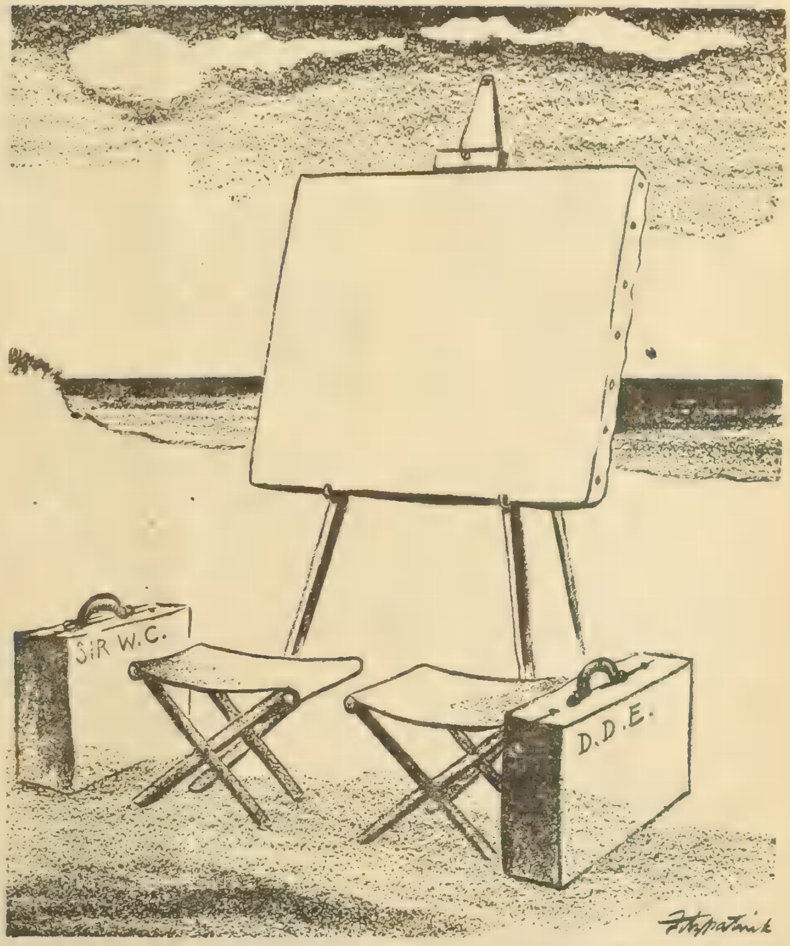
If the balance is the source of peace, then the maintenance of the balance must be the basis of a settlement which will make "peace" a human reality and not merely a propaganda slogan. All viable bargains among diplomats must rest upon the facts of power. The current facts are such that we cannot "liberate" Eastern Europeans or Russians or Chinese from the slavery of communism, and Communists cannot emancipate Western Europeans or Africans or Americans from the thraldom of "capitalism," save at a cost equivalent to the suicide of civilization. We and they are thus obliged to accept the present distribution of world power between East and West.

These considerations imply distasteful consequences. One is the obvious truism that governments do not negotiate about their own survival. Another is that it is necessary to recognize governments in order to negotiate with them. London and Washington will be divided at Bermuda over recognition of Red China and its admission to the United Nations. Sooner or later the United States will be compelled to deal with the Peking regime as the government of China. We may wait sixteen years, as we did with the U. S. S. R., or we may extend recognition promptly as a means toward discussion. Non-recognition, which mistakenly equates recognition with approbation, pays no dividends. Recognition, albeit abominable to fanatics, would repudiate anew the unworkable Wilsonian conception of recognition as a weapon of policy and return to Jefferson's de facto theory of the value of official relations, even with detestable regimes, reaffirmed by Byrnes in 1946. In order to bargain one must talk. "Recognition" has no other purpose.

Other unpleasant conclusions flow from the premise here postulated. America will have to acquiesce in—without in any way approving or indorsing—the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, the established frontiers, and the existing Communist system of alliances. Governments not confronted with force majeur never negotiate boundary changes save on a basis of quid pro quo. Governments do not abandon alliances at the request of potential enemies. These elementary lessons of diplomacy we shall have to relearn. So will the men in the Kremlin, since they cannot hope to negotiate without accepting the Western anti-Communist regimes, the existing frontiers, and the alliance system of the free world.

What is possible within these limits? I venture to believe that several local settlements are possible. Beginnings must be made where tensions are greatest and where potential antagonists can, if they wish, disengage themselves from one another—that is, in Korea, Austria, Germany.

Costly experimentation has demonstrated that we cannot conquer North Korea and the enemy cannot conquer South Korea. Continued partition is


SIR W.C.
D.D.E.
Fitzpatrick

Courtesy St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

Rendezvous at Bermuda

therefore inevitable. If Syngman Rhee prefers death to partition, there is no good reason why he should not have his choice so long as all others understand that life is preferable to death. A united Korea would be a Communist Korea or an anti-Communist Korea. We cannot permit the former. The foe cannot permit the latter. But foreign troops could eventually be withdrawn—ours to Japan and the enemy's to Manchuria—on the basis of a pact among Japan, the United States, China, and the U. S. S. R. to disarm, neutralize, and guarantee the two Koreas against invasion or subversion. To link such negotiations with the questions of Formosa, Indo-China, and China's seat in the U. N. would, I believe, be futile. Let a divided Korea become a buffer between the nearby bastions of Communist power and American power. Ultimate unification in a world atmosphere of concord is by no means inconceivable.

IN AUSTRIA our purpose is to get Russian troops out of the east and Moscow's purpose is to get our troops out of the west. A treaty with an independent Austria is possible provided there are assurances against the Ostmark becoming either a Red satellite or an American ally. Either development would jeopardize the balance. The price of a treaty is thus the neutralization of Austria by agreement among the powers. The result would be another buffer, reducing frictions among the giants and capable of later becoming a bridge rather than a road block between two worlds.

Whether a similar formula can be applied to Germany remains to be seen. Insistence in Washington and Bonn that German neutrality is "impossible" does not make it so. Diplomacy is the art of the possible. It is impossible for the Western powers to permit a united Reich to become a Soviet satellite. It is equally impossible for the Eastern powers to permit it to become a NATO ally. The test of the possible is the balance of power. The Acheson-Dulles policy of sponsoring a unified Germany, to be enlarged by revision of the Oder-Neisse frontier and to be allied with the West against the East, is wholly impossible of realization. Continued adherence to this position means the Reich's indefinite partition.

A far more hopeful solution for all concerned would be the unification of a neutralized Reich within existing frontiers and the withdrawal of all foreign troops. To obtain Russian evacuation and the orderly demise of the East German regime, the United States could well afford to pay the price of German neutrality. It is no answer to say that Western Europe cannot be defended against Russia without a rearmed Germany as an ally. Western Europe, with or without Germany, can never match or balance the local military superiority of the Soviet bloc. Its security depends, and will always depend, not upon European arms and alliances but upon the global equipoise between the Eastern and Western super-powers.

Will the Kremlin ever consent to quit eastern Germany? The answer, I believe, is yes—if we are willing to abandon our campaign for frontier revision and agree that a united Reich is to be neutralized and guaranteed by a new "Locarno," to which all of Germany's neighbors, plus Britain, America, and the U. S. S. R., would be parties. Soviet willingness to entertain such an idea would be enhanced by the prospect of an orderly demise of the Adenauer regime as well as of the Grotewohl-Pieck regime. A united Germany would be predominantly Protestant and Social Democratic, committed to neutralism by its internal political structure as well as by international engagements. Such an outcome would deprive neither the Russians nor us of any actual or reliable components of power. It would offer both coalitions, and all Germans, immense advantages.

What is possible beyond such local settlements is a premature question, since nothing will be possible if such settlements are not negotiated. Should they be achieved, exciting prospects loom ahead: a resumption of East-West trade, a hope of economic solvency for Western Europe and Japan, accords for limiting armaments, relaxation of Soviet control of the satellites, opportunities for the West to reconsider the future of colonialism without regard to "cold war"—in the end, perhaps, a reformation of a strengthened United Nations in the direction of limited world government.

Such visions will seem fatuous to those who assume that America is incapable of negotiation. We can, if we choose, adhere to the Acheson conception of "total diplomacy," meaning no diplomacy whatever, and to the Dulles conception of trying to impose our legalistic-moralistic abstractions on the outer world. We can refuse to compromise with sin. We can cling to our illusions of total victory, unconditional surrender, and American omnipotence. We can, at the behest of the Senator from Formosa and the Senator from Bedlam, rededicate ourselves to an inflexible anti-communism, begetting more inquisitions at home and more crusades abroad.

IN THIS EVENT by no means improbable, is all hope lost? I think not. The aging Stalin, by saying *nyet* over and again to all proposals for bargaining, earned the fear and hatred of millions and frustrated his own purposes. An America which says no to all proposals for bargaining will also earn the fear and hatred of millions and frustrate its own purposes. Our allies will then conclude that America has no qualifications for "world leadership," is incapable of diplomacy, and is incompetent to be trusted with the lives and fortunes of much of mankind. They will then, because they must, make their own peace with Marxland and end the cold war, whatever the risks, and leave us to tag along later or retire into a sullen isolationism.

This should not be permitted to happen, for it would upset the balance and expose the Muscovites to temptations which, in Christian charity, we should protect them against. It is therefore to be hoped that the Eisenhower Administration, with the support of most Democrats and of all Republicans save the madmen, will prove equal to the responsibilities and opportunities which loom ahead. "To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heavens . . . a time to keep silent, and a time to speak; a time to love, and a time to hate; a time of war, and a time of peace. . . . I know there is no good but for a man to rejoice and to do good in his life. And also that every man should eat and drink and enjoy the good of all his labor, it is the gift of God." This is a time for diplomacy—and for peace.

THREAT TO ALL T.V.A.'S

Givaway Program No. 2 . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

THE drive to dismantle the whole public-power system is going along faster than anyone would have predicted four months ago. This second big givaway program of the Eisenhower Administration is just as barefaced and as potentially costly as the offshore-oil deal, and there seems little chance of stopping it. The basic idea is to keep the government out of the power business wherever possible and by any means; if that can't be done, fix it so the private utilities can get the power at the bus bar and sell it on their own terms. Cripple the Rural Electrification Administration and the co-ops, put the hobbles on the T. V. A., knock out the government transmission systems, and in general give the power lobby everything it wants.

Since the attack has been launched on every imaginable front, it is hard to pick out any one place and say here is the key struggle. Perhaps it is well to look first at the attack on the T. V. A. program, if only because it reveals the President of the United States in the act of swallowing a campaign pledge whole. On the surface all that is happening to the T. V. A. is a moderate—as such things go nowadays—shaving of its request for funds for the next fiscal year. Actually, the T. V. A.'s whole future is threatened. If there is a vigorously expanding economy anywhere in the United States, it is in the Tennessee Valley. The budget cut ordered by the Administration would prevent the T. V. A. from expanding its services to keep up with the economy it serves. Thus a few years hence it would be possible to argue that this particular segment of the public-power system simply cannot provide the power that the territory needs. Then, of course, the way would be open to invite the private-power boys to take over.

The T. V. A. has about reached the limit in its development of water power. If it is to grow with the needs of its area, it must build new steam plants. What President Eisenhower's Budget Bureau did, after spending four months studying T. V. A. requests, was knock out $30,000,000 for two new steam-plant units at Fulton, Tennessee, and $31,000,000 for continuing construction on other hydro and steam units. This will create a tight situation. The T. V. A. already foresees a power shortage for the Memphis region. Its 150 preference customers—municipalities and cooperatives which by law can buy only from the T. V. A.—will suffer first if a shortage develops.

GOVERNOR CLEMENT of Tennessee recently told a House appropriations subcommittee that these preference agencies have some $400,000,000 invested in distribution facilities. In addition, since the end of World War II the people of the valley have put a billion dollars into home and farm power-using appliances. All these investments, he pointed out, were made in the belief that there would be a normal, business-like expansion of the T. V. A.'s facilities to meet expanding needs. By the fall of 1956, the Governor warned, the people of the valley "will either have the power available that these steam units T. V. A. is recommending will provide or they will be facing a serious power shortage."

Shortly before the Presidential election last fall the editors of the Scripps-Howard newspapers in Memphis and Knoxville wired General Eisenhower asking him to make clear his attitude toward the T. V. A., a very live issue in Tennessee. Eisenhower promptly wired back: "If I am elected President, T. V. A. will be operated and maintained at maximum efficiency." Rumors that he would decrease T. V. A.'s operating efficiency, or even abandon the project entirely, he declared, were "grossly untrue and utterly false." Ike then carried Tennessee by 4,000 votes.

Now let us consider the noose being slipped about the neck of the Southwestern Power Administration, the agency that sells power produced by federal dams in the Oklahoma-Arkansas-Texas area. In marketing this hydroelectric power the S. P. A. integrates it with steam power in order to firm up the supply for its preference customers. It has contracts with a number of co-ops which have pooled their resources to build generating and transmission facilities, and buys their entire output. In turn the S. P. A. sells to distribution co-ops, which serve their own customers. For this purpose the S. P. A. has what is known as a continuing fund; that is, it uses money received from its sale of power to pay for the steam power it buys. This takes nothing out of the federal treasury, since income equals or exceeds outgo over a year's time. All the S. P. A. needs is an annual authorization from Congress permitting this use of the money. For the coming fiscal year the Truman budget authorized a continuing fund of $5,650,000. In the Eisenhower budget this was cut to $3,736,000. Now the House of Representatives has cut it to $150,000. The effect will be to kill the S. P. A.'s ability to serve the co-ops, which will therefore be forced to sell out to the power companies.

Significantly enough, Frank Wilkes, president of the Southwestern Gas and Electric Company, has argued that the continuing fund is unnecessary, since the utilities are ready to sign wheeling agreements. After the House action, however, he said that the utilities were no longer prepared to do this; they would simply buy the power at the bus bar and resell it at what they considered a reasonable figure. Of all the government agencies which sell electric power the S. P. A. does by far the largest business, proportionately, with cooperatives—25 per cent of its sales as compared with 5.9 per cent for government power sales as a whole. (Bonneville sells 2.5 per cent to co-ops, the T. V. A. 9 per cent, the

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BRUCE CATTON, a contributing editor of The Nation, *reports frequently on what is going on in Washington.*

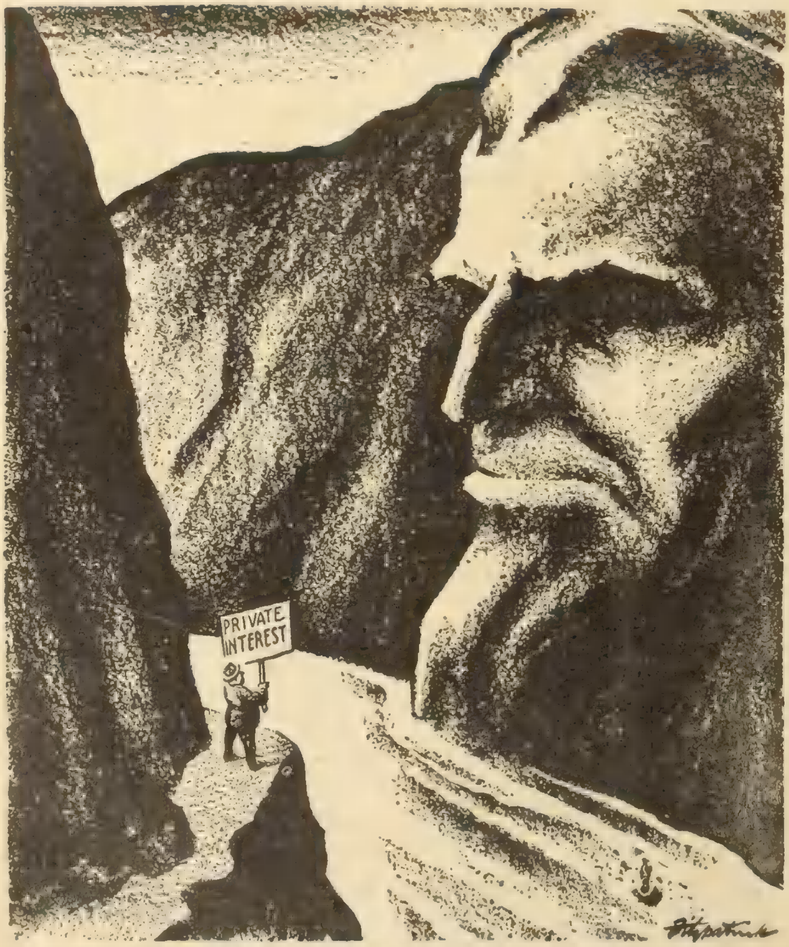
Bureau of Reclamation 1.4 per cent.) It looks like rough sledding for the co-ops.

Appearances are not deceiving. The Rural Electrification Administration is the federal agency which makes the rural electric co-ops possible by lending them money at low interest rates and providing essential technical services. The Eisenhower Administration is crippling the R. E. A. in two ways. As of this writing, the House Committee on Appropriations has cut the agency's loanable funds to $165,000,000, which is about $129,000,000 less than the amount considered essential by the National Rural Electric Cooperatives Association. In consequence the co-ops will be unable to build any new generating or transmission facilities, which of course will place them squarely at the mercy of the private utilities. On top of that, the R. E. A.'s administrative funds are being limited to $7,750,000. This will mean the firing of 150 employees, principally technicians, and the crippling of the technical aid furnished the co-ops.

To make the deal complete, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Fred Aandahl recently told a group of co-op leaders from Colorado that the government is adopting a new policy in respect to preference customers on Bureau of Reclamation projects. (Preference customers, it should be remembered, are municipalities, co-ops, and other public agencies designated by law as entitled to the first crack at federally produced power.) Hereafter, said Mr. Aandahl, when power becomes available on a new Reclamation project, preference customers who are ready to buy will be served. Sales will then be frozen; that is, the proportion of power sold to co-ops will not be increased no matter how much the co-ops expand. Thus the performance of the Southwestern Power Administration in building up its sales to co-ops from nothing to 25 per cent of its total business could never be duplicated.

As a final note, Representative Kit Clardy of Michigan has just introduced a bill which would raise the interest rate on R. E. A. loans from 2 to 4 per cent. This would make it all but impossible for co-ops to break even.

Other companies are now taking the contract offered by the Georgia Power Company as their model. Georgia Power refused to sign wheeling agreements; instead, it simply offered to buy government power and then resell it, separately, to preference customers. Such a deal, of course, would make the power company an independent middleman in the distribution of government power and deprive the government of all effective control. Former Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman steadfastly refused to approve any such agreement, but he is gone now, and so is the philosophy he represented.



Courtesy St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

IF PUBLIC POWER can't be licked in one way it can in another. Look at Table Rock Dam, in southern Missouri. A short time ago, after preference customers in the area had contracted to buy power from Bull Shoals Dam, then nearing completion, the Defense Department announced that Bull Shoals power would be needed for aluminum production. As a result the contracts were canceled and it was announced that the preference customers would get power from Table Rock Dam, whose construction, just getting under way, would be expedited. This winter, however, Defense Secretary Wilson stopped work on Table Rock Dam, and the Bureau of the Budget refuses to send down a request for construction funds.

As if to make certain that nobody misunderstands what is going on, the House Appropriations Committee expressed itself unmistakably on public power in a couple of paragraphs inserted in the Department of the Interior's appropriation bill. This policy statement, which presumably expresses the sentiment of the House majority, stipulates that the government should build dams and then let the private companies buy the power at the bus bar and distribute it over their own lines. It also says that "in all future projects or new starts which include transmission lines private enterprise shall be urged to take the initiative in constructing, owning, and operating such works before money is made available for federal construction." Here we have nothing less than a reversal of the whole public-power concept quietly wrapped up in an appropriation bill.

The givaway operates on all levels. The Roanoke Rapids power site, which acquires its real value from heavy federal expenditures farther upstream, is handed over to the Virginia Electric

Power Company. Hell's Canyon is about to be handed over to the Idaho Power Company. The power potential at Niagara and on the St. Lawrence is to be developed without federal intervention. What all this adds up to is a victory of the first magnitude for the power lobby. With the wreckage of two decades of gains lying all about us, we might as well be back in the mid-twenties. One observer, moved to sardonic humor by the brazenness of the deal, remarked the other day: "When they build those three private dams in the Snake River, they should name them Albert B. Fall Dam No. 1, Albert B. Fall Dam No. 2, and Albert B. Fall Dam No. 3."

GUILTY OF WHAT?

The Charge Was Perjury . . *by Eugene Daniel*

THE perjury conviction of William Perl, thirty-four-year-old physicist, is merely an episode in the larger drama of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. But Perl's strange trial in federal court last month raises some disturbing questions about the government's methods in spy cases.

Ostensibly, Perl was tried on the charge of lying four times to the federal grand jury that subsequently indicted the Rosenbergs. Actually, Perl was arrested for espionage. This was the real issue, as reporters were told by a helpful assistant United States attorney.

The four counts in the indictment were based on Perl's denial to the grand jury in the summer of 1950 that he knew Julius Rosenberg; Morton Sobell, co-defendant with the Rosenbergs, now serving a thirty-year sentence; Helene Elitcher, wife of a government witness against the Rosenbergs; and Ann and Michael Sidorovich. Mrs. Sidorovich, according to David Greenglass at the Rosenberg trial, was to have been a courier for the ring. After a week-long trial Perl was found guilty, with a recommendation of clemency, on the Rosenberg and Sobell counts and not guilty on the other two. Judge Sylvester J. Ryan ignored the jury's urging and gave Perl the maximum sentence, five years on each count, to run concurrently.

The F. B. I. began to question Perl about his City College classmates, Sobell and Julius Rosenberg, early in the summer of 1950. One F. B. I. agent, he testified, warned him then, "Rosenberg and Sobell are going to fry." Perl was first brought before the grand jury on August 18, 1950, and again on September 11 and October 4. He was told plainly that he was being asked to appear as a witness, not as a defendant. But he insisted he did not have the information the government sought. In the winter of 1951 he was summoned to a conference of F. B. I. agents and government prosecutors. Roy Cohn, then an assistant United States attorney and now Senator McCarthy's assistant, said to him, Confess or you will be indicted. Perl replied, "I have nothing to confess. I would like to hear any charges against me in open court."

A few weeks later, midway in the trial of the Rosenbergs and Sobell, Perl was arrested at night on a sealed indictment. He was charged not with spying but with answering falsely to the grand jury six and seven months earlier. Out on bail but jobless, Perl moved in June, 1952, to bring his case to trial. Judge John F. X. McGohey denied his motion on the government's plea that it would be unwise, in the interest of security, to reveal its proof until the Rosenberg appeals were settled. This peculiar argument lends strength to the contention of the Rosenbergs' lawyer that Perl was indicted to inflame sentiment against them.

Finally, twenty-six months after he was indicted, Perl's trial began on May 18, 1953. On the first day the government clearly tipped off the court to the underlying case. Assistant United States Attorney Robert Martin read the account Perl had given to the grand jury of a mysterious visit from a Vivian Glassman. A sister of a girl he had known, Vivian Glassman slipped into Perl's Cleveland apartment in July, 1950, a few weeks after the F. B. I. first questioned him. Perl told the grand jury Miss Glassman said nothing to him, grabbed a sheet of paper, scribbled Julius Rosenberg's name on it, and wrote that she had money for Perl to flee to Mexico. He asked her to leave and reported the incident to the F. B. I.

His telling the F. B. I. and grand jury about this seemingly incriminating visit hardly appears to be the conduct of a spy. Perl said he thought the visit was a "trap" of some kind.

THE GOVERNMENT then hurried on to make its perjury charges stand up. Records were brought in to show that Perl, Rosenberg, and Sobell were all electrical-engineering students at C. C. N. Y., attending classes together from 1934 to 1938. Two of their former classmates testified they saw Perl, Sobell, and Rosenberg talking together in hallways and the lunchroom, at Young Communist League meetings in the Bronx, at Union Square rallies, and at ten-or-twelve gatherings of the Steinmetz Club, a Young Communist League affiliate for electrical engineers. The government also produced two letters Perl had written his family in 1940 and 1941 referring to "my friend . . . Sobell."

The most articulate witnesses were Max Elitcher and his wife, Helene. In great detail they described a party in 1944 at which they were present with Perl and Rosenberg. They told of another in 1946 at the Rosenberg apartment that included Morton Sobell. But Perl's lawyer drew from Max Elitcher an admission that although he was a member of the Communist Party from 1939 to 1948 he had sworn on navy loyalty forms that he was not. The jury

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EUGENE DANIEL is a free-lance writer in New York.

apparently believed neither of the Elitchers. It found Perl not guilty of lying when he said he did not know Helene.

The government's clincher on the charge that he knew Rosenberg and Sobell was Perl's own confusing testimony in his grand-jury appearances. On August 18 he had said he did not know them. On September 11 he said he now recalled Sobell from City College. On October 4 he said he now had an "awareness" of Rosenberg from school and may have kept in touch with Sobell for awhile after graduation.

TAKING THE STAND in his own behalf, Perl made no effort to rebut any of the testimony. Indeed, all through the trial he had forbidden his lawyer to object to any of the evidence, holding that anything that was true could not hurt him. He based his defense almost entirely on the meaning of the word "know." As Judge Ryan said in his charge to the jury, testimony is perjured only when it is given contrary to belief. The issue was: did Perl give answers to the grand jury truthfully—albeit mistakenly—or did he deliberately lie?

Perl said that when the grand jury asked him if he knew Rosenberg and Sobell he thought the questions meant: are you presently and intimately associated with them? This was logical, he said, because the F. B. I. had been questioning him weeks before about both men and told him they knew the three were at school together. Therefore, his lawyer argued, it would have been absurd to conceal the old relationship. Perl said he had truthfully answered all the questions of the F. B. I. and the United States attorneys and told his family to cooperate with the inquiry. The very letters used by the government to show Perl knew Sobell after City College support his cooperation claim.

The contradictions in his grand-jury testimony, Perl said, stemmed from honest thought processes. He was deep in his research work for the government's National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics when the probe burst on him in 1950. He was "shocked and horrified," he said, by the F. B. I.'s intrusion into his life. On his first appearance before the grand jury he couldn't recall Sobell and Rosenberg. On his second and third appearances he began to get "an awareness I didn't have before . . . visualization, a recollection."

Perhaps the most telling factor in the jury's decision was Perl's candid admission at his second grand-jury session that he feared any link between himself and Communists "would prevent me from doing physics." At his perjury trial Perl again said openly, "I had one single idea in mind. To make clear to the grand jury that I was not associated with those perjured souls [Sobell and Rosenberg]." The government seized on this as a motive for Perl's untruthfulness. Perl's lawyer might have argued that in the present climate of opinion his client's fear was warranted and that his frank admissions were not in character if he was a perjurer.

It is likely that the jury during its four-hour deliberations spent most of its time arguing over the word "know." Although his charge was eminently fair, Judge Ryan may have played a large role in determining the jury's mind on this key word. During Perl's cross-examination he asked what the defendant now understood by "know." Perl said, "I'd have to consult a dictionary." The Judge snorted, "Did you look it up in a dictionary when the grand jury questioned you?" Later, in sentencing Perl, Judge Ryan termed his explanation "stupid and clumsy."

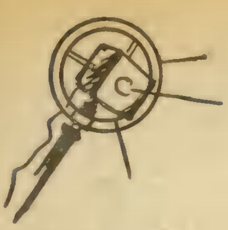
WHILE THE JURY was out, the case developed its last unusual turn. Prosecutor Robert Martin told the newspapermen that he was unhappy because the papers had given the case and himself very little publicity. What do you expect? was the reply. Since espionage had barely crept into the trial, editors had buried it. Martin pondered this, and after the jury brought in its verdict and Perl's lawyer asked for continuation of bail pending sentence, he jumped to his feet and said that the government opposed bail because it had "information tying this defendant in with the Rosenberg espionage ring—directly." What was the information? Martin was "sorry, but we can't make it public at this time."

That did it. The next morning the New York *Times* and *Herald Tribune* lifted Perl from inside pages to page one. The *News* led with the story. In all accounts the emphasis was nicely divided between the verdict and Martin's claims.

Despite its assertions that Perl was in constant touch with spy-ring members, the government proved much less. At best it proved that Perl lied about knowing two Communists twelve years ago. Except the Elitchers' questionable testimony, no evidence was offered to show that Perl knew Rosenberg and Sobell from 1944 to 1950—the years when their espionage conspiracy was operating, according to the indictment under which they were convicted.

In a saner atmosphere it is inconceivable that Perl would have stood trial for such trivial evasion. As Mr. Martin explained in another aside, "If we tried every case that was technically perjury, we'd be swamped." From this observation and Roy Cohn's warning it is clear that Perl was tried for perjury because he did not confess to espionage. Even Judge Ryan looked beyond the courtroom to arrive at his stiff penalty. After the verdict was announced he directed the United States attorney to bring him F. B. I. reports on Perl to help him determine the sentence.

One big question looms over the whole affair: why bother with Perl at all? The Rosenbergs say he was arrested during their trial to whip up feeling. Another theory finds the reason in his eminence as a physicist. In the fifteen years after he graduated from C. C. N. Y. cum laude, Perl had established himself as an outstanding aerodynamics theorist. Of all the persons linked to the Rosenbergs, he alone was capable of understanding atomic secrets. Did the government reason that since the ring lacked such a trained person one had to be found? At the time of Perl's indictment United States Attorney Irving Saypol said Perl was supposed to have been a government witness against the Rosenbergs. Did the government convict Perl of perjury because he would not or could not confess to being the missing man at the center of the ring?



The Texas Brand in the Library

By Maury Maverick, Jr.

[This is The Nation's *own "Voice of America," an occasional feature bringing to our readers condensations of important speeches which have received little or no notice in the press. Maury Maverick, Jr., son of the former Congressman, is a member of the Texas legislature. The following speech was delivered before that body in the course of a recent debate on a bill to "brand" certain books in all the public libraries in Texas. An attempt to do the same thing on a municipal level in San Antonio, Texas, is commented on in the editorial pages of this issue.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Austin, Texas

HOUSE bill 566, which has been criticized by the Dallas *Morning News* and *Times-Herald* and the Austin *American*, will cause all books not used for comparative study to be removed from public libraries if they purportedly (1) discredit the family; (2) ridicule the American Constitution and privileges enjoyed thereunder; (3) hold up to scorn freedom of religious worship and religious instruction; (4) hold up to contempt American or Texas history; (5) advocate the overthrow of the government by violence.

The first four items mentioned obviously make for an unconstitutional law, since they destroy free speech and freedom of the press. The last item is worthy of a separate analysis, which I shall subsequently make.

AS FOR WRITING which purportedly discredits the family, there may be those fanatics who will demand that the Holy Bible be removed from public libraries, for it is stated according to the Gospel of St. Matthew, Chapter 11, verse 35: "For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law."

As for publications which ridicule the rights and privileges enjoyed under the federal Constitution, the very first publication to be removed from public libraries will be the statute books which will contain H. B. 566, should said bill become the law of the land.

As for publications which purportedly hold up to contempt freedom of religion, there may be those who will demand that the Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Texas be removed from all public libraries, for it is there stated: "[The] government has been forcibly changed without the people's consent from a restricted Federative Republic composed of sovereign states to a consolidated central military despotism, in which every interest is disregarded but that of the army and the priesthood, both the eternal enemies of civil liberty, the ever-ready minions of power, and the usual instruments of tyrants."

In addition there is the risk that the Constitution of the United States of America will have to be removed because of the language in Article I of the Bill of Rights, which reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion." This, of course, is the doctrine of the separation of church and state and to many people is considered as being contemptuous of religion.

As for books which unjustifiably hold up to public contempt American and Texas history, there might well be those who will insist that all books be removed which criticize the murder of Alexander Hamilton by Aaron Burr, the Dred Scott decision, the burning of the South by General Sherman, the Ku Klux Klan, and all books which refer to President Cleveland's illegitimate child. The poetry and writing of Walt Whitman, who grew up in an era which saw lobbying approach its corrupt zenith, and who cried out against ". . . bawling office holders, kept editors, bribers, compromisers, lobbyists, spongers, the lousy combines and born freedom sellers of the earth," may be taken out of the libraries.

NOW PERMIT ME to turn to that part of H. B. 566 which requires that all books in public libraries be stamped with quarter-inch-high words in red print if the author is in fact or is alleged to be subversive or once a member of some organization on the Attorney General's list. The only other large countries in modern times to institute book-branding have been Japan, Germany, Italy, and Soviet Russia.

An article entitled What You can Read in Russia in *Harper's Magazine,* for April, 1952, states: "Censorship is rigorously applied in Russia. The Lenin Library in Moscow, which is proud to be counted among the five richest libraries in the world, sometimes prints on its catalogue cards, 'This work cannot be consulted.' "

In the Lenin Library at Moscow, books are branded—and we will do the same thing if we vote for H. B. 566.

As for Nazi Germany, I quote to you from the book "Germany Enters the Third Reich," by Calvin B. Hoover: "A sort of index expurgatoris was set up . . . books by thousands from the public libraries and the loan libraries were burned in gigantic public bonfires by the students." The same thing was done in Italy, as described by Shepard Clough in his book "Making Fascists."

Judge Learned Hand, now an old man and truly one of the great jurists in the history of our nation, stated it much better than I can when he said:

"I believe that that community is already in process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy; where non-conformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation without specification or backing takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists, to win or lose. Such fears as these are a solvent that can eat out the cement that binds the stones of our government together. They may in the end subject us to despotism as evil as any that we dread."

BOOKS

He Stuck to His Own Street

LETTERS OF SHERWOOD ANDERSON. Selected and Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Howard Mumford Jones in Association with Walter B. Rideout. Little, Brown and Company. $6.

By Willard Thorp

WHY is it, one wonders, that there are still hidden passages in the lives of many American writers, unexplained episodes and changes of direction and purpose? When will the biographers of Poe, Melville, Whitman, Mark Twain, Emily Dickinson, Stephen Crane, Thomas Wolfe, and Edith Wharton complete the record and tell all that we need to know? The still unresolved enigmas in their lives make the tasks of a biographer of Keats or Thackeray or Shelley seem routine. In part it is, of course, that most English writers can be measured against their tradition, whereas the bolder and more imaginative of our American writers were making a tradition which we as yet imperfectly understand.

There is still much to know and say about Sherwood Anderson, although the biographers have already been busy. The present volume of 401 letters, selected from the rich horde of 5,000 in the Newberry Library, answers many questions about him, and they are a valuable addition to the truth about Anderson, but they raise, it must be admitted, almost as many questions as they answer. The editors had to use some principle of selection, and their choice was certainly a sensible one—to present mainly those letters which speak of Anderson's methods and purpose as a writer, his special sense of the place of the writer in America, his relationships with other writers and artists, and his understanding of the psychology of the writer. By intent there are no letters here which Anderson wrote before he turned his back on the business world. The excuse offered is that "there is no good exhuming letters written by Anderson the business man, a quite different fellow." The next biographer may well say that the excuse is lame. That "quite different fellow" we need to know about, for Anderson several times wrote into his work his still mysterious defection from "Roof Fix." The experience was traumatic as well as crucial. Anderson subsequently made a legend of it, until he had clothed naked fact—whatever it was—in at least seven veils.

Another difficulty was beyond editorial control. Anderson retold the story of his life many times. He used his father and mother, his brothers, his boyhood days in Clyde, as a writer of fiction needs to, but he disconcertingly called his fictions "A Story Teller's Story" or "Tar, a Midwest Childhood." Knowing Anderson's particular propensity for passing off fiction as fact and fact as fiction, a habit which makes life difficult for his biographers, one cannot help wondering how true to essential fact his letters are. They seem to be utterly frank, especially when he is writing to friends of long standing who loved him—Clara and Ferdinand Schevill, for instance, or Roger Sergel. But an insistent question crosses the reader's mind: are Anderson's letters, even to those nearest him, partly fiction? Are things left unsaid or said fancifully? Will future biographers have to work over these letters as they have the memoirs and the autobiographical stories, winnowing them to find the hard kernels of fact?

To ask this is probably to beg the question. What was fact about his life was what Anderson thought it was, even though the fact frequently put on a new but not necessarily a false face. And there is no doubt that the letters present Anderson at full length and are the self-portrait of the artist as Midwesterner in awe of the praise of the cultured East, as a man with a real vocation, as a father delighting to discover belatedly the sturdiness of his sons, as a constant inventor of "projects," a generous and lovable encourager of others who wished to go his way, a reluctant but earnest political man, a specialist in the particular submarginal America which he knew better than any other of our writers. There is, certainly, no fiction mingled with two insistent facts which the letters reveal: since there was no trace of meanness in Sherwood Anderson, he never lost a friend, and believing as he did in the necessary supremacy of art in a civilized society, he never lost his sense of vocation, though the persistent failures of his later years might well have made him bitter and abusive.

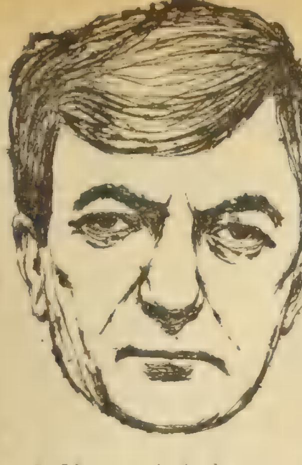
Occasionally, too, the essential Anderson comes through so strongly and sharply to the reader that he is hauled up short. In 1939, for example, Dwight Macdonald of the *Partisan Review* was questioning writers about their aims—standard practice for such magazines. Anderson let Macdonald have it, straight from the bow, ignoring the postcard form and using a long letter for his arrow.

> And now as to the questions. In answer to the first, I would have to say that it is no part of my nature to analyze very closely what influences me and what doesn't. I am interested in storytelling. My mind is likely to stay on the street in which I happen to be walking, rather than on America as a whole. I just don't think that way, and in thinking that way it is impossible for me to say whether either Henry James's or Walt Whitman's work is more relevant to the present and future of American writing, etc., etc.

Anderson goes on to say that he has no particular audience in mind when he writes. "I have a notion that at the present time many people who otherwise might be more interested in the human side of people have gone off into their effort to solve life through economics." He is pitched outside his own world by talk about the influence of criticism on the writer. "I like praise and dislike blame." A pompous query about "the great tradition" elicits three short sentences: "I think it goes on and on in spite of all the things you mention. The difficulty is to keep it straight. All the morality of the artist is involved in it."

The last question gets the best answer and presents Anderson in the truest likeness a biographer could ask for.

WILLARD THORP is professor of English and chairman of the American Civilization Program at Princeton University. He is coeditor of "Literary History of the United States."



Sherwood Anderson

> This again gets me outside the house in which I sit, the street in which I walk. It plunges me off into a world of thinking that in some queer way does not belong to me. I believe that my own responsibility is to those immediately about me. I frankly do not understand world movements. They seem to me queerly accidental. Outside any possibility of any clear thinking on my part, I want my own job, and while these things may have a tremendous influence on my job, I try to keep my own mind on the job itself. I am not and do not pretend to be a world thinker, a national thinker, or a political thinker. You see, Macdonald, this is about all I can say on the subject. To me all such words as "the people," "the masses," "nations," etc., etc., are rather empty words. I don't like attempts at big thinking. I suppose there are men who can do it, and I am satisfied to leave the job to them. To me the world is simply filled with individuals some few of whom I would like to come to understand a little.

In the troubled thirties Anderson tried to be a political man and ventured on "big thinking." Drawn to the left as most American writers of any stature were, he united with other artists in attempting to arouse the conscience of Herbert Hoover after the still unforgotten and unforgivable assault on the Bonus Army ("What happened here in Washington looked to me like Tsardom"). He joined groups, permitted his name to be used on letterheads. Even before he died such indiscretions were beginning to catch up with him. In these days when Congressional investigators are chiefly vigilant in hunting down new quarry, it may be well to have it on the record that Anderson, as his letters show, hated communism as much as he did fascism. (The dead may be the next group to be summoned to the Klieg lights.) Let Anderson repeat, in his defense, if he is permitted to speak, what he wrote in 1939 to Herbert Feis, an economist who was then an adviser to the State Department.

> Some years ago I had a letter from Henri Barbusse or Romain Rolland, I do not know which, asking me if my name could be used in some sort of an organization [Executive Committee of the World Committee Against War and Fascism], as I understood it, against Fascism, and I presume I said O.K. I am sending you a copy of a letterhead they use in their literature. As a matter of fact, Herbert, I have never been to a meeting of the organization and know nothing about it except what appears on this letterhead. The letterhead seems to say that I am counselor to the president, who seems to be Romain Rolland; but if I am, he never in any way consulted me, nor did I ever give him any advice.
>
> I presume, however, that I will have to find out whether or not my name appearing thus on the letterhead of this organization makes me any kind of an officer. At any rate, I know I am not an organizer of anything. I really suppose, Herbert, I am just an ordinary old-fashioned liberal Democrat and certainly with the same impulse against Fascism, Communism, or any other sort of dictatorship that most of us feel. I wonder if you could enlighten me about this.

WHAT MOTIVATED Anderson's attempts at "big thinking" in those years will be clear enough to other liberal Democrats—or democrats—who survive. The depression had shaken his immense faith in America, under which was subsumed belief in the ultimate taming of the machine and the possibility of civilizing business. He did not think in terms of historical forces or the revolt of the masses. Rather, he was remembering men and women he had known in Winesburg, the textile mills of the South, and in all the Hello Towns of America through which he had wandered in those restless journeys which were both escape and discovery for him. One suspects, too, that being a political man was for Anderson a substitute for what he knew well enough was the real work which he could no longer do. His waste basket had always overflowed with botched pages, but most of the pages written in the thirties were discarded or should have been. The much-revised "Beyond Desire" (1932) is perhaps his poorest work, and "Kit Brandon" (1930) is not much better. Though Maxwell Perkins was now his editor, there was little that even he could do for this "sixty-year-old smiling public man."

The other hours Anderson filled with projects for getting his stories on the stage and in pouring out letters to aspirant novelists and to thesis-writers who requested the story of his career. There are too many letters of this kind in the collection. Anderson entertained few ideas, one reason, perhaps, why he represented them in so many guises, as he did the chief episodes in his life. Oddly enough, his ideas about himself are not

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—HANNAH [redacted]

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ALFRED A. KNOPF, *Publisher*

very abundant, although he speculated constantly in his last years about Sherwood Anderson.

Surprisingly, since Anderson had so little use for criticism, some of the best passages in the letters are about other writers. To many of his writing contemporaries—Dreiser, Gertrude Stein, Waldo Frank, Hart Crane, Paul Rosenfeld—he wrote intimate and sympathetic letters. But he could judge their work objectively and speak of it with extraordinary flashes of insight. This is true also of Faulkner, whom he helped on his upward way ("this man is a comer," he wrote Liveright), though he did not like Faulkner as a person, and of Thomas Wolfe, with whom there was some sort of minor quarrel. This sympathetic understanding seems to have been withheld only from Hemingway, though he too was given the right hand of fellowship in the beginning. What brought about the change is difficult to make out. One notices it first in a letter to Paul Rosenfeld in 1927: "It made me pretty sick seeing Hemingway this winter." Anderson comes back to "Hemmy" again and again, trying to figure out what has gone sour. Finally, in 1936, he finds his answer (in a letter to Ralph Church).

> I began reading Hemmy's "Green Hills of Africa" and thinking of him and a lot of things you said. It's really a lousy book, and the god awful thing is that he doesn't know it and never will.
>
> I rather wonder, Ralph, if it isn't like this. You see, he's got this notion in his head, that you get there by chucking the imaginative world. He got it, of course, because it isn't his world. He can't feel his way around in it, can't get it; so he gets out of it by saying, "The hell with it."
>
> And then you see what he does. He romanticizes what he calls the real world, gets ecstatic about shooting and killing, guts and dung.
>
> There's the whole world of men he can't get at all; so he proclaims his own superiority to it and them.
>
> And then, too, he's too concerned with writing, thinks of it too much like the eternal amateur he is and always will be, the small bad boy. . . .
>
> I think it's rather like this, Ralph. Of course every man has a hell of a time. First he has to work to get someone else, usually some woman, out from between him and his canvas. That's a fight. Then he has to try to get himself out. That's the thing Hemmy can't do.
>
> I wonder if I'm right.

By subtraction do we not find Anderson's world in what is left out of Hemingway's—the pathos, the sentiment, all that is unheroic and unromantic?

New Books in Brief

Viennese Tragi-Comedy

THE MAN WITHOUT QUALITIES. By Robert Musil. Translated from the German by Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser. Coward-McCann. $4.

This is a distinguished novel of ideas by an eccentric and talented European author whose work has been neglected perhaps just because he is a writer of many qualities none of which quite fit into convenient critical categories. The story is primarily a study of upper-class life in imperial Vienna before the First World War. It is incisive and entertaining social satire, but it deals also with the tragi-comedy of human relationships, and particularly, in Musil's own tradition, the tragi-comedy of love. This is the first section of a large work; the author has been compared, exuberantly and erroneously, with Proust, Joyce, and Henry James. But he is at least a sort of daylight Kafka whose world is just as ominous and frustrating, if softer in texture, more affectionate and communal, as it summons up all its gaiety to face the void. The publishers have performed a useful service in introducing Musil here; one hopes they will continue to publish him.

What Makes Us Human?

YOU SHALL KNOW THEM. By Vercors. Translated by Rita Barisse. Little, Brown. $3.50.

Jean Bruller, known before the war as one of France's foremost cartoonists, suddenly achieved international prominence when under the pseudonym Vercors he published "The Silence of the Sea" during the German occupation. This short masterpiece dealt with the first passive then active resistance of the Breton fishing folk.

"You Shall Know Them" is Bruller's first full-length novel since "Silence," though a collection of long short stories on war themes was published here in 1946. It lacks the lyric, compelling quality of the first book, but it is worth reading because the author, returning to his original gift for social satire, has posed the question why man has defined everything possible under the sun save himself. Man, says Bruller, has consciously avoided any generally acceptable definition of those characteristics or that distinguishing feature which makes him "human," that is, sets him apart from the ape. Specifically he asks what point must be reached before a creature can be considered a member of the human family.

The novel, written in a teasing, scratch-the-surface style (the translation is just right throughout) and moving along at a swift clip, purports to chronicle an expedition of anthropologists to the Australian bush. In the course of the yarn Vercors pokes much fun at both the British and the French, but more at the "unwritten law of custom" which hag-rides the bourgeois dinner-table and other similar rites, such as courtship, the club, the course of justice in the courtroom.

He concludes: "Humanity is not a state we suffer. It's a dignity we must strive to win. A dignity full of pain and sorrow, won at the price of tears . . . [our] very duality is part of the human condition . . . the dignity of men resides even in their failures, even in their falls."

How Unions Work

THE LOCAL UNION. By Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss. Harper. $3.50.

The authors of this book spent months making field studies of twenty local unions, a job of unique research in which they received the generous cooperation of union officers and members. They have produced the first full-length report of its kind but one whose limitations they fully recognize. In fact, they recommend further research to test their own conclusions.

The time covered by the study was 1948 to 1952. The unions selected—ten C. I. O., one independent, and nine A. F. of L.—were in basic and fabricated steel, automotive assembly, food processing, men's and women's clothing, chemicals, and printing. Their membership ranged from 500 to 2,000 and they operated in four Northeastern communities of from 20,000 to 2,000,000 population. The authors' conclusions will not satisfy those with stereotyped ideas about labor organizations or with great faith in legislative panaceas. They found that as the collective-bargaining relationship matured, a certain degree of "working harmony" between labor and management was created, though this was always subject to disruption when bargaining began on grievances or terms of employment.

The book is chiefly concerned with the inner workings of local unions, the factors that unite or divide individuals and groups within the union, and the external influences that help to determine union policies and actions. It is a careful, detailed, and realistic inquiry, well worth the attention of union officers and economists, labor-relations executives, and, perhaps above all, members of Congressional committees now rewriting federal labor law.

Business vs. Ethics

THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE BUSINESSMAN. By Howard A. Bowen. Harper. $3.50.

Is simultaneous pursuit of profit and sanctity possible? What compromises with his ethical principles must the business man make? Questions of this kind are presented in this, the third volume of the Federal Council of Churches series on ethics and economic life. Though Professor Bowen believes that business ethics have substantially improved in the last half-century, the most sympathetic reader can derive from him no clear statement of what these ethics are.

Professor Bowen's most original suggestion, a social audit of business performance, is an interesting one, but the trap remains. How can you balance the financial books of a corporation without standard accounting procedures? How, a fortiori, can you conduct an audit of social performance without clear standards of what is socially desirable and what is not? It is this central uncertainty which makes an otherwise solid book flounder. Perhaps its author's most useful service is in letting us see how confused the whole subject is. It might be well if the series stopped here without rubbing this condition in, in three additional volumes.

More and More Science Needed

PREVIEW FOR TOMORROW. The Unfinished Business of Science. By Bruce Bliven. Knopf. $5.

The promises and threats of technology as they appear to a well-known journalist. The information was gathered by interviewing some two hundred experts in various fields; the subjects, grouped under eight heads, range from birth control to calculating-machines and from erosion to malaria. On almost every page there is a reason for viewing with alarm, but there are also almost as many occasions for optimism. If it frightens you to learn that "two-thirds of the United States is already short of water" you may take comfort in the fact that if the army needs, for instance, an expert on airplane maintenance who speaks Arabic and is reasonably immune to malaria, the electronic scanner can determine in a few minutes whether there is anyone with this happy combination of characteristics available.

In general Mr. Bliven's slant is that of a liberal optimist who believes in the efficacy of the hair of the dog that bit you—that is, that the cure for the evils of technology is more of the same. His conclusion is that "nearly all mankind's troubles today are self-created" and that we now know enough to remedy them if we will only consent to do so. There is lots of information in this book even though some of the author's cheerfulness seems to spring from sheer faith—as, for example: "We should not get impatient . . . because comic books outsell all other periodicals combined, or because a television comedy of young married life bearing no relation to reality has sixty-eight times as many viewers as one of the best educational programs. These are the growing pains of our culture." It's an unfortunate metaphor because Mr. Bliven's medical experts would tell him that these "growing pains" are not recognized by medical science. They are the symptoms of a disease.

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THE LIBRARY OF GREAT PAINTERS. Portfolio Edition. Rembrandt, Text by Wilhelm Koehler; Botticelli, Text by Frederick Hartt; Flower Painting, Text by Margaret Fairbanks Marcus. Abrams. $1.50 each.

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The quality of the texts has generally been very high, and Hartt's consideration of Botticelli is one of the best in the series. It combines brilliant scholarship with beautiful writing that catches the haunting exquisiteness of Botticelli's art. Koehler, one of the greatest living art historians, is curiously sentimental in his treatment of Rembrandt and too often takes refuge in abstract clichés like "the very essence of the individual has been caught by the artist." He is eloquent, however, when he compares the

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Civilizing the Indian

THE SAVAGES OF AMERICA. By Roy Harvey Pearce. The Johns Hopkins Press. $4.

In this study the author has made a valuable contribution to the history of the idea of civilization as it developed in relation to the American Indian.

The civilized Americans saw in the American Indian all that they had grown away from, and much that they had still to develop away from if they were to realize their destiny in creating a new society. From the first they took the view that the Indian must adapt himself to them, and become, like them, civilized. The Indian's resistance to this idea was on the whole not understood for what it was, except by a few independent spirits and the Quakers. It is strange that men, especially invaders, have taken so long to recognize the right of every people to their own culture.

With much labor and resourcefulness Dr. Pearce has uncovered a whole realm of materials which show how quickly the idea developed that the best kind of Indian was a dead one. The story he has to tell relies entirely upon the historical record, and that record is a very unpretty one. We have repeated it in our own time with the Eskimos of the Far North and we are doing the very same thing in the Aleutians now. Yet some progress amid all this disaster is being made, and our government is today endeavoring to let the Indian learn all he can from the white man and still retain his own culture.

Theater

Freda Kirchwey

THERE are two plots in "Me and Juliet" (Majestic Theater), and to this observer they seemed two too many. It did not improve matters that they moved—though rather slowly—together, one inside the other. On the contrary the play and the play within the play, though parallel in theme, were just different enough to create an air of mild confusion and dislocation. Something is wrong when a musical-comedy audience goes up the aisle after the finale discussing the plot rather than the songs and dances. I had thought that "South Pacific" and a couple of others by the same authors had converted me to this form of theater art, but "Me and Juliet" effected a reconversion. I came away with an old bias in favor of revues as opposed to musical comedies restored to its former vigor.

Another complaint. The feature songs were sung too often, a fault common to most musical shows including the best of Rodgers and Hammerstein. Several are surely destined to be hits. Of these I particularly liked Keep It Gay, No Other Love, and Marriage Type Love. But the last, possibly the most appealing, was plugged until by the final curtain it sounded as if it had been out a year. And The Big Black Giant, celebrating the real boss of the theater, the people out front, was reprised far beyond its worth, for it is a tiresome number even the first time you hear it. (Its resemblance to Old Man River is just close enough to make it the sadder by comparison.) Some of the lesser songs, which enjoyed no repeats, pleased me more than the would-be hits. A very amusing one, words and music both, was It's Me, delightfully sung by Joan McCracken and Isabel Bigley. Another likeable ballad, That's the Way It Happens, described the persuasive power over a young lady's heart of French-fried potatoes and a T-bone steak. The tunes all through—barring the Giant—are good, but they are not rare, magical, wonderful, any of them. Similarly the lyrics, while smooth, deftly phrased, and amusing or romantic as the situation demands, are not thrilling or very funny or very witty. And the frightening thing about being Mr. Rodgers and Mr. Hammerstein is that the audience sits there expecting all those qualities!

Enough of complaints; even, perhaps, too much. For after the qualifications are all in and counted, the show is still one that makes a cheerful evening. If not a prize show, like the other two by the same authors on the same block, it will almost surely attract happy, large crowds all summer. There is incidental amusement, and just the barest edge of excitement, even in the wrap-around plot and a lot of amusing backstage "business" about rehearsals and props and the goings-on of stage managers and their assistants, in and out of love. The action moves along at a brisk clip under the direction of George Abbott, and the dancing by a number of gifted and very handsome young performers is effective, both ensemble and individual.

A few of the large company stand out for one virtue or another. Isabel Bigley as Jeanie, the sweet, pretty understudy who inspires the nice assistant stage manager with marriage-type love and the tough electrician with murder-type passion, acts and sings her part well enough to give it genuine sparkle, something of a feat. Joan McCracken as Betty is fresh—both kinds—cute, hoydenish, and a first-rate dancer. A graduate of "Oklahoma," she adds a high gift of comedy to these useful qualities. Another comedian of talent is Ray Walston, the dictatorial stage manager and helpless victim of Miss McCracken's ardent, uninhibited pursuit.

Finally, if magic evaded the writers of book and score it attended the designing of the sets. Jo Mielziner staged "Me and Juliet" with lavish elegance, $300,000 worth, but he put in more than that. He added imagination and grace, humor, fantasy, and fragile, mysterious beauty, providing a background that lends radiance to the doings on stage—a most welcome contribution.

[*Harold Clurman,* The Nation's *regular theater critic, who is now in Tel Aviv, will give his impression of the Israeli theater in next week's issue.*]

Records

B. H. Haggin

COLUMBIA offers a group of additional performances by Dinu Lipatti—of Mozart's Sonata K.310, Bach's Partita No. 1, and transcriptions of Bach pieces by Busoni, Hess, and Kempff. The first movement of the Mozart sonata can be played with more power; but it is convincing played with the lyricism, sensitiveness, and grace that one hears in these performances, the unfailing taste and feeling for continuity in phrase and structure, the unfailing precision of execution and beauty of tone (the tone of a superb Hamburg Steinway).

The Solomon performances of Beethoven's Sonatas Opp. 106 ("Hammerklavier") and 81a ("Les Adieux") issued by RCA Victor are an occasion to repeat what I said a few months ago: that if one can't endure Schnabel's occasional tempo too fast for clarity, his occasional fortissimo beyond the limit of agreeable sound, his occasional inaccuracy and confusion in difficult passage-work, then one can have smoothly rounded perfection from Solomon; but that if one *can* endure those flaws in Schnabel's playing one gets in addition the sustained continuity and intensity and the dramatic power that Solomon doesn't offer. This time it must be said that the slovenliness and confusion in Schnabel's frenzied performances of the first and last movements of Op. 106 are almost too much to endure, and one listens with relief to what Solomon's saner tempo and his accuracy and clarity enable one to hear. But elsewhere in this work, and throughout Op. 81a, Schnabel's playing is unflawed, and he operates with powers in the shaping and articulating of music that Solomon doesn't possess, and with expressive effect that Solomon doesn't achieve. This is demonstrated not only by the two performances of the gigantic slow movement of Op. 106, but very strikingly by the two treatments of the Poco Andante passage just before the end of Op. 81a. Solomon's performances, it remains to add, are reproduced with unusually low volume.

I have managed to hear some noisy old Victor records which confirmed my recollection of Backhaus's performances of Chopin's Etudes twenty years ago as being fabulous in their speed, delicacy, and smoothness, and something for Victor to reissue in its Treasury of Immortal Performances. For I haven't heard their equal; and Backhaus himself doesn't equal them on the new London record of twelve of the pieces: it is saddening to hear in the Etude in thirds and some others how much his fingers have lost in speed, flexibility, sensitiveness, and evenness. A few of the pieces on the second side, including the exquisite Op. 25 No. 2 in F minor, come off better.

Hilde Somer's playing in Schubert's Piano Sonata Op. 143 is unfinished and inadequate; and as a result the superb work doesn't produce its effect. Mozart's Fantasia K.397 and some Strauss and Lanner waltzes are also on the Remington record.

The five Bach chorale preludes that are played well by Finn Videro on the organ at Soro, Denmark (Haydn Society) comprise "Vater unser im Himmelreich," "Nun Komm', der Heiden Heiland," and "Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier," which are very beautiful, the engaging "Von Gott will ich nicht lassen," and "Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele," one of the most beautiful of all. The Variations on "Sei gegrüsset, Jesu gütig" I find less interesting.

HAVING, a while ago, given the British an incorrect idea of American broadcasting, John Crosby has now given Americans an incorrect idea of British broadcasting. Or rather he has confirmed the incorrect idea that Americans have from what they have been told all these years. In a recent column from London Crosby wrote that "a small group of—let's face it—highbrows determine what the British shall and shall not see and hear. It is a tyranny of good taste which in many ways is as inherently dangerous as our own tyranny of the rating systems or popular demand." And this confirmed the idea Americans have that the highbrows who run the British Broadcasting Corporation allow the British public nothing but programs in Sanskrit.

Twenty-five or thirty years ago one might talk about inherent dangers; by now one must talk not about the inherent but about the actual. And actually—as Crosby was in a position to observe in London, and as anyone can discover here by looking at the weekly programs in the files of the B. B. C.'s *Radio Times* in its New York office—there is no tyranny of the highbrow in England analogous to the tyranny of the lowbrow here. Only one of the B.B.C.'s three wavelengths carries the highbrow Third Program; the other two carry the Home Service and Light Program which satisfy the interests and tastes of the general public.

This is in accordance with the B.B.C.'s guiding principle, that it has an obligation, in the words of its former director general, Sir William Haley, to "provide for all classes of its listeners," and "in the course of the limited peak listening hours every evening to give some service to every possible taste." And the B.B.C. adhered to this principle even before the Third Program: when it had only two wavelengths it gave the highbrow an hour or two every evening, the rest of the time to the general public; and with a program of serious music on one wavelength for the highbrow there was always something for the general public on the other wavelength.

A lowbrow tyranny on the American networks that considered itself obligated "in the course of the limited peak listening hours every evening to give some service to every possible taste" including our own would be something we highbrows would be glad to settle for.

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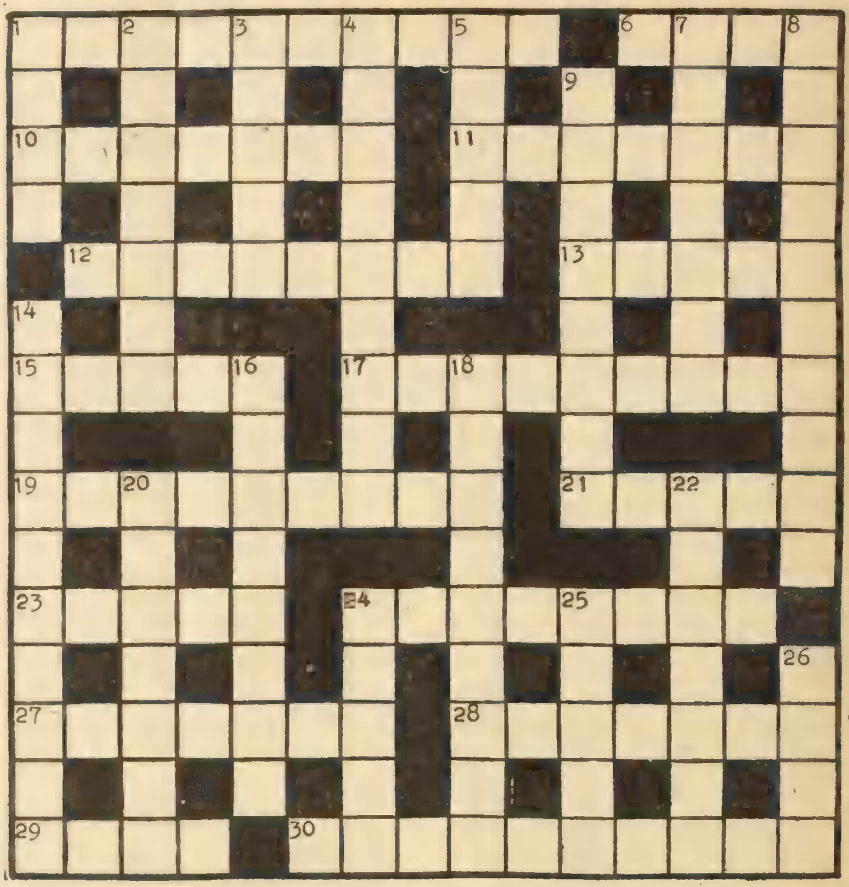

ACROSS

1 Bound to be direct, but not direct, to what is left, which you have to take first! (10)
6 See 3 down. (4)
10 Rides in part of an exclusive circle. (7)
11 Its construction is like down—widely separated. (7)
12 Civil manners are a most important part of course! (8)
13 If this goes up you might try it on the dog. (5)
15 Sounds like a wild animal in chains, but it's got a lot of 12. (5)
17 You can always find the door this way, if in disrepute. (2, 3, 4)
19 Puts together enclosures. (9)
21 Pomp put back with the head of 1 down. (5)
23 One pronunciation seems barely in the lists, perhaps. (5)
24 Her chair seems to be official. (8)
27 Military roller? (7)
28 What particular accountants do. (7)
29 Plug up the forward part. (4)
30 Should this win the semi-finals of the aquatic events? (4, 6)

DOWN

1 and 4. This should be a check on red renaissance, in a way. (13)
2 Units, as a form of hold up. (7)
3 Schumann's was 6. (5)
4 See 1 down.
5 See 20 down.
7 Written as spelled, sounding as charged. (7)
8 Nightmares to the politicians, no doubt! (4, 6)
9 They handle their own dispatches. (8)
14 Clubs represented by one club and one spade. (10)
16 This cost is absorbed by the people, perhaps. (8)
18 Bachelors respite, barely out of the background? (3–6)
20 and 5 down. American "vues" on the stage. (7, 5)
22 A place in New York mixed up on a sort of bridge. (7)
24 Chicken up an orange tree? (5)
25 Battle scene of the square, naturally (5)
26 Ibsen's character might be described as noble. (4)

~•~

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 519

ACROSS:—1 CONTRIVE; 5 SPITED; 9 ARSENIC; 10 BALDRIC; 11 AIRSHIP; 12 LOTHAIR; 13 MURDER WILL OUT; 15 SHOESHINE BOYS; 21 OUTRAGE; 22 LE HAVRE; 23 TAPROOT; 24 VALLEYS; 25 ELDEST; 26 CLEANSED.

DOWN:—1 CRAVAT; 2 NOSTRUM; 3 RANCHER; 4 VICE-PRESIDENT; 6 PALATAL; 7 TORNADO; 8 DECORATE; 10 BELOW SEA LEVEL; 14 ASCOT TIE; 16 OCTOPOD; 17 SEASONS; 18 OPHELIA; 19 SOVIETS; 20 VERSED.

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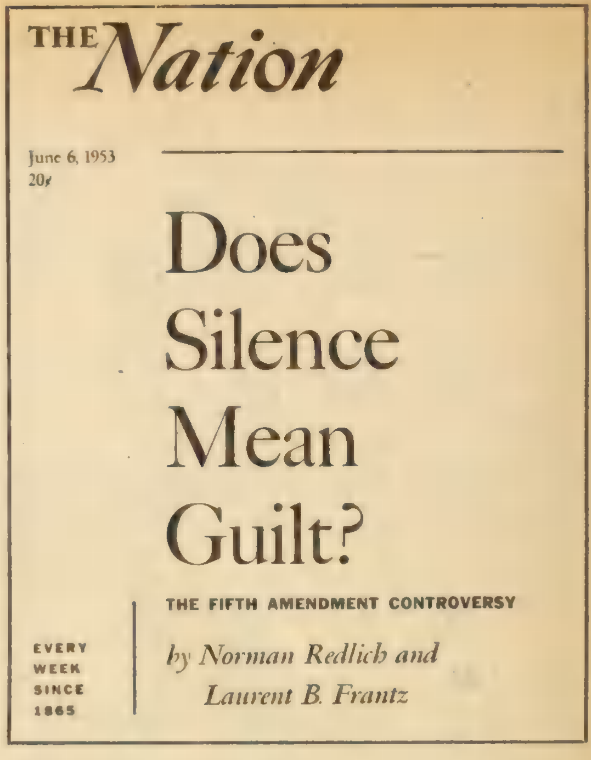

THE *Nation*

June 6, 1953
20¢

Does Silence Mean Guilt?

THE FIFTH AMENDMENT CONTROVERSY

by Norman Redlich and Laurent B. Frantz

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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➡ *Throughout the country people are talking about* The Nation's *timely, provocative article Does Silence Mean Guilt?; here's what some of them have to say about it:*

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HOW WE CAN STOP McCARTHYISM

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Blunder in Korea

by a Washington "Observer"

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EVERY
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1865

Letters

Readers' Response to Redlich-Frantz Article

[*Few articles published by* The Nation *in recent years have aroused such widespread interest as Does Silence Mean Guilt? published in our June 6 issue. Reprints are still available at prices ranging from ten cents per copy for small orders to $45 per thousand copies.*]

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on the most forthright, comprehensive, and comprehensible exposition on the Fifth Amendment I have yet had occasion to read.

LAWRENCE D. SHUBOW

Boston, Mass.

Dear Sirs: The article reaches far beyond the sterile legislative interpretation so common today and presents a viewpoint which is encouraging and warming for its humanity. . . . It impresses one with the fact that this beneficent possession of the American people must be struggled for today. . . .

DANIEL FINE

Boston, Mass.

Dear Sirs: As a member of the Board of Directors and of the Editorial Committee of the Iowa Civil Liberties Union, I am anxious that our members all read the article Does Silence Mean Guilt?, of which our acting secretary, Laurent B. Frantz, is co-author. We have noted your welcome announcement that reprints are available. . . .

EDWARD S. ALLEN

Ames, Iowa

Dear Sirs: You may be interested to know that at a meeting yesterday of Forum Board of Directors, it was unanimously voted to circulate this excellent and thoughtful statement to our entire board and to our chapter officers in various cities.

KATHERINE EARNSHAW,
Executive Director,
The Physicians Forum, Inc.

New York

Dear Sirs: Many of my friends have been bemoaning the damage done to the purpose of the Fifth Amendment by the supporters of McCarthy's methods. At the same time, there's been little material available with which to refute the slanders. Does Silence Mean Guilt? is particularly impressive in its analysis of the "honest" people who are opposed to endless Congressional investigations, but who still condemn witnesses who invoke the Fifth Amendment.

GERTRUDE ROBBINS

New York

Dear Sirs: As one who has been wrestling with this problem many months now, not in the abstract but concretely in relation to many teachers. . . . I can say that this article is the best analysis for the layman that has appeared anywhere.

ROSE RUSSELL,
Legislative Representative,
Teachers' Union

New York

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on the article Does Silence Mean Guilt? by Laurent B. Frantz and Norman Redlich published in your June 6 issue.

HOWARD EHRLICH

Bloomington, Ind.

Dear Sirs: I have read [the article] with much interest. I think it is most important that this should be widely read.

H. T. RAWLEY

Hanover, N. H.

Dear Sirs: May I add my congratulations on the article. It is brilliant and timely and, as always, *The Nation* is far ahead of any other liberal journal in the country.

CONNIE KOPELOV
Assistant Director, Speaker's Bureau,
The Chicago Council
on Foreign Relations

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sirs: The very excellent article Does Silence Mean Guilt? comes at the time when it is most needed. It is by far the best piece of writing I have seen on the subject. It should have the widest possible circulation and should convince individuals, groups, and institutions *not* to "cooperate" with the investigators. Congratulations for printing it.

ALBERT LEVY

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sirs: The excellence of your choice of subject matter is exceeded only by the highly informative and provocative quality of writing under the title Does Silence Mean Guilt? May you have the support, the strength, and the will always to give the facts on issues where one-sided reporting distorts them.

HILDA KAPLAN

Brooklyn, N. Y.

No Money for Jenner et al.

Dear Sirs: I think readers of *The Nation* will be interested in the following resolution, addressed to Speaker Joseph Martin and the members of the House of Representatives, which was adopted unanimously at a meeting of 1,800 citizens of Los Angeles:

> In view of the fact that the House Un-American Activities Committee, in fifteen years of its existence, has not found even one alleged subversive engaged in attempting to overthrow the government;
>
> Also in view of the fact that this Un-American Committee has failed to meet the constitutional requirements to make investigation the basis for legislation;
>
> Therefore be it resolved that this meeting of 1,800 citizens of Los Angeles, on March 27, 1953, sets as a goal for all patriotic Americans the discontinuance of all appropriations for any and all Un-American committees—federal, state, and local. . . .

Los Angeles VICTOR SHAPIRO

Invitation to Bard

Dear Sirs: The Summer Institute for Social Progress is holding its 1953 Conference June 27 through July 11 at Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N. Y. There will be reports and discussion groups on such topics as "The Role of the U. S. in the World Situation," "The U. N. in the Struggle vs. Poverty and Ignorance," "Possibilities of a Genuine Peace Settlement," "United States Foreign Policy," "Assessing the New Regime in Russia" and many others of similar interest. Among the participants will be Benjamin A. Cohen of Chile, Assistant Secretary General of the U. N.; Isador Lubin, member of the U. S. delegation to the U. N.; Robert Oliver, assistant to C. I. O. President Walter Reuther; William Gomberg, A. F. L. Consultant to the Mutual Security Agency; Frank M. Surface, assistant to the president of Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and other distinguished experts.

The fees are $8.50 per day and that includes tuition, board and room at Bard College. Applications should be sent to Dorothy P. Hill, Director, 14 West Elm Avenue, Wollaston, Mass.

DOROTHY P. HILL

Wollaston, Mass.

Volume 176, Number 26
New York, Saturday, June 27, 1953

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Setback to a Reverse

The internal easing of Soviet rule, like Moscow's conciliatory gestures toward the rest of the world, has seemed to indicate an intention to reduce antagonism by recognizing the existence of justified grievances and doing something about them. The satellites have been prominently included in the new program, and among the satellites, East Germany was particularly favored. Not only was it provided with a civilian high commissioner, but the whole process of Sovietization appeared to be set in reverse: an amnesty was promised, land was to be returned to expropriated farmers, schools and colleges were to be relieved of various Communist restrictions, all ration cards were to be restored to those who had forfeited them.

But the taste, or promise, of a little freedom, came too late for a people who all along have been among the weakest links in the Soviet armor. The latitude offered was seized upon as a chance for real protest; the protest swelled into revolt; the revolt found leadership and organization which must have been waiting for its occasion. By the second day, the Berlin riots were city-wide and flamboyantly political; they were ended only when the Russians declared martial law and moved in troops and tanks to help the East German Security Police disperse the rioting crowds and round up the supposed leaders. Most serious for Moscow from the political point of view was the fact that the revolt was begun and led by the workers; in effect it was a strike that almost became a revolution.

The Russians have blamed the whole thing on United States agents, but this is far too flattering an estimate of American capacities. If any aid for the rebels came from American-sponsored organizations, it was certainly insignificant compared with the force of the explosion. What Russia knows, but can hardly acknowledge openly, is that the discontent it had taken steps to allay is far too big—and perhaps too well organized—to be dispelled by either tanks or minor concessions.

Not All Jam for Us

The uprising was of course thoroughly exploited by American propaganda agencies and Western occupation authorities called upon the Russians to refrain from using gunfire in putting it down. Had it not been for the release of war prisoners in Korea only a day later (see p. 537), American satisfaction over the anti-Russian explosion in Eastern Germany would have been undiluted. But the consequences of the Berlin revolt are yet to be counted. In the end they may add up to something almost as uncomfortable and challenging to the United States as to Russia.

The revolt began, as did the riots in Czechoslovakia two weeks earlier, as a protest against unbearable economic exactions and oppressive political controls. But whether the Soviet government can afford to relax this economic stranglehold, nobody knows. The Berlin outburst may only bring heavier demands and tighter controls. But if the Kremlin has firmly set its mind on a showdown with the West in Germany, it cannot afford a series of bloody working-class revolts growing out of last week's uprising. The marching workers in Berlin shouted for "unity" and "free elections." Already the Russians have announced an acceleration of the program of economic and political concessions. Should Moscow back this with a serious, reasonable unity offer, attractive to East Germans and West Germans alike, the United States might find itself facing the issue it has hoped most desperately to avoid—at least until West German integration in the Western Alliance is signed and in effect.

An American Failure

The execution of the Rosenbergs was a sickening and disheartening failure—of the American conscience, of the American sense of fair play, of American moral leadership, of American justice. With world opinion aroused by the judicial horror implicit in sending the mother of two minor children to the electric chair for an act of peace-time espionage, about all we have had to say in reply is that "Communist propagandists" are to blame. But Communist propagandists did not prompt the London *News Chronicle* to observe:

> It is indeed an astonishing thing that the most important issue of this whole astonishing case appears only to have been raised in the last minute of the eleventh hour. . . . Only on Wednesday of this week, President Eisenhower was saying how the Coronation had thrown a vivid light on the glorious heritage of law that was

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common to the United States and Britain. It is a pity that a heritage of clemency is not apparently common to them.

As immoral as the use of the cry "Communist propaganda" to blind Americans to the true state of world opinion was the editorial ballyhoo about the "due process" accorded the defendants. The plain fact is that the Supreme Court consistently refused to review the case and the substantial point on which Justice Douglas relied in granting a stay was only considered in the most oblique manner and with such indecent haste that two members of the court felt compelled to enter vigorous protests over the speed-up ordered by the Attorney General. How much better it would have been if, as Justice Black pointed out, the court had granted a full review on all the issues. As it is, the world will not be permitted to forget that very grave doubt exists that the death sentence was properly imposed. Nor do Communist propagandists need to remind those who read the American press that influential newspapers screamed for the blood of the Rosenbergs or that word of the execution was greeted with applause in Congress where Representative Frank L. Chelf interrupted a debate on foreign aid to say: "Praise God from Whom all blessings flow and thanks to the Supreme Court."

Years ago, John Jay Chapman said of a lynching in Coatesville, Pennsylvania: "I said to myself: 'I shall forget this, we shall all forget it; but it will be there. What I have seen is not an illusion. It is the truth. I have seen death in the heart of this people.' For to look at the agony of a fellow-being and remain aloof means death in the heart of the onlooker."

This failure of the American conscience was, however, in part redeemed by the courage, insight, and moral integrity of Justice Douglas and Justice Black. Every American who values our tradition of individual as distinguished from "political" or collective justice will be forever grateful to them. The failure was also redeemed in part by the Rosenbergs who, guilty or not, went to their deaths with a composure and dignity that won praise even from hostile newspapers.

"Intruders and Interlopers"

But this publication feels a special gratitude to Irwin Edelman, an indefatigable pamphleteer and soapbox orator who has been attempting to enlighten the crowds in Los Angeles' Pershing Square these many years. Expelled from the Communist Party in 1947, Edelman did not turn informer or renegade; instead he turned on the fools and opportunists who had expelled him and has been making life miserable for them ever since. Advertisements for his first pamphlet on the Rosenberg case—a thoroughly justified criticism of the manner in which the defense had been conducted—were refused by, among other publications, the *National Guardian.* The ads appeared in *The Nation* as did a lengthy communication from Edelman.

In the last tragic chapter it was Edelman who came forward as the "friend" of the Rosenbergs to raise the point, over the objection of the Rosenbergs' accredited counsel, that won a stay and might, if it had been raised earlier, have won a review. Yet one of the justices referred to him as a "vagrant," citing a court decision from which it clearly appears that Edelman had raised and carried to the Supreme Court of California an important free-speech issue. A word of appreciation, too, should go to Daniel G. Marshall and Fyke Farmer, the lawyers who volunteered to help Edelman and who, with him, were denounced as "intruders and interlopers." A prominent Catholic layman whose trip to Washington was financed by Los Angeles Unitarians, Mr. Marshall has a fine record of distinguished service on behalf of civil rights and liberties.

On the night the Rosenbergs were executed, the intrepid Edelman was chased from Pershing Square by an angry crowd. As the spry little Russian-born pamphleteer sought refuge in a nearby coffee shop, he shouted at his pursuers: "If you are happy about the execution of the Rosenbergs, you are rotten to the core." In that act of defiance and clarity, this little man with a passion for justice demonstrated, as Chapman demonstrated in 1911, that there are always some Americans who can not remain aloof when they look on the agony of a fellow human being.

The Present Danger

III.. On Principles and Policy

EARLIER instalments of this three-part editorial (June 6 and 13) dealt with the nature of McCarthyism and with McCarthy's tactics; this concluding note suggests the principles and policy by which the large and growing opposition to McCarthyism should be guided.

McCarthy has possession of an issue and an instrument —and both should be wrested from him. The issue, of course, is "the menace of communism" (as conceived by McCarthy). As long as we continue to identify American communism—puny in strength and irrelevant in doctrine, with the power and potential threat of Soviet Russia—our gullibility will be exploited by McCarthy or his successor. It is this myth of the omnipotence of communism which blinds us to the real meaning of the revolutionary tides now sweeping through Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and, in other forms, through Europe. As long as we continue to treat these movements as primarily by-products of the activities of Kremlin-directed conspiratorial parties, we will never understand them.

The same myth also blinds us to a realization of why it is that communism has a powerful appeal to people in so-called "backward" and colonial areas, namely, that it does have a technique for dealing with certain problems facing these peoples: a dictatorially imposed and ruthlessly policed plan for liquidating feudal land tenures, abolishing entrenched corruption, ending usury, forcing capital accumulations by expropriations, and so forth. By the same token it blinds us to the fact that communism cannot subvert the institutions of a country with deeply rooted democratic traditions and an expanding economy. The large vote polled by the Communist Party in France and the left in Italy is a measure not of party membership but of general discontent. Czechoslovakia was a special case in which external military pressure was perhaps the decisive factor and there the Communists seem to have bought a little more than they bargained for; East Germany is another case in point.

But instead of exposing his version of the Communist danger as a hoax, McCarthy's opponents have generally vied with him in stimulating the fear which he exploits. "We know how to fight the Communist menace better than he does," is their usual line.

Apart from this, McCarthy's opposition obligingly cooperates with him by accepting his premise that communism is an inadmissible heresy and as such must be extirpated. Grant this premise and the nature of the task determines the nature of the weapons to be used. Test oaths, loyalty hearings, peephole probes, inquisitions, bookburnings, and other medieval horrors become not "unfortunate" but unavoidable. This is the premise which McCarthy's opposition must reject. One cannot proscribe any particular idea without endangering the freedom indispensable for the germination and discussion of ideas generally. When the opposition to communism is based on expediency rather than principle, people become hopelessly confused. Issues are blurred. Real questions are ignored. Not to recognize that the phoney question "Should Communists be permitted to teach?" masks the real question "Who is to control American education?" —duly constituted school authorities or pressure groups and their Congressional allies—is to present McCarthy with the keys to power. Similarly it doesn't really matter whether library books are burned or stored in basements or sold to second-hand stores; what matters is whether or not books are to be judged on their merits rather than on the basis of what a Congressional committee thinks about the men and women who wrote them.

THE demoralization of McCarthy's opposition is strikingly apparent in the outpouring of editorials in anti-McCarthy newspapers rebuking Dr. Einstein for his forthright opposition to Congressional inquisitions. Similarly, it is easy to say that those who hold unpopular views should disclose them and take the consequences, but to condemn the witness who invokes a constitutional right without condemning the committee that invades *his* rights is to collaborate with McCarthy.

The opposition, therefore, must take the issue of communism away from McCarthy by insisting that the danger has been grossly exaggerated and mistakenly analyzed; by rejecting without qualification the suggestion that communism should be suppressed as a heresy; and by giving a new edge and meaning and consistency to democratic values and ideals.

Nor should the opposition lose any time in disarming Joe McCarthy. His major weapon—he has others—is the inquisitorial committee. No one questions the value of committees of inquiry; legislative bodies could not function without them. But legislative committees should not be permitted to function as star-chamber inquiries. They have no right to define political crimes and then try individuals for these "crimes" without due process of law, imposing sentences which are among the most severe that society can impose. Changing the rules or personnel will never get at the root of the evil; the inquisitions must be stopped—by pressure of an organized public opinion, by choking off their appropriations, by court action.

BUT McCarthy also has a strategy. His present aim, writes William S. White (*Look*, June 16), is "to continue to alter the views, the actions, and the tone of the Republican Party. With its consent, preferably; but without its consent if necessary." He intends to bring the extreme right wing to undisputed control of the party. To this end, he has launched a flanking movement by which he expects to envelop the moderates. He is now attempting to externalize the witch hunt; hence the emphasis on smuggling arms to Latin America, the "betrayal" of American troops in Korea by Pentagon "traitors" who refused to supply adequate ammunition, the twisting of the British lion's tail, and the whole new business of posing as ex-officio Secretary of State. As the *Economist* notes, "he has still some months in which to make hay at home among government employees appointed by Democratic administrations but, by the time the Congressional elections of 1954 come along, no Republican will appreciate him if he is still finding Communists in Washington. But Communists in the governments of allies will always be useful discoveries . . ." Exploiting differences between this country and its allies, McCarthy will be able to aggravate domestic tensions. His appeal to prejudice and hatred can be broadened. And he will be able to lend great aid to the "go-it-aloners" within the party. More than one McCarthyite commentator has warned that the Korean truce may boomerang on the President. Temporarily, Senator Knowland and the other go-it-aloners are cooperating; but a rebellion of great potential explosive force is brewing beneath the surface. By 1954 or sooner the go-it-aloners may be the dominant power in the Republican Party and the witch hunt might then be sharply pointed at some external "enemy," including possibly one or more of our allies.

"GO-IT-ALONE" is simply the external manifestation of Know-Nothingism at home. It is not a policy; it is the negation of policy. The Know-Nothingism which finds expression in bookburnings is not a program; it is a way of concealing the ignorance of the bookburners. McCarthy has a strategy; he does not have a policy or program and is probably incapable of developing either. But this is not a handicap so long as no one calls attention to the fact that the emperor is naked.

To oppose McCarthyism, therefore, the opposition must develop a foreign policy and domestic program which will not only be relevant to world needs, aspirations, and realities but will expose the blind negation which is "anti-communism," McCarthy-style. For if we are going to "fight communism" as a heresy in Paris, Rome, and the rice fields of Southeast Asia, it will continue to seem altogether logical to a majority of Americans that we should fight it as a heresy at home. If we are going to burn library books in India and Australia, we might just as well brand them in San Antonio. In short McCarthyism feeds on all the negative aspects of our foreign policy.

But the immediate task is not the formulation of a new policy. As long as McCarthyism flourishes we shall be unable to formulate any policy which is not approved by McCarthy. The immediate task, therefore, is to bring into being a broad coalition of all the elements that, whatever their differences on foreign or domestic policy, share a common detestation of of McCarthyism. Counter-pressures must be brought to bear upon public officials to offset the one-sided pressure which has apparently forced the President, on several recent occasions, to appease McCarthy. How many letters did the President receive commending his original bookburning speech at Dartmouth? How many college presidents other than President Dodds of Princeton publicly endorsed it?

In a recent statement denouncing the "sickness of fear" that grips the nation, Mrs. Dwight F. Davis of Washington and Southhampton—one of our classic conservatives—gave the formula for stopping McCarthyism. "It is for those who care about the American tradition *to join together* in order to protect that tradition . . . an energetic organization is needed to take the part of other victims of the same brand of snide attack [as that leveled against Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton], and especially of the humbler people who have nowhere to turn when agencies *of their own government* unjustly decide to destroy them. I stand ready to join with other right-thinking citizens if such an organization is formed [emphasis added]." What Mrs. Davis says goes to the heart of the present danger: those who oppose the witch hunt must join together to stop it. Otherwise, it won't be stopped.

BLUNDER IN KOREA . . *by Observer*

Washington

IT HAS BECOME a quibble whether there was connivance between American authorities and Syngman Rhee to engineer the mass escape of North Korean war prisoners. In charging such collusion, the Communists seem to be suggesting that General Mark Clark sat huddled in a dark Seoul cellar with Rhee while they brewed the plot. Pyongyang's radio tried to lend substance to the charge by accusing the Americans of signing "a secret pact" with South Korea to sabotage an armistice—a pact of which one of the provisions was for the prisoners' release.

In any such literal sense it is silly to accuse the United States government of conspiring with Rhee to torpedo the truce. Why should American representatives have fumed and sweated for more than a year to negotiate the prisoner exchange if it had been intended to scrap the agreement after its attainment? Since the non-returning captives were soon to be freed under the truce, it made no sense from an official American viewpoint to speed their release by skullduggery that is gravely embarrassing to Washington.

IT IS of course possible that individual Americans who disagree with the truce terms actively connived with Rhee. On this point we must await more evidence. But in any case nobody who is honest and in full possession of his faculties will claim that the Eisenhower Administration and American commanders in Korea are innocent of at least passive complicity. The distinction is between United States authorities' criminal negligence and active plotting by Rhee and his accomplices. A report from General Mark Clark, U. N. supreme commander for Korea, reached Washington some twelve days before Rhee sprung the prison camps and let more than 25,000 North Koreans escape. Clark's message, copies of which were given to British Commonwealth governments, served notice that more trouble was to be expected from Rhee. Among the moves threatened by the South Korean president which Clark mentioned were: (1) refusal to recognize a cease-fire; (2) launching of a South Korean drive northward; and (3) an order to the camp guards to allow the "anti-Communist" North Korean captives to go free.

Just after Clark's message reached Washington, a high State Department official remarked to this writer, "We still have to reckon with some irrational acts of Rhee."

HAVING been warned, what did the United States do to thwart Rhee's efforts to scuttle the armistice? The straight answer, to the best of our knowledge, is nothing. General Clark and United States Ambassador Ellis Briggs feebly went on trying to induce Rhee to accept the truce. Their suasion failed to convince Rhee, who continued to be crudely candid in advertising his intention to prolong the war.

With the advance tip about the possible break from the prison camps, the obvious move was to reinforce American guards whom the South Korean guards outnumbered by about eight to one. The excuse afterwards given for failing to do this was that it might have precipitated clashes between the troops of the two countries. This explanation has been shown to be very thin. After Rhee freed the prisoners, General Clark did dispatch more Americans from Japan to help patrol the prison camps. There were no resultant collisions between Americans and South Koreans.

Senator Robert Hendrickson, New Jersey Republican, has suggested a Senate investigation "to determine the extent of American culpability" in the whole affair. We believe Hendrickson's proposal is good, but we would urge one amendment. The five-nation neutral commission named to supervise the armistice is already available to go to Korea. This is the most suitable body to conduct such an inquiry and report to the United Nations. It would avoid the obvious weakness in Hendrickson's plan: the temptation for American politicians to whitewash other American authorities involved in an international incident.

It is still touch-and-go whether the armistice, now in shape for signature, will be concluded. By demanding recapture of all the freed North Korean prisoners, the Communists are asking something which only Rhee could give. But to assign this job to Rhee would, as the German saying goes, certainly be appointing a goat to be gardner. On the other hand, Communist China and North Korea are entirely justified in calling for clarity on whether South Korea will observe an armistice.

Another ugly aspect of these developments is that, even if we get the truce, American troops will have to stay in Korea much longer than should be necessary. If we sit down with the Chinese and North Korean Communists to discuss a gradual removal of foreign forces from Korea, we shall have to keep glancing over our shoulder. Our soldiers' task will be doubled by the need to restrain South Korean troops from renewing hostilities. As long as Rhee is in power, he is just as capable of ordering his men to reopen the war in defiance of the U. N. as he was to direct the release of prisoners despite his U. N. "superiors."

ONE OF the ironies of the situation has been overlooked. Only a few days before the war prisoners' break, Dulles had drawn from the mothballs for publication after the signing of the armistice, a declaration written eighteen months ago. The proclamation affirms on behalf of the sixteen allied nations fighting in Korea, the U. N.'s determination faithfully to carry out the truce and warns the Communists of the dire consequences of any breach. The State Department had just won the assent of the other fifteen allies to this pronunciamento when our own side gravely violated the truce agreement even before it was signed.

Syngman Rhee's outrageous coup made the Eisenhower Administration ridiculous in another respect. In the week preceding the springing of the prisoners, India and Switzerland had wavered about joining the neutral commission in Korea. They questioned the U. N. command's authority over the South Koreans. To dispel their hesitancy, the State Department gave the strongest imaginable assurances, first, that the South Koreans are under the United Nations command and, secondly, that the United States—being charged with the unified command—exercises power over the prisoners-of-war camps. Hardly had the State Department dished out these solemn assurances when Rhee —behind the back of the U. N. command—ordered the captives' release and smilingly defied President Eisenhower's authority.

American policy now appears to be to reward Syngman Rhee's infamy. In a weak statement, Secretary Dulles publicly reprimanded Rhee. In letters to the evil old man of South Korea, Mr. Eisenhower and General Clark reminded Rhee of his broken promises. At the same moment, however, Dulles is reported to have handed the visiting prime minister of South Korea, Paik Too Chin, a memorandum renewing and detailing the United States offer of a military pact. Lest Rhee take too seriously the various expressions of American anger, we again pledge him the support of America's armed power.

The least we have a right to expect is that the offer of the United States military guarantee be withdrawn. To proceed with Syngman Rhee as a treaty partner is to put into this unbalanced, sinister man's hands a commitment that could be abused not merely to rekindle the Korean conflict but to drag the United States into another world war.

EYEWITNESS

South African Racism . . *Basil Davidson*

Johannesburg

AFRICANS and policemen have been exchanging stones and bullets for a good many years, and most whites in South Africa think it in poor taste to draw attention to the fact. But of late the clashes have been sharper and more frequent, and the sense of a fatal dynamism in the course of events breaks through the surface of a daily life which is still, for whites, luxurious and easygoing.

Few acts remain outside the grasp of a legal system that tends more and more to make a mockery of law. Every sordid little fall from grace may expose the offender to dire penalties. I noticed one of these the other day when glancing through a recent volume of Appeal Court records, and I give it here as a reasonably typical example of the kind of legalism which has taken the place of every sane and decent regulation of human behavior.

In the case of R. v. B. and H. (Cape Province Division) February, 1953, the judge declared:

> The accused in this case were charged with a contravention of Section 1 of Act 5 of 1927 as amended by Act 21 of 1950, in that accused No. 1, being a male European person, had intercourse with accused No. 2, being a non-European female person. . . . The accused both pleaded not guilty but were found guilty by the magistrate of Wynberg and were sentenced to four months' imprisonment with hard labor. . . . The evidence adduced on behalf of the Crown was to the effect that at 12:30 on the morning of the 16th August last year, Constable van Wyk, with Native Constable Sikolo, went to a tearoom called the Green Lawn Restaurant at Hout Bay. They went to a room which both claim was lit by an electric light and they looked through the window of this room and they saw the two accused having intercourse with each other.

The issue in the appeal, which failed, was not whether the law should punish fornication or whether the police were justified in collecting their evidence as they did but whether the woman in the case was in fact a non-European. She was able, during appeal, to show that she was by birth a European—the law, of course, only punishes intercourse between white and non-white—but that availed her nothing. It was shown that for some time before her arrest she had been living "as a non-European," which caused the magistrate to rule that she was one legally, in spite of having two white parents. "Race" in South Africa is what it seems to be, not what it is.

THIS MATTER of race is nothing academic. Always corrupting and cruel, racial segregation has become ferocious in its consequences. The Group Areas Act, enacted by the last Nationalist government and now about to be applied by the new Nationalist government, is designed to destroy the last formal possibilities of residential integration in a country where white and non-white are thrown more and more closely together by economic pressures and cannot live without each other. Even if this act is applied with the usual "tolerance" allowable in South Africa for inefficiency, it will mean the shifting of big urban populations from one area to another and the loss of livelihood for many non-whites who have managed to open shops or conduct small businesses in sections declared to be "white."

To control the few whites who are prepared to make a stand against this mounting racialism, as well as all non-whites, there is a law which comes straight out of "Mein Kampf." You are guilty under the Suppression of Communism Act if you further any of the "objects of communism," now defined by statute as "any political, industrial, social, or economic change by disturbance, disorder, or unlawful acts or omissions." As counsel have argued, the charge of "statutory communism" can be brought against any black-marketeer, any employer who systematically underpays his workers, any group of men marching through the streets in protest against anything without a permit—or, given the atmosphere of the lower courts, of *seeming* to march—and, indeed, the Nationalist government itself for passing

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BASIL DAVIDSON is a British journalist who has spent much time in Africa.

the Separate Representation of Colored Voters Act, which the Appeal Court has declared illegal.

All this, though, is small beer when set beside the acts of last February. Designed to crush the passive-resistance movement against racial discrimination, the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Public Safety Act raise dictatorship to a racial fury hitherto exceeded only by Hitler. The Public Safety Act makes it possible for the government to declare a state of emergency at any time and to enact regulations for coping with almost any conceivable situation—one or two reservations show that the measure is designed principally to crush any form of protest against racialism. The Criminal Law Amendment Act must be read to be believed. Two provisions deserve quoting in full:

> 1. Whenever any person is convicted of an offense which is proved to have been committed by way of protest, or in support of any campaign against any law or in support of any campaign for the repeal or modification of any law, or the variation or limitation of the application or administration of any law, the court convicting him may, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any other law contained, sentence him to (a) a fine not exceeding three hundred pounds; or (b) imprisonment for a period not exceeding three years; or (c) a whipping or (d) both such fine and such imprisonment, or (e) both such fine and such a whipping; or (f) both such imprisonment and such a whipping.
>
> 2. Any person who (a) in any manner whatsoever advises, encourages, incites, commands, aids or procures any other person or persons in general; or (b) uses any language or does any act or thing calculated to cause any person or persons in general, to commit an offense by way of protest against a law or in support of any campaign against any law. . . .

shall receive penalties set forth in Section 1 except that the fine for incitement may rise to £500 and the length of imprisonment to five years, the maximum of lashes remaining generally at ten. Furthermore, you are guilty under Section 2 if you solicit, accept, receive, offer, or give "any money or other article" for the purpose of assisting any act of protest involving breach of the law.

It is pointless to pretend that there is any "rule of law" left in South Africa. And it is worth noting, as a footnote, that the first prosecution under the Criminal Law Amendment Act was of a certain Arthur Matlala, an African of Johannesburg, who was arrested for acts allegedly committed on February 26, six days before the law was gazetted by the government. The accused was guilty of "incitement," for which he received a fine of £50 or six months' hard labor, and of soliciting money for the passive-resistance campaign, for which he received one year's imprisonment and eight strokes. The incitement consisted in the fact that Matlala possessed a copy of Fowler and Smit's "New History for Senior Certificate for Matriculation," in which "certain passages that dealt with the French Revolution had been marked in red and blue pencil. Among these were passages describing how the people of Paris had attacked the Bastille."

ON MY ARRIVAL in Johannesburg I was myself served with a notice by the chief immigration officer declaring that I had been a "prohibited immigrant" in the Union since 1951, when I last reported on South Africa. I should not now be here but for an invitation to Swaziland from the Commonwealth Relations Office and the British Administration there, which wanted to show me the fine work they are doing in that small territory in the way of forestry and irrigation. I was eager to see a number of people in Johannesburg but had no time to make appointments.

One was Dr. Dadoo. I took a taxi to his office and asked some Indians outside if I would find him there. They shook their heads and turned away. A wall of suspicion shuts away the white man from the non-white. Then I had a stroke of luck. An Indian in a long white coat came out on the pavement. He gave me a hard questioning look, then suddenly relaxed, for we had met two years before. This was Yusuf Dadoo, leader of the South African Indian Congress and one of half a dozen non-whites who have given supremely good leadership to the organization of passive resistance to racialist laws.

Others I have met in much the same way, haphazardly, by good luck, and others I have missed. They are marked men, hemmed around with prohibitions so all-invading that the police can arrest them any time they choose.

There seems to be complete agreement between the African and Indian leaders, and their cohesion with the colored leaders from the Cape is steadily growing. This solidarity was reflected in their followers during the months of passive resistance, in Natal as well as in the Cape and the Transvaal. According to the best opinion I can gather in Johannesburg, it represents a turning-point in South African history.

In spite of frantic efforts by the government, backed unconditionally in this matter by the opposition United Party, non-violent resistance by non-whites in the second part of 1952 and the early weeks of 1953 was able to achieve its main objectives: to show that resistance was possible, to unify the non-white communities in resistance to racialism, and to educate them in ways and means of resistance. Unexpectedly large numbers of volunteers from the African, colored, and Indian communities deliberately and pacifically courted arrest by breaking some petty rule.

WHAT WILL happen next? The recent restrictive proclamations and acts have made it impossible for individuals and small groups to keep on breaking regulations, for the penalties are crushingly severe. "The principle of non-violence will be observed," Dr. Dadoo told me, "but we shall change our tactics." Walter Sisulu said the same thing. They did not tell me what their new tactics will be, and perhaps they have yet to select them. With the Nationalists remaining in power, the struggle is bound to be long and painful. The leaders have apparently learned a great deal. When the African National Congress began its campaign, it had only 5,000 dues-paying members; today, according to Walter Sisulu, it has 60,000. When the next round starts, the non-white organizations will have a far firmer and broader basis in the masses.

There is no doubt, I think, that it will start sometime, though one cannot say just how and when. Whether it will remain non-violent is more speculative. The present leaders are men of moderate liberal or leftist views who are known to condemn violence on political and religious grounds. The creed of Gandhi's *satyagraha* is paramount among the Indians and is said to be spreading fast among the Africans. But the Nationalist government has shown that there is nothing it dislikes more than non-violent resistance, which prevents its own favorite response—violence. The government has tried in vain to corrupt or intimidate the leaders of the non-whites. The influence of these leaders has probably never been so great as it is today. They have kept the peace at a time when the government, through a notoriously provocative police force, has done its best to break it. In its blindness the government may yet deprive the non-white of this sane and thoughtful leadership. It may yet drive the non-whites to the point where anything would be better than acquiescence. Certainly the government and its supporters will have only themselves to blame if things get out of hand.

Ike's Labor Walk-Out

The Taft-Hartley Freeze . . *by Roy W. Wier*

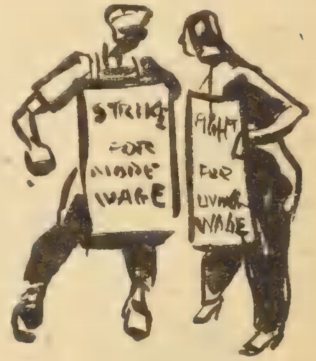
Washington

THE apparent decision of Congressional Republican leadership and the Administration to put off revision of the Taft-Hartley act until next year repudiates a specific pledge made to labor by President Eisenhower during last year's campaign and in his State of the Union message this year. It must be mentioned, however, in any analysis of the Administration attitude toward this controversial measure that the law might have been made even less acceptable to labor than it now is by amendments on which employer and management groups presented a united front while labor itself was divided. It should also be noted that the past four months have been relatively quiet in the labor-management field and the same situation may not prevail next spring, when the question of revision is scheduled to be taken up. Thus, if the Republicans try to carry out their campaign pledges in the coming year, the risk to labor may be balanced by Republican reluctance to jeopardize the 1954 elections by enacting tougher amendments.

Up to the time that the Senate Labor Committee's so-called "staff committee print," embodying proposed changes in the act, was released by Chairman H. Alexander Smith, there was some reason to believe that the committee was on the whole more friendly to labor's objectives than the House Committee on Education and Labor. And since Senator Smith declared that the "staff" bill as presented does not reflect the opinion of the full committee or of the Republican majority, that still may be true. But the proposal to change the historic preamble which sets forth labor's rights and the necessity for protecting them and the proposal to permit individual states to pass anti-labor measures which will supersede federal law are highly disquieting to labor. Moreover, since the staff committee draft bill would open the way to the political packing of the National Labor Relations Board and give employers the right to determine whether work performed is "useful or relevant," thus letting them make cuts in the working staff without collective bargaining, it reveals a dangerous trend away from President Eisenhower's pledge to make the labor law one that would "merit the respect and support of both labor and management."

The proposal to extend the requirement of a non-Communist oath not only to employers but also to union members who formulate and carry out trade-union policy cannot be justified by any testimony given before either the Senate or the House labor committee. The collection of such affidavits from the thousands of convention delegates, shop stewards, and others who make union policy would bog down N. L. R. B. and union procedure in a morass of paper work.

Perhaps too much time should not be spent discussing what may be only a trial balloon, but the fact that the balloon was sent up is a warning to all sections of the labor movement that it will not be easy to eliminate the evils of the present act.



The Senate Labor Committee approached revision of Taft-Hartley somewhat differently from the House committee. Whereas the Senate group decided to act on various amendments which have been submitted, the House committee is considering motions for outright repeal of the laws and the substitution therefor of an amended Wagner act. Actually repeal is not possible at this time. We who favor it could today probably muster only seven of the twenty-six

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ROY W. WIER, Democratic Representative from Minnesota, is a member of the House Education and Labor Committee who has been one of the leaders in the fight against the Taft-Hartley law.

committee votes, including my own. The others, all Democrats, are Kelley of Pennsylvania, Powell of New York, Bailey of West Virgina, Perkins of Kentucky, Howell of New Jersey, and Metcalf of Montana. In addition we could count on Elliott of Alabama and Miller of Kansas to go along on several major changes aimed at liberalizing the law in favor of labor.

On the Republican side, Chairman McConnell of Pennsylvania would probably support a number of pro-labor amendments, most of them minor from labor's point of view. On such major matters as injunctions and boycott provisions, two of the worst sections of the present law from labor's standpoint, the chairman is more likely to support tightening than any relaxation. Definitely unfriendly to labor's position and pro-Taft-Hartley are Gwinn of New York, Smith of Kansas, Kearns of Pennsylvania, Velde of Illinois, Hoffman of Michigan, and probably Kersten of Wisconsin. Berry of South Dakota and Harrison of Wyoming, as well as Bosch of New York, Holt of California, Rhodes of Arizona, Wainwright of New York, and Frelinghuysen of New Jersey seem inclined to follow the views of Chairman McConnell.

With such a line-up, it might well be best for labor to avoid pushing for changes at this time since any change might be for the worse. Personally, I would rather leave the labor-law controversy as a live issue for consideration at some more propitious time—say, after the 1954 elections—rather than waste energy on meaningless modifications or run the very grave risk of making the law more biased and unfair than it is now.

Under these circumstances, the Republican decision to take no action on Taft-Hartley at this session of Congress may turn out to be an unintentional boon to labor, although the disappointment of several of labor's chief spokesmen is understandable. They had been given certain pledges which are now being withdrawn.

SOMETHING must be said, however, about labor's own approach to this controversy. Labor presented no united front in its presentations before the two committees, while the nearly 100 employer witnesses spoke almost with a single voice for amendments which would make Taft-Hartley an unmistakeable "union-busting" law. Some of the employers' extreme proposals—the ban on industry-wide bargaining and industry-wide strikes, the "states' rights" proposal and the demands for opening up the injunctive process to wide employer use against unions—are so drastic a departure from even the present unsatisfactory law that it is tempting to look upon them as "bargaining counters" put forward merely to block enactment of labor's legitimate demands.

Labor, on the other hand, had no such unified program. Even within the A. F. of L. there were marked differences of opinion as to the measures on which most pressure should be brought. A spokesman for one A. F. of L. union advocated compulsory arbitration; the head of another differed strongly. A C. I. O. spokesman wanted to throw "national emergency" strike situations into Congress; other labor spokesmen argued that any proposals to deal with so-called "national emergencies," including the present eighty-day injunction clause, were unnecessary because, they said, there never has been a real "national emergency" strike.

SINCE THE coal shut-downs are most often cited as "national emergency" strikes it may be of value to quote from the testimony of spokesmen for the United Mine Workers. "In each year when strikes have occurred," they pointed out, "the coal production was greater than in the years in which there were no strikes." Results of detailed research by industrial relations experts were introduced to prove that in the past thirteen years "a national emergency has never actually developed." The U. M. W. made one telling point which, if understood, would end the hysteria over strikes which was primarily responsible for Taft-Hartley in the first place. "Every strike and lockout carries with it the seeds of its own determination and solution," a U. M. W. spokesman declared, adding that "from the inception of the strike, with the pressures on both the strikers and the employers, the seeds are really sown for a settlement of that particular situation."

Such testimony—and there were other examples—went to the heart of the whole Taft-Hartley controversy. But the U. M. W. went on to advocate not only repeal of Taft-Hartley but also the repeal of the provisions of the Wagner act which are still contained therein. The coal miners probably could stand up to such a situation but how many other unions could—particularly in the South?

Other labor advocates demanded only such modifications of the law as would relieve their own particular unions of certain onerous restrictions, ignoring the welfare of the labor movement as a whole. Thus labor's demands varied all the way from pleas for repeal of *all* labor laws, including even the basic legal protection of the right to organize and bargain collectively, to suggestions for narrow and specialized changes which were either unacceptable or unimportant to other parts of the labor movement.

If anything points up the need for labor unity, it is this situation in the legislative field where the employers speak with one voice and labor speaks with many. Congressmen who may be wavering on vital labor questions cannot help but be influenced when the voice of labor is so confused. I recognize that labor leaders are elected by their members to advance the special interests of their own organizations and only secondarily to advance the interests of the labor movement in general. But there are times when labor *must* speak with one voice, and this is one of them.

It is a tragic thing that labor, which includes the vast majority of the citizens of this country, is unable to make its voice heard effectively in Congress. In this instance the wrong done labor is compounded by the fact that the present Administration, though it admitted that there were evils in the Taft-Hartley law, has made no move to carry out its pledges to correct them. Labor Secretary

Durkin has been kept under wraps. The Administration itself has remained silent.

Spokesmen for business knew weeks ago that there would be no action taken on Taft-Hartley at this session. Employers are predicting that nothing will be done next year either, despite President Eisenhower's public statement that Taft-Hartley "must be changed—America wants no law licensing union-busting, and neither do I," and despite his State of the Union message in which he said that prompt "corrective action" should be taken.

The answer is obvious. Labor must speak with a strong and united voice at Congressional hearings and—above all—at the polls in 1954.

Catholic Europe?

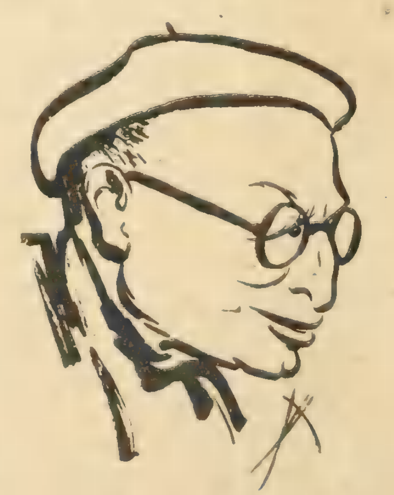
Setback in Italy . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Rome

THE days of excitement are over, and it is possible to view with detachment and in some depth the panorama now unfolding in Italy. The most solid impression left by the elections is that the Italian people has become politically mature. It knows what it wants and is too independent to be swayed by a program of foreign aid or by American encouragement of Italy's ambition to become a great power. I will never forget the crowds in the Piazza Colonna the night it was announced that the government had failed to get the absolute majority which, under the new electoral law, would have given it 380 out of the 590 seats in the Chamber. It was an excited crowd, eagerly, intelligently discussing the returns; refusing to go home to bed in the hope of late news. Next morning when I visited the headquarters of the Italian Socialist Party, which this time had gone to the polls with an independent list and not under the protection of the stronger Communist Party, I found the same enthusiasm, together with a feeling of pride in its enhanced power.

But it was not only in opposition circles, whether left or right, but among government supporters as well that one sensed a recognition that a new era had opened for Italy. De Gasperi was the first to understand the significance of the vote. While some of his collaborators consoled themselves with the majority of a dozen or so that the government finally mustered in the Chamber, the Premier's first post-election statement, made in an interview with the newspaper *Messagero*, courageously put it on record that he was impressed with the strength of communism in Italy. De Gasperi knows better than anybody else that, in the pre-election period inaugurated by the adoption of the new electoral law, every possible argument was used against the Communists. The events in Eastern Europe, the trials, the splits within the Italian Communist Party (which now appear to have been exaggerated), the failure of the strikes which it organized—all these, and more, were used as evidence that communism was on the decline.

BUT THE success of the Italian Socialist Party was an even greater shock to the government cohorts. The official theory was that Pietro Nenni and his followers, without the support of an alliance with the Communists, hardly had a chance of success. The theory was effectively exploded. It is not only that the seventy-five deputies elected by the Italian Socialist Party, together with the 143 Communist deputies, represent a considerable force; it is also that the electoral gains of the two left-wing parties have put them in a more favorable position to sway popular feeling. One Italian out of every three voted for the extreme left. Since the army is based upon universal military service, it can safely be assumed that at least a third of the Italian armed forces would strongly object to risking their lives in an anti-Communist crusade. In broader terms, the elections proved to the Premier as to his opponents that the period of American tutelage based on the power to give or withhold dollars is over.



Pietro Nenni

But the immediate problem facing De Gasperi is that of safeguarding his parliamentary control. With his majority of sixteen he technically has the margin required for continued leadership of the present coalition. Dr. Adenauer became Chancellor in Bonn by a majority of only one vote and he is still Chancellor. But the Italians today are not like the West Germans, nor is it a matter of statistics alone. The parties which fought at the side of the *Democrazia Cristiana*—the Saragat Socialists, the Liberals, the Pacciardi Republicans—emerged from the election with their prestige destroyed. Saragat himself now considers his situation to be so unpromising that he has announced to his friends his intention of giving up the post of Secretary General of the party. The Republican Party has also been so badly beaten that one of its most intelligent leaders, La Malfa, after being informed that the government had failed to win the popular majority, spontaneously declared to journalists: "In the next Chamber we shall be only spectators." He might have added that the Republican spectators will be only a handful—five deputies. The Liberal Party has been reduced to the romantic ideal of a group of intellectuals. None of these three parties has any future. In the great chess game that will shortly start at Montecitorio Palace, they will be only pawns.

Their loss of popularity is in direct relation to their pro-Americanism. This is an important fact to bear in mind. As the smallest parties of the government coalition, they felt even more obliged than the Chistian Democrats—still the largest Italian party, even after their defeat—to support the policy of Washington. They were the most open and the most militant champions of NATO, and this was one of the chief causes of their poor showing.

De Gasperi will certainly think of a more solid party, now in opposition, to take the place of these deflated allies. The shift will require some consideration as it is not free from risk. His choice is narrow in any case. To build a really stable majority he will have to bring into his coalition either Nenni's Socialists or the Monarchists—the latter, of course, by far the more likely choice. But at the outset he is trying to form a new Cabinet with the constituent elements of the old —the leaders of his own Christian Democratic Party; two or three Saragat Socialists, if they are willing to stay in the government and risk losing what popularity they still have; one or two Liberals, if they can reach an agreement on terms; and one Republican, supported by his four colleagues in the Chamber. But such a combination would be weak and unstable and could not possibly continue the unconditional pro-American foreign policy of the past.

THE CONSEQUENCES of the Italian elections extend far beyond the borders of Italy. The results are a heavy blow to the grand design of a Roman Catholic Europe that was already in the making. A year ago, this idea was personified by three powerful Catholic leaders: De Gasperi, Schuman, and Adenauer. American liberals and partisans of the world-government idea have greeted with enthusiasm the prospect of a united Europe, acclaiming the achievements of Strasbourg and the Schuman Plan as long steps in that direction. They apparently did not realize that the united Europe slowly taking shape was a Catholic Europe and that behind it was the Vatican. Pope Pius XII had subtly and discreetly won for his plan the backing of many non-Catholic anti-Communist European politicians as well as the key men in American diplomacy. He used his great powers of persuasion to convince them that the battle against Russia and communism could be won only under the leadership of the church. This was clearly stated in an editorial in the *Corriere della Sera* of June 11, commenting on the elections: "In a struggle that presents so many common characteristics with the wars of religion, the only symbol that can be opposed to the sickle and hammer is the Cross."

It looked as if the Papacy was triumphantly returning to the most glorious moments of its political past, when it led the fight against the revolutionary forces of the time. As I have noted before, the church had this time gone further than in previous elections to campaign openly for a Christian-bloc victory. As the head of an independent state, the Pope could not vote; but those who saw his sister, a person so very spiritual and frail, so very Pacellian, carried on a litter to the election booth, realized that the call to arms in the battle against the anti-Christ had sounded! As a Spaniard, I have had some experience of what the Catholic church is capable of on such occasions, but I have never seen it as aggressive in Spain as it has been in Italy these past weeks.

The dream of a Catholic Europe, aided and financed by a Protestant America, faded last week as the votes were counted. Faded but did not disappear. It will not be abandoned, though it may revive under changed auspices if the balance of government power shifts to the right. A profound fear is keeping the dream alive—the fear of the political awakening of the workers.

Unesco's Travail

McCarthyism in Paris . . *by Alexander Werth*

Paris

HUMAN rights and the rights of international civil servants are in the center of the conflict that has now been raging for months between Unesco—and particularly its Staff Association—on the one hand, and the State Department, the F.B.I., and Congress on the other. One may think what one likes of Unesco: the British Government, for example, tends to consider it as a luxury from which the British taxpayer doesn't get full value (though in fact he spends on it only a penny per head per year).

However, attention in Paris and elsewhere is today centered on neither the achievements nor the alleged shortcomings of Unesco, but on the resistance that not only the Staff Association but, by and large, the organization itself is putting up against McCarthyite intimidation. The other day the head of the United States delegation to Unesco circulated to every American in the organization something called a "progress report," on the current loyalty investigations. The document contained the clear threat that if the "loyalty situation" at Unesco was not clarified, it was very likely that Congress would not vote the appropriation for it, amounting to one-third of its budget. The report stated inaccurately that of all the United Nations agencies, only Unesco still had a number of Americans on its payroll—three to be exact—who had not yet filled in the loyalty questionnaires based on the Truman order of last January. The fact is that some Americans in other U. N. agencies have also failed to fill in these questionnaires on the ground that Truman's order, largely founded on

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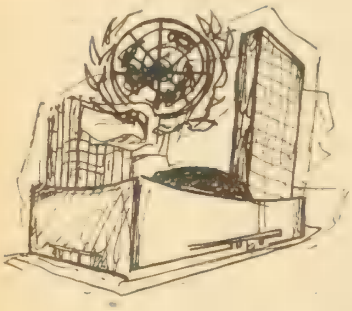
ALEXANDER WERTH is The Nation's *Paris correspondent.*

the doubtful rulings of Trygve Lie's three "famous" jurists, was not applicable to international civil servants. It is certainly significant that F. I. C. S. A.—the newly-organized Federation of International Civil Servants Associations at Geneva—should not have hesitated to engage the services of the eminent Belgian jurist, Senator Rolin, who has persistently challenged the legality of Lie's actions and the competence of his three jurists, not one of whom has ever had much to do with international law [see *The Nation*, March 7]. Once Rolin completes his report there will be fur flying, one may be sure.

The Executive Board of Unesco has been meeting in preparation for next month's general conference and has already reached three important decisions.



One is that Unesco is to join the International Labor Organization Administrative Tribunal. This means that any Unesco employee who has been dismissed, or who has any other complaint, can now appeal not only to the Appeals Board of Unesco, but also to a still higher authority. David Leff, an American who has been suspended with pay, apparently intends to appeal to the I. L. O. tribunal should he be dismissed.

Another decision taken by the Executive Board is to continue the present "interim arrangement" by which loyalty questionnaires are attached to Unesco application forms in the case of United States applicants for jobs. However, Unesco specifically disclaims responsibility for the questionnaires, which are considered to be entirely a matter between United States nationals and their government. The arrangement was designed to give Unesco time to get the opinion of member states on the desirability of altering its application form as urged by the United States, which wants one of a more "inquisitorial" nature. Almost without exception the opinions so far received from member states have been totally unfavorable to the American suggestions. India, Norway, Switzerland, and others have said they are perfectly satisfied with the present application form, New Zealand adding (not without a touch of irony):

> The New Zealand Government supports the decision that Unesco should not endorse any questionnaire which is not its own. Moreover, it would prefer that the Organization should not undertake the distribution of such questionnaires. . . . The correct procedure would be to remind applicants from the State concerned that certain purely national requirements have been established by their government and to advise them to apply for information to the nearest agency of that government.

In short, New Zealand took the position that Unesco should have nothing to do with loyalty questionnaires, and should not get its hands dirty with fingerprint ink.

This New Zealand statement, like the recent statement by Lester Pearson to the effect that the Canadian Government had had nothing to do with the selection or appointment of Canadians employed by the United Nations or its agencies, is another example of the resistance to McCarthyism which has been displayed even by Commonwealth conservatives (or near-conservatives).

Thirdly, the Executive Board confirmed the view expressed by John W. Taylor, the Acting Director-General, that under existing Staff Regulations he could not dismiss anybody for potential misbehavior as proposed by the State Department in a letter to him dated last February 20. This fantastic letter proposed:

> . . . that after the results of the investigative process are made available to him, the Director-General will not employ, or continue to employ, any United States citizens who are demonstrated to be *or are likely to be* engaged in subversive activities against the government of the United States [emphasis added].

Then there is the case of David Leff, an American citizen employed by Unesco here who was summoned to appear as a witness before a Federal Grand Jury in New York. But Leff had had his passport withdrawn (for no specified reason) two years ago. Uncertain of ever being able to get back to his job or to rejoin his family here, he refused to respond to the summons, asking that he be permitted to testify instead at the United States Embassy in the place of his employment, i.e., Paris. This was refused. Leff was then suspended by the Acting Director-General. The Staff Association, feeling that here was a particularly blatant case, protested unanimously against the suspension. No charge had, indeed, been brought against Leff; it looked to many as though the American authorities had adopted a new technique of "kidnapping" Unesco employees whom they couldn't get dismissed—get them to America, and so let their employment by Unesco lapse automatically through their inability to return. What makes the matter all the more serious is that the passport weapon is being more and more widely used against United States citizens considered potentially disloyal. The whole thing makes liberal Europeans squirm.

IT IS GOING to be a hard fight for Unesco, because Washington, as seen from here, is preparing to bring out against it all its biggest H-bombs. Cutting off the money is one. Another is the new McCarran bill already passed by the Senate which should stop all this liberal nonsense of not allowing people to be fired for being *likely* to do this or that. The bill provides that anybody who accepts a job in the United Nations or any of its agencies, or who continues to work there without having gone through a loyalty clearance, is liable to a $10,000 fine and or five years in jail. So if, fifteen years ago, you gave a dollar toward a Spanish Republican ambulance you may be "for it" . . . or if, like Leff, you worked for UNRRA in Yugoslavia just after the war.

News from Washington suggests to Paris observers that important people there have got their knife into Unesco and indeed into the United Nations. It is beginning to look from here as if the attack on Unesco might prove merely a minor prelude to a much bigger drive against the U. N. itself. In short, with McCarthyism performing at its worst inside an international show-window right in the middle of Paris, should one really be surprised at the "erosion" of Europe's solidarity with the United States which, according to the London *Sunday Times* correspondent in Washington, is making President Eisenhower feel like a distressed mother hen?

BOOKS

Lessons of Asia

A Review by Mark Gayn

STILWELL'S MISSION TO CHINA. By Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland. Department of the Army, Government Printing Office. $5.

THE RIVER AND THE GAUNTLET. By S. L. A. Marshall. William Morrow and Company. $5.

REPORT ON MAO'S CHINA. By Frank Moraes. The Macmillan Company. $3.75.

FIVE GENTLEMEN OF JAPAN. By Frank Gibney. Farrar, Straus and Young. $4.

TIBET AND THE TIBETANS. By Tsung-lien Shen and Shen-chi Liu. Stanford University Press. $5.

HISTORY, it often seems, is made up of classical tragedies—of men doomed by circumstance, of great leaders insensitive to the fatal change of climate, of political movements crumbling apart. One is reminded of this on reading the latest instalment in the army's expanding and magnificent story of World War II. "Stilwell's Mission to China" is a Greek tragedy, in which a strong man battles elusive or unfaithful men and historic forces he cannot overcome. This human tragedy is superimposed on the far broader tragedy of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang, fighting their traditional battles in their traditional ways, without awareness of the doom staring into the doorway. I do not know if the authors had read up on Euripides before taking up the study of the thousands of documents that have gone into this book. I do know that this thick report of a military mission, with its rich detail of campaigns fought or planned, soon takes the shape of a classical tragedy, through which the hero moves to his inevitable personal disaster.

Chosen to command the projected landing in North Africa, Stilwell was sent instead to China when another officer is thought to be reluctant to take up the assignment. His tasks are simple: "To increase the effectiveness of U. S. assistance to the Chinese Government for the prosecution of the war and to assist in improving the combat efficiency of the Chinese Army." This, in February, 1942, is the beginning of the tragedy. Soon Stilwell finds himself before obstacles of pride, ignorance, and tradition, "the whole tangled structure of Chinese politics, culture, and society." Chungking hesitates to move some troops; it denies lend-lease supplies to others; and at all times the Chinese troops are badly equipped, badly trained, undernourished, and ineptly led. Chiang does not wish to sacrifice his men in action; nor does he wish to do anything (Colonel Dorn reports to Washington) "but hoard the materiel in order to perpetuate [his regime] after the war." Stilwell's desperate efforts to train thirty divisions of Chiang's troops in India are short-circuited at every point because, Stilwell feels, Chiang does not wish the commander of this force to challenge his authority in the future. And, above all, the ruling group in Chungking—Chiang himself, General Ho Ying-chin, T. V. Soong, and the two clever sisters, Mme Chiang and Mme Kung—is won over by General Chennault's advocacy of an inexpensive air war. A brilliant air tactician, Chennault undertakes to bring Japan to its knees with little more than a force of 150 fighters and 76 bombers. Chennault joins the antagonists, and the historic conflict moves on to Washington. T. V. Soong enlists Harry Hopkins, and they are joined by Lauchlin Currie in a backstairs campaign to gain President Roosevelt's support.

As in all Greek tragedies, no one wins. Chennault gets the President's approval, but six months later he finds his battered air force being pushed out of its poorly defended air fields. Colonel Dorn records that "Soong expressed the opinion that the present regime would be out of a job six months after the war was over. He ought to know. . . ." Soong wins his battle with Stilwell, but he lives to see his own prophecy come true. And after the President repudiates Stilwell's insistence on a *quid pro quo* from Chiang Kai-shek, Stilwell prophetically forecasts his own departure. The book does not end with Stilwell's recall, but it does conclude on a note of imminent tragedy. (One can only speculate on whether Eisenhower would have become President had Stilwell been sent to North Africa, as planned.)

SEVEN YEARS pass, the scene shifts to Korea, and another masterly army historian, S. L. A. Marshall, records a related tragedy. This time it is the story of how the Chinese Communist forces defeated the United States Eighth Army on the Chongchon River. If the authors of "Stilwell's Mission" prefer to tell their tragedy in the muted tones of army reports, Mr. Marshall chooses to recount it in the terms of its impact on individual Americans. He omits the broader aspects of that November defeat. Yet, they cannot be wholly ignored. Thus, the author records that General Walker was not happy about the march on the Yalu ordered by General MacArthur in the fall of 1950, and that Chou En-lai's warning of China's intervention threw Walker's headquarters into "a dread apprehension." But even the warnings of Walker's Intelligence had to be worded carefully, for "the merest mention of Chinese intervention" sent the South Korean commanders into a panic. In fact, the Korean Defense Minister urged that the advance toward the Yalu be halted. If the Eighth Army Intelligence was aware of the danger, the Intelligence in Tokyo apparently was not. Two days before MacArthur flew off to Wake Island "to tell President Truman that Chinese intervention was not a plausible or potent threat in the war," the first Chinese prisoners had already been captured.

MacArthur's drive north was planned with disdain for the Chinese, and with that bold abandon which had won him so many battles. It had, in fact, become a race, and the South Korean troops were already on the Yalu when an American unit ran into a major ambush

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MARK GAYN, foreign correspondent and author of "The Fight for the Pacific" and "Japan Diary," spent many years in the Far East.

far below the river. Somehow, somewhere the Chinese had crossed the Yalu undetected, and hid themselves until they were ready. When they did strike, the Eighth Army discovered it was faced not by three regiments (as the first Chinese prisoners testified), but by three full armies, backed by three more.

The stage set, Mr. Marshall proceeds to unfold the tragic story—the confusion and fear, the failure of some and the superb performance of others, the suffering and the heroism. In preparing this report, he must have spoken to thousands. He now tells their story, from the moment the Stonewall Company, 129 strong, walked into the developing battle and saw the next morning with only 34 men alive. The story shifts from company to company, and then to bigger formations; from soldiers to officers to generals, none of them yet able to grasp the magnitude of the Chinese attack. There are memorable flashes: the machine-gunner on a knoll suddenly seeing a Chinese regiment trotting down a dry river bed just a few yards away from him; the Koreans, deep in retreat, who had come through a supply dump, and looked like merchants going to a fair; the Chinese regiment in South Korean uniforms marching so nonchalantly while buzzed by suspicious United States aircraft that it was left alone, later to do great damage in the Eighth Army's rear; and the G. I. who fought a lone battle in the middle of enemy formations, and who, on emerging in the morning with his machine-gun and both his feet frozen, laughed and said, "I feel happy as hell."

Thus the story develops from the earliest skirmishes, to the Chinese breakthrough, and then to the nightmare of a roadblock in which the retiring Allied units were caught in enemy crossfire. It is a heroic and chilling story, beautifully told. It is also a story with a lesson for the West. The defeat came as much because of our faulty Intelligence as because we failed to understand what had happened in China between 1943 and 1950.

WHAT IT is that has transformed the sick and ill-trained Chinese soldier of Stilwell's day into the highly skilled fighter on the Chongchon is analyzed at length, and with considerable intelligence, in still another excellent book, Frank Moraes's "Report on Mao's China." Mr. Moraes is an Oxonian and editor of the influential *Times of India.* In the spring of 1952, he visited Red China for six weeks as a member of the official Indian cultural mission. Mr. Moraes is frankly repelled by what he found, though he maintains a judicious impartiality. "Mao's China" encompasses most of the facets of Chinese life, from "brain-washing" to education, land reform, and China's relations with Moscow. The people, he finds, have either embraced Maoism passionately, as a faith that was so notably lacking under Chiang, or accept it passively as the only way to survive. The combination of faith, political terror, and some real material achievements holds China together as nothing has held it before. And, as never before, an individual has been taught to take pride in the collective effort.

As an intellectual, Mr. Moraes is especially perturbed by what has happened to men of intellect. Thought, he finds, "is a government monopoly," schools have become vehicles for impressing Marxism on young minds, and the Chinese Communists are "well on the way to winning young China." But he also finds that the intellectuals have become "creatures of the State to whom their minds are mortgaged." Under the Kuomintang, the intellectuals backed the Communists as the lesser evil. "Now," he finds, "they seemed less certain. . . . Nothing burned itself so strongly in my mind as [their] mental furtiveness."

What makes this book particularly interesting is that Mr. Moraes views China through Indian eyes. For Nehru, he points out, Marxism is "an academic exercise." For Mao Tse-tung, it is "a practical panacea for many ills and a system adaptable to his country's needs." "When during the war Nehru said that black-marketeers should be hanged to the nearest lamp post he was using a figure of speech. When Mao says it he means it." With this comes a difference in dynamism. Mao regards China as the leader of Asia, and may yet launch a move for the economic "liberation" of Asia from the "tyranny of capitalism." Nehru also wishes to be rid of the last vestiges of European domination, but he sees in communism a great danger against which freedom is the best defense. "Force is certainly not the answer to Communism. In Asian thinking Communism can be overcome only by countering the conditions which create it." India and China thus supply the two main approaches to the problem. "If China proves that her system of government ensures economic security . . . without detracting from [the people's] sense of freedom, Asia will be lost to Communism. If India, on the other hand, demonstrates that democratic government can ensure not only economic security but individual liberty, then Asia will be won to democracy. What India and China are today in fact doing is wrestling for the political soul of Asia. That is why India's role in Asian affairs is crucial."

This is a thought-provoking book providing a look at China from a new angle —and without the simulated passion that one finds in so many more superficial volumes on the subject.

FRANK GIBNEY'S book is an attempt to retell the history of Japan in terms of its impact on five individuals, from the emperor to a peasant. Much of the material is familiar, but the story is skilfully told, and if one has the urge to learn something of Japan's history, the ways of her people, and the effects of the defeat, all in one easy sitting, he can do no better than turn to Mr. Gibney for help.

A word, finally, about a thoroughly fascinating volume on a little known Asian topic. "Tibet and the Tibetans" was written by a former Chinese Resident Commissioner in Lhasa and his secretary. Both show themselves to be not only astute observers of folkways, but also possessors of a subtle sense of humor. The book devotes only five pages to the post-war political developments, but it is fortunately long on the subjects that seem closer to the authors—such subjects as Lamaism, polyandry, picnics *à la* Lhasa, the hunt for a new Dalai Lama, and the complexities of government for, and by, a living god.

Together, the five books would make any publishing season a happy one. But the first three of them also bear important lessons, for unless we can learn by our errors of the past decade, and adjust our policies and attitudes to the flow of history, we may find our future strewn with tragedies. Mr. Marshall's magnificent book is a reminder of how costly such tragedies and errors can be.

New Books in Brief

More on the Brontës

THE BRONTE STORY. By Margaret Lane. Duell, Sloan & Pearce–Little, Brown. $5.

This popular biography of the Brontë family, by the English author, Margaret Lane, the Countess of Huntingdon, leans rather heavily on Mrs. Gaskell's "Life of Charlotte Brontë." But it does include valuable material either unknown to or suppressed by Mrs. Lane's eminent predecessor, and the later contributions of Brontë scholars to a family legend which was completely Victorian and hardly less stark than the House of Atreus. There are interesting sections here on the secret history of the Brontë dream-kingdoms of Angria and Gondal, begun in childhood and continued, with a fantastic prolificness, well into maturity. Previously deleted passages in Charlotte's letters to her Brussels teacher, M. Heger, also suggest that her feelings were not merely platonic; and there is the detailed story of Mr. Nicholls's courtship against the violent opposition of her father. Other missing elements of the legend, conveniently summarized, with a certain modesty and competence of tone, are useful to anyone interested in the Brontës. But if no post-Gaskellian biography can be more than "a footnote . . . to her incomparable text," the reader would do well to know the original biography first, which still remains a work of art in its own right.

Dutiful Passions

CECILE. By Benjamin Constant. Edited and Annotated by Alfred Roulin. Translated by Norman Cameron. New Directions. $2.50.

Benjamin Constant flourished—if the word can be applied to the life of a man who lived in perpetual indecision—in one of the great heydays of gallantry; namely that period when the eighteenth century was turning into the nineteenth and the rise of sensibility had made the grand—if frequently brief—passion at least as much a duty as it was a pleasure. Since for once convention favored rather than frowned upon the liaison, the turnover was rapid and ladies who did not want to be left out of the game were often troublesomely willing. Perhaps that fact had more to do than is usually admitted with the perplexities of a writer whose he-would-and-he-wouldn't relations with various women dragged on for years and whose "Adolphe" is generally considered a masterpiece of emotional self-analysis.

The present book is the first English translation of a long-lost but recently recovered autobiographical fragment which describes under the thin disguise of fictitious names Constant's thirteen-years' hesitation between that domineering maneater Madame de Staël and the twice married but gentle and submissive Charlotta von Hardenberg with whom he later contracted what appears to have been a happy marriage. Less harsh than Stendhal and more straightforward than Proust, Constant has something in common with both; particularly the fact that one half of him can stand aside while the other half is deeply involved. One is always having to deal with what he is trying to feel, with what he thinks he is feeling, and with what he actually does feel. Often if not quite always he himself knows which is which. "Cecile" is a significant addition to his canon.

A Frenchman's View

THE GREAT AMERICAN PARADE. By H.-J. Duteil. Translated by Fletcher Pratt. Twayne Publishers. $3.75.

This book, according to its publishers, presents "the strange portrait of America that Europe accepts." That is surely an exaggeration even if it has been a best-seller in France, Belgium, Italy, and other countries. No doubt many if not most Europeans accept the author's standardized strictures on Hollywood. On the other hand, his views of the Negro question are those of Paris, Texas, rather than Paris, France. In short, this is an idiosyncratic rather than a representative European account of America, the work of a Frenchman who from internal evidence appears to be a conservative, a snob, and, although he would vehemently deny it, a kind of philistine. American readers are likely to be more amused than resentful of his *obiter dicta.* They will observe that his research into American history has been sketchy and that he has a tendency to indulge in the most sweeping generalizations—for instance, in his section on racial origins, which shows strong anti-Irish and anti-Italian prejudices. But they will also note with shame Mr. Duteil's account of his detention on Ellis Island, where he was subjected to outrageous bullying until he produced proof that he had "some very rich friends in the United States."

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All About Women

WOMEN TODAY. Edited by Elizabeth Bragdon. Bobbs-Merrill. $4.

A collection of excerpts and articles, previously published elsewhere, dealing with modern women, "their conflicts, their frustrations, and their fulfilments." The editor is to be congratulated on having gathered together so many interesting and representative pieces. In the final phase of our progress toward the full emancipation of woman books such as this can help to clarify the issues.

Southern Apologist

WHERE MAIN STREET MEETS THE RIVER. By Hodding Carter. Rinehart. $4.

This is, generally speaking, an easy-to-read success story of a man whose talents and efforts were recognized by the right people at the right time. It is written in a cheerful manner that makes one glad such happiness is still attainable, especially in a field so notoriously neurotic as journalism. Unfortunately, the dust jacket proclaims the book to be "the personal testament of a man who has become the spokesman for the new South." And when Carter indulges in regionalistic polemics, one's hackles rise.

On the problems of the South he adopts the conventional "and you're another" attitude toward "professional South-baiters." At one point, with apparent seriousness, he equates the "mistreatment" of the Penobscot Indians in Maine with the lot of the Southern Negro. He attacks at great length the Tuskegee lynching reports, citing crimes in the North that he says could just as well have been included. And he joins the "Southern constitutionalists" in their opposition to civil-rights legislation. He presents each social and economic gain in the South as if it were a miracle in bootstrap lifting and gloats over those Northern industries which have decamped to Dixie to take advantage of the "willing labor."

Ironically, Carter's compendium of racial and religious inequities in the nation at large serves to buttress the case for federal legislation protecting minorities and makes all the more untenable the position of those who block enactment in the name of "Thomas Jefferson's illimitable freedoms." If all white Southerners of good-will enjoyed Carter's influential status, perhaps the region could right itself without any legislative or judicial coercion. But too many are just plain citizens. They might fight Jim Crow through their labor unions, their church groups, or in *ad hoc* committees, but they are harassed and thwarted by state and local segregation statutes. Nor does Hodding Carter speak for them.

Theater

Harold Clurman

Tel-Aviv

IN 1949—the occasion of my last visit to Israel—the population was seven hundred thousand. Today it is a million and a half. Tel-Aviv, the country's largest city, now has a population of four hundred thousand. There are three permanent dramatic companies here.

The Israeli theatrical enterprises occupy permanent quarters, presenting a varied program of plays forty-eight weeks a year on the repertory basis of alternating performances. The Habimah company's current success is Maxwell Anderson and Kurt Weill's "Lost in the Stars," renamed "Cry, the Beloved Country," the title of Alan Paton's novel of which it is a dramatization. Molnar's "Liliom" was also being done when I arrived but it was not a success.

While the latest productions are shown six nights a week in Tel-Aviv, part of the Habimah company presents some of the less recent productions in Jerusalem, Haifa, and in the smaller cities, as well as in the cooperative settlements. These productions include Maeterlinck's "Blue Bird," Ibsen's "Peer Gynt," and a contemporary Israeli play called "I Am the Ship's Captain.'

One of the most fascinating aspects of the Israeli theater to me is the intensity and diversity of its activity. The Caesar of my production of Shaw's "Caesar and Cleopatra" plays the title role in "Peer Gynt" and is the director of Ibsen's "John Gabriel Borkman," in which he also acted this season, as well as the director of a new production of Jules Romain's "Knock" which he did at another theater. While I am rehearsing "Caesar and Cleopatra," Joseph Bulov in an adjoining hall is working on Mary Chase's "Mrs. McThing," while in still another room a new Israeli play is being directed by an actor who also appears in "Peer Gynt" and is the Appolodorus of our Shaw production.

There is extraordinary interest here in the theater—and sharp rivalry among the different organizations and their various champions. In many quarters, it is fashionable to speak of the Habimah as old hat (due to its Muscovite origin in 1919 with the famous production of "The Dybbuk") but it is my belief that this opinion is itself old hat. The Habimah is as representative and as "modern" as any of Israeli theaters. Among certain people the favored company is that of the Chamber Theater, most of whose actors are in their early thirties. Their great success now playing is Shaw's "St. Joan."

The Israeli theater makes something of a fetish of novelty and experimentation. (If this is a fault, it is a fault we may well envy.) Most Israeli productions suffer from that unevenness of style which frequently accompanies the efforts of those who strive to be original and "new." (A naturalistic box-set here is more unusual than a markedly stylized set is in New York.) The effect of this straining for novelty is that the productions nearly always have a lively look even when they are artistically unintegrated or amateurish. What saves many of these productions is an occasionally sound concept on the part of the director —frequently foreign—but more often a remarkable acting performance.

The Chamber Theater's "St. Joan" is easily superior to the Theater Guild's uninspired revival two seasons ago. With far less money than the Guild spent on its visually shoddy show, the Chamber Theater production, though essentially conventional in design, has a certain spaciousness and freedom. Its main asset, however, is a young actress—Orna Porat—whose Joan is the most ringingly sincere, spiritually radiant, humanly touching of all the Joans I have seen (Sybil Thorndike, Katharine Cornell, Uta Hagen). Porat, who was born in Germany, is half-Jewish and has just recently learned Hebrew and become a citizen of the country. I note this fact only because it is symbolic of the cultural phenomenon that the Israeli theater represents.

"Lost in the Stars" is done in an ingenious, not altogether satisfactory, but thoroughly economical setting—fashioned by Joseph Carl, a talented Austro-English designer—a setting which looks like some of those done in Berlin and Moscow in the twenties but which serves the practical purposes of the present piece very well. But again the highlight of the production is the grandiose simplicity, the deeply moving feeling which Aaron Meskin brings to the central role. As "Lost in the Stars" is a musical play, Meskin, who has long been the outstanding dramatic actor of the Israeli stage, is obliged to sing a considerable portion of his part. What is remarkable about his performance in this respect is that because his singing is that of an *actor*, it is more effective in the circumstance than trained vocalization might be.

An energetic, wide-ranging professionalism—together with ardent ambition—is characteristic of all the better actors in Israel. Shimon Finkel's Peer Gynt is arresting by the amplitude of its attack, its incessant vigor, and its fidelity to the intention of the Swedish director who staged and designed the production. I saw it under unfavorable technical auspices at a performance in an ill-equipped house in Jerusalem, and cannot speak knowledgeably of all aspects of the production, but it nevertheless made me realize for the first time how profound and imaginative a play "Peer Gynt" can be when sympathetically produced in an unfettered theater.

Israelis complain that they have not produced a native drama worth mentioning. In fact, they complain about everything in their theater. It becomes a visitor's duty, therefore, to point out to them that these complaints are themselves a sign of their country's youthful ferment, and that, putting aside all social and material considerations, Israel has good reason to be proud of its theatrical accomplishments. Perhaps when Israel is more developed it will learn to make an artistic virtue of its primitive crudeness. Suffice it for us to say at present that compared to the least of the Israeli actors and directors, the entire profession in America is unemployed.

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Music

B. H. Haggin

"CON AMORE," the new Lew Christensen piece presented by the New York City Ballet, begins pleasantly and amusingly; but apparently it is easier to begin something than to continue it and bring it to a conclusion in a clear line of development, as Christensen did so brilliantly in "Filling Station," and as he doesn't do in "Con Amore." Heading the cast were Sally Bailey and Nancy Johnson of Mr. Christensen's San Francisco Ballet Company, which first produced the piece last March; and Miss Bailey's dancing in the opening scene was very lovely. And Jacques d'Amboise had another opportunity to display his dazzling spins and leaps.

Most of Jerome Robbins's "Fanfare" represents nothing beyond a professional resourcefulness in filling the stage with movement; but in this setting of Britten's "The Young Person's Guide to the Orchestra" Robbins contrives three episodes of brilliant comedy for the bassoons, the trombones and tuba, and the percussion. These are the only ones that show a relation to the characters of the instruments and the music: another not very funny bit of comedy for the double bass has no relation to what Britten has written for the instrument.

"The Filly," Todd Bolender's ballet about horses, didn't come off.

CONCERNING HIS orchestral arrangement of Beethoven's Piano Sonata Opus 106 ("Hammerklavier") Weingartner wrote: "On making a close examination of Beethoven's style of writing and construction in this sonata, it becomes more and more difficult to believe that an orchestral conception should not have been present in his mind." But listening to the transcribed first movement I find it impossible to hear anything but writing for the piano that is less effective in orchestral translation. And its effect is lessened further by the devitalizing performance by Kurt Graunke with the Bavarian Symphony (Urania).

Of the Musorgsky pieces played well by Susskind with the Philharmonia Orchestra (MGM)—the excerpts from "Khovantchina" and "The Fair at Sorochinsk," "A Night on Bald Mountain," a Scherzo (1858), an Intermezzo Symphonique (1867), and the Turkish March "The Capture of Kars"—every one except the Intermezzo Symphonique is described as edited by Rimsky-Korsakov or Liadov; and however engaging some of them are, one isn't hearing what Musorgsky wrote. The Intermezzo is a fine piece; and if it really is unedited it provides additional evidence that what Musorgsky completed needed no editing by anyone else.

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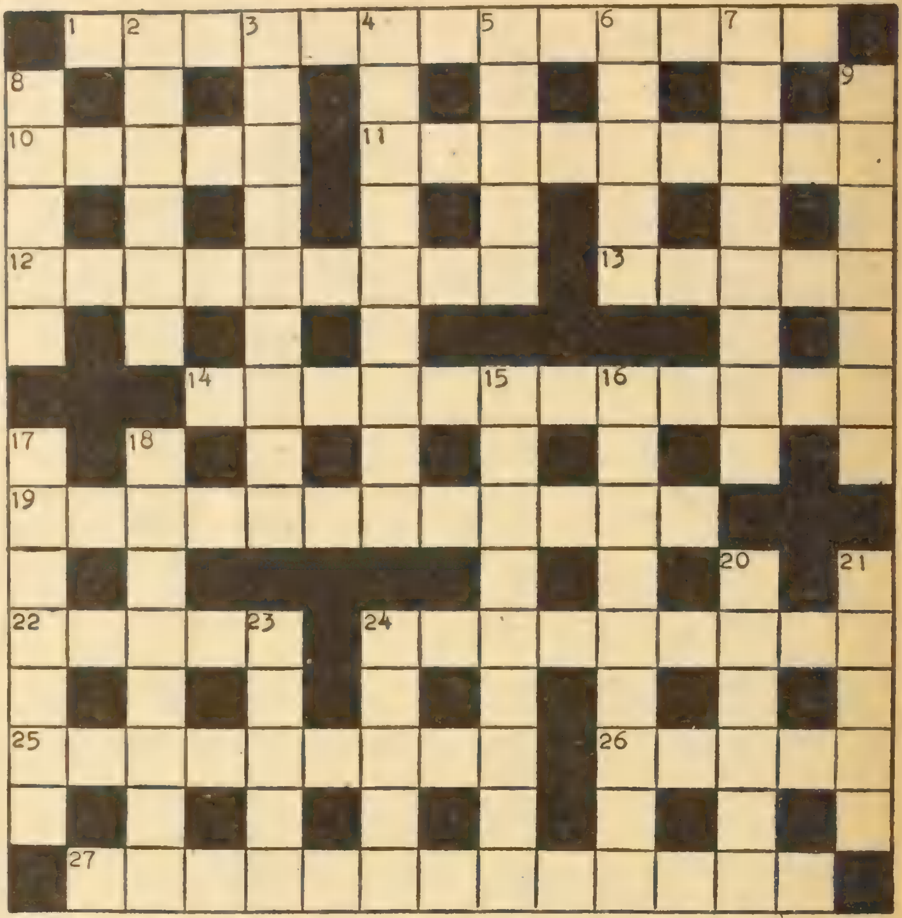

ACROSS

1 What Singer's troupe should have followed without much resistance? (5, 8)
10 Knight without a lot of armor. (5)
11 See 26 across.
12 Settlers, not necessarily from Panama. (9)
13 These days are fast with some people. (5)
14 Sometimes applied to what might be evil nonsense, but it's fine and clear, on the ball! (4, 8)
19 and 8 down. Old timer? (12, 5)
22 This composer is in understandable hardships. (5)
24 Gone without in France—but they kept the Nazis busy! (9)
25 Walking like Chaplin? (9)
26 and 11 across. Seems as though they ought to raise wheat! (5, 9)
27 Complain, by the way, with a retinue. (8, 5)

DOWN

2 Deal in what grasping people often seize. (6)
3 Noted mineral extracted from water. (9)
4 Another old timer? Watch the hours flow by. (9)
5 Winds and rocks. (5)
6 Proclamation. (5)
7 Bon mot re that of which Nanki-Poo was once second. (8)
8 See 19 across.
9 One of those laid low at Bannockburn? (7)
15 Came into this in the ride. (9)
16 Short and stubby, and a big bore! (9)
17 Women seem to, compared with men. (7)
18 Sort of rock about the passageway, with the entrance into it operatic. (8)
20 Sandwiches now are recognized as this. (6)
21 Employing this gun is bad! (5)
23 With a copperhead, it should go at least partly underground. (5)
24 Not genocide, but the finish of some races! (5)

* * *

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ments, is a better work than the popular No. 1. I can imagine musically more imposing piano-playing than Margot Pinter's in the performance with the Radio Berlin Symphony under Rother (Urania).

Strauss's "Aus Italien," the first of his tone poems (it preceeded "Macbeth," which preceded "Don Juan"), is luxuriant, diffuse, and not interesting. It is played well by the Berlin Radio Symphony under Rother (Urania).

Other things to skip: Prokofiev's Symphony No. 7, played by Ormandy with the Philadelphia Orchestra (Columbia). Schönberg's "A Survivor from Warsaw" and "Kol Nidre," played by Swarowsky with the Vienna Symphony and Hans Jaray, narrator; and his Second Chamber Symphony, played by Häfner with the same orchestra (Columbia). William Schuman's Symphony for Strings, played by Steinberg with the Pittsburgh Symphony (Capitol).

Aksel Schiotz's voice lacks its former fluidity and is a little monotonous in color in performances of Beethoven's "An die ferne Geliebte" with Horszowski, and Bach's Cantata No. 189 "Meine Seele rühmt und preist" with Wummer (flute), Tabuteau (oboe), Alexander Schneider (violin), Tortelier (cello), and Veyron-Lacroix (harpsichord), recorded at the 1951 Perpignan Festival (Columbia).

Hardly a day in recent months without its press release from Remington about the earth-shaking events to follow from its engagement of Laszlo Halasz as director. And now at last a record produced by Mr. Halasz—the first of a series called Recital and Encores, of which the earth-shaking feature is merely the new title for the old and objectionable jumbling together of every kind of piece including encore pieces. In this case it is songs by Purcell, Schubert, Brahms, Wolfe, Duparc, Fauré, and Massenet, with John Jacob Niles's arrangements of some gambling songs as the encores. I don't care for the Brahms, the French songs, and the encores; but all are sung superbly by Mack Harrell. To appreciate how well he sings Wolf's "Abschied," among others, you would have to have the words; and Mr. Halasz's earth-shaking innovations don't include supplying the needed texts of the songs rather than the useless information about them.

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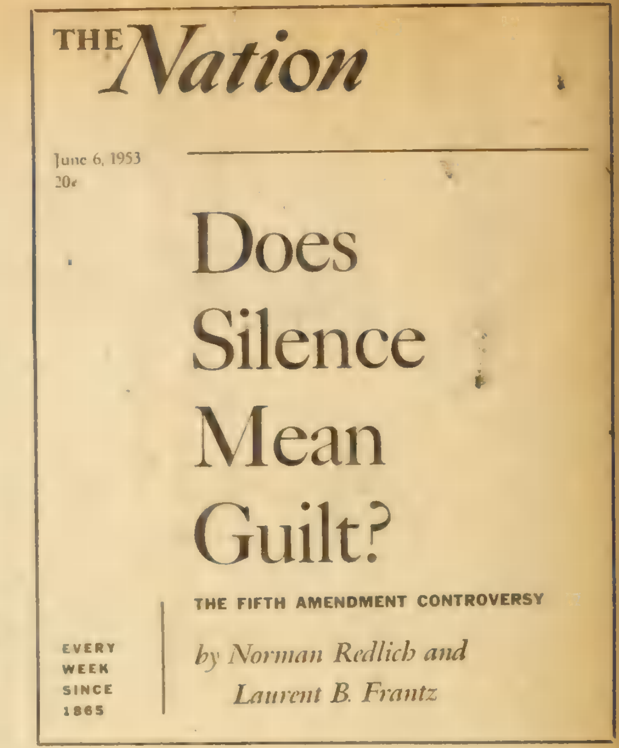
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